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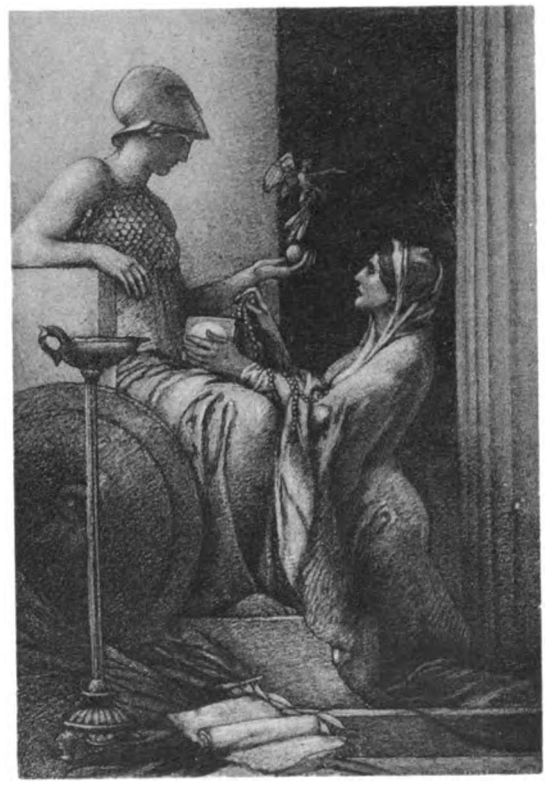
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The Victoria History of the County of Oxford: without special title

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The Victoria History of the Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF OXFORDSHIRE

VOLUME II

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THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

OXFORDSHIRE



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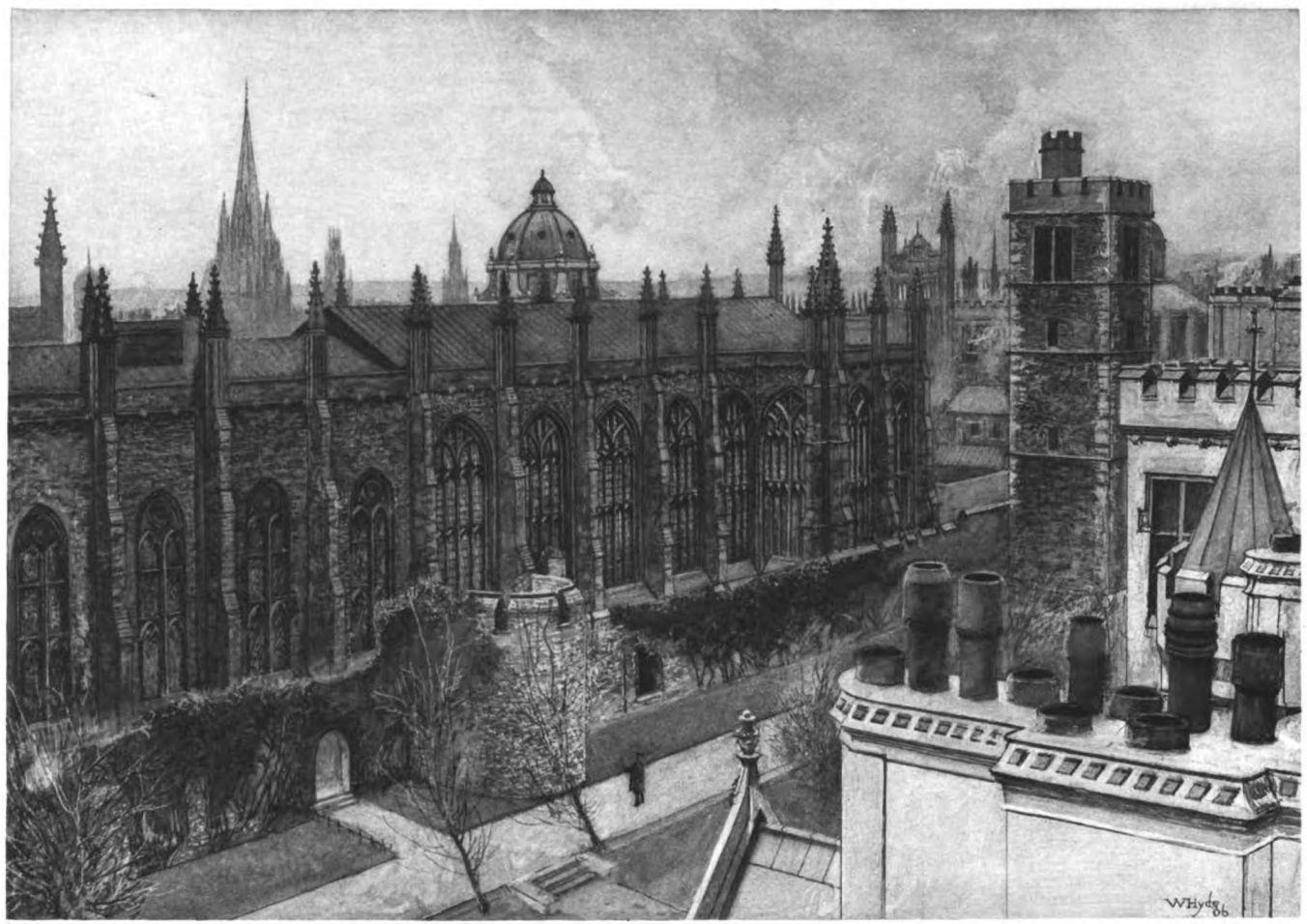
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View from New College, Oxford.

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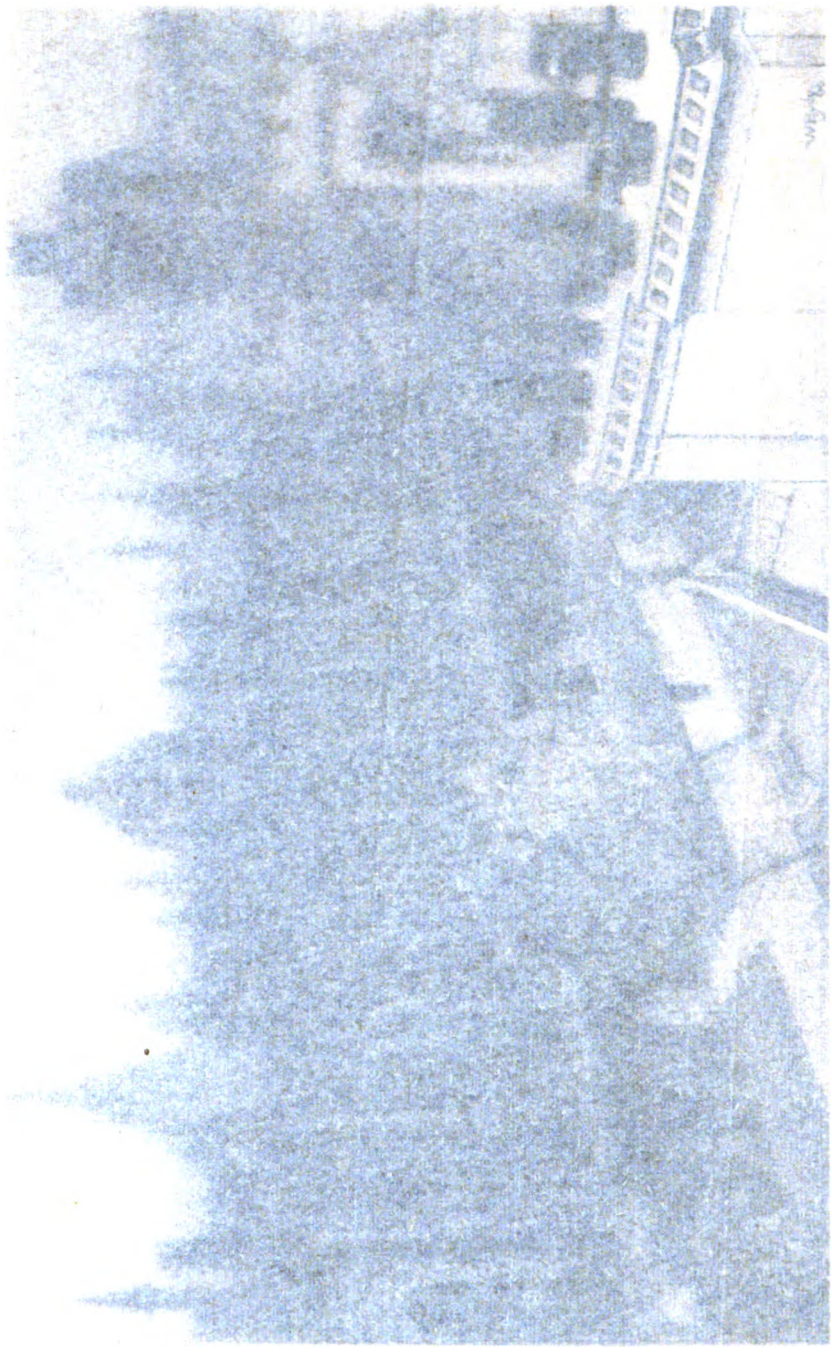


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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editor wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, F.S.A., for notes and additions to the article on Ancient Earthworks, and to the Rev. H. E. Salter, M.A., for the use of photographs of some of the seals reproduced on the plates of seals given in this volume.

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A HISTORY OF
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

THE ecclesiastical history of Oxfordshire begins at the year 634, the date of the coming of Birinus. The account of him that is given us in Bede is that, on his journey from Italy, Wessex was the first part of Britain that he reached; that, finding it to be most pagan, he preached the gospel there, and Cynegils, the king, became a catechumen. When the time came for his baptism, Oswald, king of Northumbria, who happened to be in Wessex at the time and was shortly to be his son-in-law, stood to him as godfather; and the two kings joined in giving Birinus, who was already a bishop, the 'city' called Dorcic as his episcopal seat. There, after building churches and converting much people, he died and was buried, but many years later his bones were translated to Winchester by Bishop Haeddi. To this the Anglo-Saxon chronicle adds, that it was at Dorchester that Cynegils was baptized, that in the following year (636) Cwichelm his son was baptized there, dying soon after, and that Cuthred, son of Cwichelm, was baptized at the same place in 639.

Why the bishop's seat was fixed at Dorchester, rather than at, or near, Winchester, the capital of Wessex, we cannot tell. It may be that, as the chronicle implies, Cynegils was not king of the whole of Wessex; or that a spot towards the north was selected with a view to the conversion of Mercia; or that a meeting between the kings of Wessex and Northumbria would naturally take place near the northern boundary of Wessex, and the accident that the king was baptized at that spot was the cause why the cathedral was fixed there. How the king of Northumbria could join in the donation of the site is not easy to understand.

Although Birinus was reckoned the apostle of Wessex and must have worked mainly south of the Thames, yet his name is commemorated in Oxfordshire only. The church of Dorchester bears the invocation of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Birinus, and the village of Bicester, formerly spelt Beren-cestre or Biren-cestre, connected with Dorchester by a small Roman road, is generally supposed to bear his name. There is also in the parish of Ipsden a place called Birin's Hill, and the word Ipsden, originally spelt Bispesden, is said to mean 'hill of the bishop.'

About the year 642 Birinus died, and as the king died shortly after[1] and his son and successor, Cenwalh, was a heathen, the bishopric remained vacant. Ultimately after being in exile three years, Cenwalh returned to Wessex as a Christian about 648, and being joined by Agilbert, a bishop from Gaul, but

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* iii, 7. One version of the chronicle, and some later historians, assign the death of Birinus to 649 or 650, but Bede is a stronger authority.

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without a diocese, who after studying in Ireland, preached the Gospel in Wessex, he asked him to be bishop of Dorchester. But 'after many years,' probably in 663, the king, who could talk nothing but Saxon, wearied with the bishop's outlandish language, divided Wessex into two provinces, and set up a new see at Winchester with a bishop named Wine, who knew the king's language. Agilbert, in disgust, retired to Gaul and the bishopric of Dorchester came to an end. It may, however, have been revived some fifteen years later; for Bede[1] mentions a certain Ætla, who was bishop of Dorchester, and his latest editor thinks that about 679 the king of Mercia, having extended his kingdom so as to include Oxfordshire, set up a Mercian see at Dorchester, but that it came to an end in 686, when Caedwalla, king of Wessex, recovered this district. The bones of Birinus were moved to Winchester by Haeddi, bishop of Winchester (676-703), though in later ages Dorchester claimed to have them still.[2]

About two centuries later the bishopric was revived. It is true that the tradition at Dorchester in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was that there had been an unbroken succession of bishops from the time of Birinus, and even their names were given, Bertinus being the tenth[3]: but had it been so, we could not have failed to find mention of them in history or as witnesses to charters. It is not until we come to Bishop Ealheard, about 886, that we meet the see of Dorchester once more. By the battle of Bensington in 777 Oxfordshire had passed finally under the kings of Mercia, and became part of the diocese of Leicester, having previously been in the diocese of Sherborne; and a century later, when the Danes overran the eastern and midland counties, the bishop of Leicester removed his see, no doubt for safety, to Dorchester. This change took place in the time of Bishop Ealheard (886–97); and as the line of the bishops of Lindsey came to an end in 873 the jurisdiction of the bishop of Dorchester reached to the Humber. When the conversion of the Danes took place, the bishop of Dorchester was able to extend his see once more, first over Leicestershire and then over Lincolnshire. When we are told of Leofwine, bishop of Dorchester (953–65)[4], that he united the sees of Lindsey and Leicester, the meaning may be that he was the first after the Danish invasion who was able to exercise episcopal functions in Lincolnshire.

Little is known of these bishops of Dorchester. We hear of a council in 977 held at Kyrtlington, which there is good reason to think was Kirtlington in Oxfordshire,[5] but we are not given the names of those that were present. In 1004 and 1005 we have the establishment of secular canons at St. Frideswide's, and of Benedictine monks at Eynsham.[6] Also we know one undoubted fact about Eadnoth I, bishop of Dorchester (1005–17), which shows that Lincolnshire was part of his see. Hoveden mentions[7] that Eadnoth, 'bishop of Lincoln,' (*sic*) founded a monastery at Stow in Lincolnshire. Freeman[8] thought the reference was to Eadnoth II (1034–50); but a charter in the Eynsham Cartulary[9] not only mentions the monastery, but asserts that it was founded before the time of Bishop Æthelric (1017–34), and that he and his successor received two-thirds of the offerings that were

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 23: see the note in Plummer's edition.
[2] See the account of Dorchester Abbey in the article on the 'Religious Houses.'
[3] Ibid. [4] Parker, *Early Hist. of Oxf.* 138. [5] Ibid. 140.
[6] See the article on the 'Religious Houses.' [7] *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 103.
[8] *Norman Conquest*, ii, 49 note; so also Parker, *Early Hist. of Oxf.* 172. [9] *Eynsham Cartul.* i, 30.

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made there. This fact is interesting in view of the claim that was subsequently put forward by the archbishop of York, that Lincoln and Lindsey, and in particular Stow and Louth, were by right part of his diocese.[1] Because these claims were bought off by William Rufus,[2] it has been assumed that they were valid: but the ecclesiastical authorities always decided that they were untenable. Pope Nicholas in 1061 in a confirmation charter to Bishop Wulfwig specially mentioned the district (*parochia*) of Lindsey and the church of Stow,[3] and the action of Eadnoth in founding a monastery at Stow makes it improbable that it was in the diocese of York at that time.

From the invocations of Oxfordshire churches little can be deduced about the early history of Christianity in the county. The patron saint of Bicester church, doubtless founded in early times, is Saint Edburga, but whether she is the Edburga of Kent, or a local saint, commemorated also in the name Adderbury (originally Edburg-bury), is uncertain. On the southern slope of the site of Oxford there were five adjacent parishes with unusual invocations; south of the castle was the parish of St. Budoc or Buoc, a saint of Cornwall and Brittany, now only commemorated at two churches in Devonshire and Cornwall; next was the parish of St. Ebbe's, a saint found also at Shelswell, Oxfordshire, and at two northern churches; next is St. Aldate, an unknown saint, who has also a church in Gloucestershire; next was St. Frideswide to whose honour there was dedicated only one other church in England; and lastly, St. Edward King and Martyr, to whom there are three other churches. St. Frideswide was undoubtedly a person who played some part in the ecclesiastical history of the county, but the details of her parentage and adventures date only from the middle or end of the twelfth century, when she had been made in a certain sense the tutelary saint of Oxford. Until the priory of St. Frideswide was founded, she seems to have been of little fame; prominent people desired to be buried at Abingdon, not at St. Frideswide's as far as we know,[4] and the annual Oxford fair was not kept on her day but on the day of St. Benedict even as late as the year 1228.[5] But we may credit the short account given by William of Malmesbury, who wrote before, or about the time of the foundation of the Augustinian canons of St. Frideswide, that she was the daughter of a king or prince and founded a convent at Oxford.[6]

One record of the church in Oxfordshire during the Saxon period is to be found in a manuscript of ecclesiastical canons, written about 1020, now preserved in the Bodleian Library.[7] From the fact that there are notes on one of the leaves in a contemporary hand, indicating that its owner had property at Thame, Banbury, and Aylesbury, localities where in later days the bishops of Lincoln had possessions, it has been concluded that it belonged to a bishop of Dorchester.

The Norman Conquest did not cause any violent change in the ecclesiastical affairs of the county. The Saxon bishop, Wulfwig, was not deposed; and the lands which belonged to the see of Dorchester were not confiscated, but the king treated them as he treated the lands of the great abbeys. He

[1] Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, 151. [2] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1177. [3] Registrum Antiq. at Lincoln: charter 876.
[4] *The Early Hist. of Oxf.* 273. [5] *Cart. of St. Frid.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 15 and 51.
[6] *The Early Hist. of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 94–106. The tomb of a certain Saint Dioma was shown at Charlbury early in the eleventh century, *Liber Vitae*, 89 (Hants Record Soc., 1892).
[7] Bodl. MS. No. 718. The local references were printed in the *Engl. Hist. Rev.* April, 1894. From internal evidence it is believed that the volume was written in East Anglia; it found its way to Exeter about 1050.

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imposed a certain amount of knight-service, and from the lands of the bishop throughout the diocese the service of sixty knights could be demanded. The bishop died in 1067 and the see was given to a Norman, named Remigius, who had helped the Conqueror with men and money at the time of the invasion.

Domesday Book shows how extensive were the possessions of the Church in this county at the end of the reign of William I. The archbishop of Canterbury had seven burgages in the town of Oxford, and 15 hides of land in the county, being the manors of Newington and Britwell, given to his see in 997 by Queen Emma.[1] The bishop of Winchester had similarly nine burgages and the manors of Witney and Adderbury, containing 45 hides. The bishop of the diocese had the three hundreds of Thame, Banbury, and Dorchester, being 290 hides. Thame and Banbury were normal hundreds, consisting of 100 hides, the manors in each hundred being adjacent; but the hundred of Dorchester was composed of detached manors, viz. Epwell in the north of the county, Waterstock (5 hides), a manor in Baldon (7½ hides), South Stoke (17¼ hides), Dorchester, including Clifton Hampden, Drayton, Stadhampton, and Chislehampton, and lastly a manor in Benson called Fifhide, which is not actually mentioned in Domesday, but was possessed by the bishop as early as we have any records about the parish; these manors were thrown together into a hundred of 90 hides. The bishop also had thirty houses in Oxford. But perhaps a better idea of the extent of the bishop's holding is given by the number of his knights that were enfeoffed in this county. In the year 1166 it was found that on his properties throughout the diocese the bishop had enfeoffed as many as 102 knights.[2] Of this number thirty-two were reckoned to be within the hundreds of Banbury, Thame, and Dorchester;[3] and yet in each hundred the bishop had retained for himself a manor, which belonged to the see until the Reformation, and he had also provided land for the foundation of the monasteries of Thame, Dorchester, and Clattercote.[4] Although Oxfordshire was only one-eighth of the diocese, it supported more than a quarter of the knights of the bishop.

In the year 1070 it was decided that the bishop's seat should be transferred from Dorchester to Lincoln. The Saxon system by which cathedrals were erected in remote places had for some years been seen to be inconvenient, and on this ground it was decided that Remigius should remove to Lincoln. It has generally been thought that this step was taken in consequence of the decision of the Council of London, in 1075, that episcopal sees should be removed from insignificant towns; but a writ of William I[5] asserts that he had moved the see with the counsel of Pope Alexander (1061–73), and a charter of William II mentions that the transference of the see from Dorchester 'where it had been founded of old without convenience or adequate dignity,' was made 'with the authority of Pope Alexander and the legates whom he sent hither especially to settle this matter.'[6] As the visit of the legates was in 1070, we know the date when the decision was taken.

[1] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* iii, 299.
[2] *Liber Rubeus*, 515.
[3] *Liber Rubeus*, 376; *Pipe Roll of 3 John*, 98.
[4] See the article on the 'Religious Houses.'
[5] Printed in the *Monasticon*, viii, 1269; also *Early Hist. of Oxf.* 217.
[6] *Linc. Cath. Stat.* (Bradshaw & Wordsworth), ii, 3.

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But, of course, it took many years before Lincoln was ready for the bishop: a cathedral and other buildings had to be erected, and it was only in 1092 that the cathedral was sufficiently advanced for its dedication. Not only was the cathedral to be transferred from Oxfordshire, but also the monastery of Eynsham, which had been refounded by Remigius.[1] He did not, however, live to see his plans completed, as he died in 1092, just before the date fixed for the dedication.

The natural result of this removal was that Oxfordshire, which had been the most episcopal county in the diocese, became the county least interested in the see. It would not be true to say that it was in any way neglected by the bishop, who, in spite of its distance from Lincoln, every year seems to have paid visits to his manors of Banbury, Thame, and Dorchester; but the cathedral, the choir, and the support of residentiary canons did not appeal to the laity of Oxfordshire. Among the 1,500 charters in the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, conveying to the cathedral virgates, rents, mills, and houses in the different counties of the diocese, there is no gift from Oxfordshire, except that of the manor and church of Langford given to the bishop by King Stephen, and 5*s.* in Langford given by a private individual to the *communa* of the canons. Devout folk enriched the monasteries or hospitals in the county, but gave nothing to the cathedral.

The history of the bishops of the diocese will be found under 'Ecclesiastical History' in the *Victoria County History of Lincolnshire*, but something may be said about the early archdeacons of Oxfordshire. Of the first, named Alfred, nothing is known; but Walter, who succeeded him, was a man of importance. He is described by Henry of Huntingdon[2] as a magnificent orator (*superlative rhetoricus*), while Geoffrey of Monmouth[3] says 'he was accomplished in the art of oratory and foreign history.' He is specially famous as the patron and helper of Geoffrey, having provided him with a book brought from Wales (*ex Britannia*), written in the Welsh language, containing deeds of British kings.[4] Gaimar also, writing about the same time, says that he had obtained 'the good book of Oxford, which belonged to Walter the archdeacon.'[5] He was in office in 1112,[6] and was alive in 1149[7] or later. Le Neve assigns his death to 1151, and he was certainly dead by 12 May, 1151; for a deed of that date is attested by his successor, Robert Foliot.[8] From a confirmation by Pope Eugenius[9] in 1145 we learn that he was the provost or head of the secular canons of St. George's; and therefore it was natural that when, in 1147, the canons of St. Frideswide's claimed the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, against the canons of St. George's, it fell to him to resist them.[10] Two years later all the possessions of St. George's were given by the patrons to Oseney Abbey, saving the life interest of each canon. Perhaps this step displeased him; for we are informed[11] that he proceeded to erect on his prebend[12] a building, which he

[1] See the article on the 'Religious Houses.'
[2] *Hen. of Hunt.* (Rolls Ser.), 302.
[3] Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the opening sentences of his history.
[4] For this rendering of 'ex Britannia,' see the article on 'Walter,' in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*
[5] *Gaimar* (Rolls Ser.), line 6495.
[6] *Cartul. of Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 120.
[7] *Cartul. of St. Peter's, Gloucester* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 169.
[8] Harl. MS. 4714, fol. 2.
[9] Misc. Books, Exch. Q. R. No. 26, fol. 78.
[10] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 25.
[11] Misc. Books, Exch. Q. R. No. 26, fol. 85.
[12] Which an Oseney deed tells us was in Walton, to the north of Oxford.

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called a church, in spite of the prohibition of the bishop of Lincoln, and gave it to St. Frideswide's, whereby, in 1151, the latter house after his death laid claim to his prebend, and apparently to the church of St. George's.[1] Both Oseney and St. Frideswide's appealed to the pope, and the decision was given against the latter, as had also been the case in 1147. Walter was probably more prominent as a lawyer than as an ecclesiastic, and we find him one of the judges in an important suit at Winchester in 1114 or earlier,[2] and justiciar at Peterborough in 1125.[3] In 1129 the first witness to the foundation charter of the abbey of Oseney is Walter the archdeacon, another being Geoffrey of Monmouth; and the two names occur in a charter in the Godstow Cartulary, a grant by the archdeacon being witnessed by 'magister Galfridus Artour.'[4] He was a benefactor to Godstow, leaving it his land at Shillingford, that had belonged to his wife (*amica*), by name Brityna, which she had left to him.[5]

Of his successors it need only be said that Walter de Constantiis, who was much employed at court, seems to have delegated his work as archdeacon to subordinates; for we hear of a Philip, who was 'vice-archidiaconus' in 1175, while Nicholas of Lewknor held the same post in 1182. In the same way Richard Grim of Aylesbury, canon of Lincoln, was vice-archdeacon to John de Constantiis (1186–96), the reason in this case being that he was taking a degree, 'dum in scolis moratur,'[6] and therefore unable to do his work. His successor, Walter Map, appointed in 1196, was in possession of the office in 1204[7] and 1208.[8] When, therefore, we read[9] that John de Gray was archdeacon of Oxford in 1200, we must conjecture 'Exoniae' for 'Oxoniae,' and substitute Exeter for Oxford. John de Tinemue,[10] the next archdeacon, was in office in 1215 and 1220,[11] and is said to have died in 1221.[12]

Some of these earlier archdeacons seem to have held the prebend of Langford Ecclesia in Lincoln Cathedral. There is an original charter preserved at Lincoln,[13] no doubt of the year 1151, by which the Chapter gives notification that

> Robert, bishop of Lincoln, with our advice and assent, has granted to Robert, archdeacon of Oxford, the church of Langford for his prebend, to be held with all its appurtenances as freely as Ralph, dean of London, held it; so that this prebend should for ever be joined to the archdeaconry of Oxford, and from henceforth every archdeacon of Oxford shall be a canon of the church of Lincoln by means of this prebend.

Some such provision was necessary in 1151, on the death of Walter, the late archdeacon, who having his canonry in the chapel of St. George's, Oxford, would have required no provision from the cathedral of Lincoln. The new arrangement, like many other schemes in connexion with the prebends of Lincoln, was soon abandoned. The prebendary of Langford ecclesia about

[1] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 27.
[2] *Abingdon Cartul.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 116: Round, *Commune of London*, 94.
[3] See article in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* where also it is shown that his names Walter of Wallingford, or Walter of Calne, are mistaken translations of Bale's language, 'Walterus Calenius,' by which he meant Walter 'of Oxford.'
[4] Misc. Books Exch. Q. R. No. 20, fol. 96[r]: also again the same two on fol. 132[v].
[5] *Godstow Cartul.* (E. E. Text Soc.), 535.
[6] *Eynsham Cartul.* i, 67.
[7] *Cartul. of St. Frid.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 282.
[8] *Cal. Close R. John* (Rec. Com.), 106.
[9] *Annales Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 155.
[10] Mis-spelt 'Tinue' by Le Neve.
[11] *R. of Hugh de Wells*, ii, 2.
[12] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 66.
[13] Among the Deeds of Langford in the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

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1205–10, described[1] as 'magister W.,' may have been Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford; in 1233 another archdeacon held the same prebend,[2] and his predecessor therein was John de Tynemue,[3] who was also among the archdeacons of Oxford. But in June, 1249, and October, 1275, it was held by William de Pokelinton and William de Merleberge,[4] neither of whom were archdeacons, and from 1330, at which date Le Neve begins his list of the prebendaries of Langford Ecclesia, the archdeacons of Oxford rarely, if ever, held this prebend.

Besides this prebend of Langford Ecclesia, Oxfordshire supplied the maintenance for six other canons. As is well known, the number of prebends at Lincoln Cathedral was gradually increased. Bishop Remigius founded twenty-one, his successor, Robert Bloett, increased them to forty-two, Bishop Alexander added 'several'; and Robert de Chesney added one, raising the number to fifty-four.[5] This last addition we can identify with the prebend of Langford Manor, a charter in the Godstow Cartulary[6] definitely stating that Robert de Chesney turned his manor into a prebend. It had originally been the property of Roger bishop of Salisbury,[7] and may have passed from him to his nephew, Bishop Alexander. It was at first one of the demesne manors of the bishop, but about 1152 was, as we have seen, made a prebend.

Langford Ecclesia was granted[8] to Bishop Alexander by King Stephen, probably in 1142, and seems to have been made a prebend at once, being given to Ralph, who is distinguished in the list of deans of St. Paul's as Ralph of Langford.

The churches of Thame, Banbury, and Cropredy supplied the maintenance for three more canons, but as we find Bishop Robert Bloett granting portions of tithe in these churches to the monastery of Eynsham,[9] it is clear that these three were not among the twenty-one prebends instituted by Bishop Remigius, his predecessor.

Milton manor, which formed a sixth prebend, was probably set aside in early times; perhaps by Remigius. A confirmation by Pope Eugenius in 1146 defines it as 'half the manor of Milton,' i.e. twenty hides, the remainder being held by one of the knights of the bishop. In some of the Lincoln deeds the prebend is described as 'Milton cum Binbrook,' no doubt because land at Binbrooke, Lincolnshire, was attached to augment this prebend.

The last prebend, Milton Ecclesia, dates from 1290. The church of Milton with several other churches had previously been attached to the rich prebend of Aylesbury, but after the monks of Eynsham had surrendered[10] their portion of tithes in Milton, there was sufficient maintenance for a canon, and thus Bishop Oliver Sutton, with the consent of Pope Nicholas, constituted a new prebend.

There were also in this county ten hides in Horley and Hornton attached to the prebend of King's Sutton held with that prebend by the archdeacon of Bucks about the year 1219,[11] and also in 1239.[12] Oxfordshire

[1] From a Langford deed at Lincoln.
[2] Bracton's *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), ii, 625.
[3] Ibid.
[4] From two Langford deeds at Lincoln.
[5] *Linc. Cath. Stat.* (ed. Wordsworth), iii, 796.
[6] *Godstow Cartul.* (E. E. Text Soc.), p. 342.
[7] This fact is mentioned in a charter of Hen. II (Reg. Antiq. at Lincoln, chart. 147).
[8] See Reg. Antiq. at Lincoln, chart. 169.
[9] *Eynsham Cartul.* i, 36.
[10] Ibid. 223.
[11] *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.) 109.
[12] *Cal. Chart. R. Hen. III*, p. 241.

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therefore, though in size only one-eighth of the diocese of Lincoln, supplied more than seven prebends to the cathedral out of a total of fifty-six.

Passing now to the early ecclesiastical history of the parishes of the county, when we ask at what date they were organized, and how many parish churches there were in early times, we find that we have no complete ecclesiastical survey of the county before the 'Taxatio' of 1291. Domesday Book, which mentions churches in some counties, pays no attention to them in Oxfordshire, but such evidence as there is suggests that there were more than 150 churches in the county when the book was compiled. The number has not usually been estimated as high as this, and because the 'Taxatio' mentions only 188 churches, it is assumed that the number in 1086 would not have been more than 100; but it is easy to prove from the Institutions of the bishops of Lincoln, which begin in 1215, and from attestations to early charters, that the 'Taxatio' is incomplete; for one reason or another, sometimes because the churches were too poor to be taxed, sometimes because they were appropriated to the Templars or the Hospitallers, it omits more than a quarter of the churches that existed in 1291; and it would be safe to say that there were as many churches and chapels-of-ease in the county in the year 1200 as there were six centuries later. To constitute a new parish was a difficult matter after the beginning of the thirteenth century, or even earlier; the mother-church, without whose consent it could not be done, was unwilling to part with its tithes; and it may be assumed as a general rule that any parish mentioned in the Valor of 1535 was in existence in the year 1200; at all events in Oxfordshire we have sufficient evidence to show that this was the case.

The result of a survey of the county is to show that the number of churches and chapels in 1291 must be raised to 260 or 265; and although Milcombe Chapel and some others may have been built in the thirteenth century, yet the evidence of charters and of the rolls of institutions proves that in the year 1200 we cannot place the number lower than 250. In the previous century the building of churches and the formation of parishes was more rapid; but the cartularies of monastic houses of Oxfordshire which carry us back to 1130 or 1140 show that there was no radical difference in the last sixty years of the twelfth century; and it would be unwise to estimate the number of churches in the county at the time of the Domesday Survey at much less than 180, of which 150 would be parish churches.

The foundation of religious houses in Oxfordshire followed the usual lines: first came Benedictine houses, then in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen the Austin and Cistercian rules became more popular. The earliest monastery of the county was Eynsham, a Benedictine house, dating from the reign of William II. In the reign of Henry I the Austin houses of St. Frideswide and Oseney were founded; Dorchester and Cold Norton in the reign of Stephen; Bicester in the reign of Henry II; and Wroxton, the last, in 1217. It must not be forgotten that those who followed the Austin rule were not monks, and though their houses were called monasteries in later days, and became much the same as houses of monks, this was not the original intention. It was meant at first that the canons should take charge of parish churches, living together in scattered clergy-houses, and as late as

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1220[1] it was expected that the canons of Oseney would, as a rule, be living in parishes that were appropriated to their house, though there would be vicars to do the parish work. All the Austin houses of Oxfordshire, except Cold Norton, show in their foundation this feature of the Austin rule, in that they were all endowed with churches. St. Frideswide's was given six or seven churches at its foundation; Oseney was given five or six; Dorchester was granted all the daughter churches of the old cathedral; Bicester was given three or four churches; and even Wroxton was granted one church at its foundation. But the Cistercian houses on the other hand—Thame and Bruern—were given no churches, though they obtained a few rectories in later days.

Although the Benedictine rule for men seemed to lose its popularity early in the twelfth century, so that after that time the stricter Cistercian rule superseded it, this did not apply to houses for women. There were no Cistercian houses for women in the county, and though one of the earliest of the nunneries, Goring, was of the Austin order, Godstow, Littlemore, and Studley, which were founded in the reigns of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II, adhered to the Benedictine rule. But a fuller account of the foundation and growth of the religious houses will be found elsewhere.

Besides monks and canons there were also in the county several anchorites at various times and a few hermits. The former, who were also called incluses or recluses, were men or women who had attached themselves to some church, living in an annexed building like a vestry, with a window, if not a door, opening into the church. One of the earliest is the Mathew *inclusus* of Holywell Church of whom we hear about 1180.[2] At Iffley there was a *reclusa* named Annora, to whom the king made grants of firewood in 1233 and 1234[3] and of a pension of 100*s.* a year.[4] From these entries we see that anchorites did not always lead a life of great discomfort or destitution; and we hear in several Oseney charters of an *inclusa* of Faringdon in Berkshire, who owned house property in Oxford. In 1242 the king 'grants to Alice, who has taken a vow to serve God in some solitary place, that she may build a *reclusorium* on the north side of the church of St. Budhoc in Oxford';[5] and in 1271 Nicholas de Weston[6] leaves by will the sums of 3*s.* to the anchorite of St. Budoc's; 2*s.* to those of Crowmarsh and Faringdon (Berkshire); 1*s.* to those of Horsepath, Hinxey, Seacourt (Berkshire), St. Giles's (Oxford), St. Peter's and St. John's; and as the will contains legacies to all religious houses in or near Oxford, it is probable that this is a complete list of the anchorites of the neighbourhood. The word *anachorita*, which is used, need not imply that they were men; probably the majority were women. Besides joining in the service of the church, they were useful as caretakers of churches; for it is by no means the case that they were immured in their cells. Of one, probably the recluse of the church of St. Thomas, Oxford, we read[7] that while she hardly ever left the building, most of her time was spent within the church, and the young clerk, there mentioned, conversed with her, apparently as she

[1] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, p. i.
[2] *Cal. of Close* (1231–4), pp. 230, 421.
[3] Surius, vi, 688.
[4] *Cal. of Pat.* (1232–47), p. 70.
[5] Ibid. 275.
[6] Bodl. Oseney Charter, 14.
[7] *Vita Sancti Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), p. 239. That the event took place at Oxford, and that the church was St. Thomas's, is a deduction from the 'Vision of the Monk of Eynsham,' to be printed shortly by the Oxf. Hist. Soc.

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was coming into the church. From the entry in the Patent Rolls concerning the church of St. Budoc, and from entries about anchorites in other counties, it is clear that an anchor-hold could not be erected without the consent of the patron of the church.

Hermits, who were fewer in number than anchorites, lived in secluded places, and generally, if not always, had a chapel in which they ministered. Such was Ralph, the hermit of Musewell Hill in the parish of Piddington, who built there the chapel of St. Cross about 1140, and about 1153 gave it with its endowments to Missenden Abbey.[1] In a Bruern deed,[2] certainly earlier than 1175, one of the witnesses is Robert 'heremita, diaconus de Holawella,' probably Holwell in Bradwell parish; and possibly this chapel, which served an outlying part of the parish, was first constructed by or for him. A third hermit was Simon Kirton, hermit of the chapel of Newelme in Wychwood, who in 1403 had licence from the king to enclose two crofts in the forest.[3] A successor of his was Thomas Wylkys, hermit of Newelme, who made his will 23 September, 1458, leaving 3*s.* 4*d.* to the repair of the chapel of Newelme, where he wished to be buried; 3*s.* 4*d.* to the abbey of Bruern; money, a cow, and a horse to various relations; and vestments to the chapel of Leafield.[4] Subsequently the chapel of Newelme must have been granted to Bruern Abbey, but in the Valor of 1535 it was asserted that the king did not allow the abbey to obtain possession of it.[5] At Finmere also there was a hermit, apparently a monk from Bradwell in Buckinghamshire, about whom we have the curious notice in the Close Rolls of 1228, that the forester of Shotover Forest was to take the hermitage of Finmere into the king's hand, and make provision for the celebration of divine service there, enjoining William the monk of Bradwell to return to his monastery and remain there.[6] As a hermit's life was considered to be more strict than life in a monastery, those who had entered religion would occasionally become hermits. Thus in the time of Abbot Clement (1205–21) a canon of Oseney named Wiger retired with the consent of his superiors to a life of solitude 'at a place called Kibbeclive.'[7]

Concerning the origin of vicarages and their extent in early times, we have in Oxfordshire, in common with the other archdeaconries of the diocese of Lincoln, unusually full evidence. The *Liber Antiquus*[8] gives the vicarages that were in existence towards the end of the time of Bishop Hugh, and the rolls of institution of himself[9] and his successors give us some additional information. We are here using the word 'vicarage' as it was applied to parishes where the church was held by a monastery; for, as the rolls of institutions of Bishop Hugh reveal, there were in early days a large number of vicarages of a different kind, where the rector of a parish presented a vicar, either because he himself was not in holy orders, or because he was an official of the church and unable to reside on his cure. In these cases the vicar was more than a chaplain as he held his post for life, but on his cession or death, the vicarage and rectory might be united, or, to use the technical term,

[1] White-Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, who, however, narrates the event under the year 1106.
[2] Madox, *Formulare*, 252.
[3] Pat. 4 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 9, quoted in Napier's *Hist. of Swyncombe*, 44.
[4] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chadworth Mem. fol. 46.
[5] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 201.
[6] *Cal. of Close* (1227–31), p. 19.
[7] Cott. MS. Vitell, E. xv, fol. 186.
[8] Privately printed for the Linc. Rec. Soc. in 1888.
[9] Pub. by the Cant. and York Soc. in 1905.

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consolidated. Probably the words vicar and vicarage were first used in such cases, and there is mention of a vicar of this kind as early as 1183 in Mickleton in Gloucestershire.[1] In Oxfordshire we find several parishes with both rectors and vicars: Haseley, Albury, Launton, Tackley, Islip, Godington, Swalcliffe, Chesterton, Drayton, Swerford;[2] but when opportunity offered the rectory and vicarage were consolidated. In most of these cases the rectory was of less value than the vicarage, and at St. John's, Oxford, was worth only 2*s.* a year,[3] and the vicars were in some cases men of position; thus the rural dean of Woodstock, 'Thomas de Bertona,' a witness to several charters, proves to have been not the rector, but the vicar, of Westcot Barton.[4] Rectories of this kind were created for the benefit of clerks of good family or high official position, who by this means were enabled either to receive some of the emoluments of a church without proceeding to holy orders, or to evade the rule of the church that no one should hold more than one benefice with cure of souls; for if the cure of souls was attached to the vicarage, it was legitimate to hold more than one rectory. Among these absentee rectors we find Giraldus Cambrensis, rector of Chesterton, but with a resident vicar.[5] These irregular vicarages were gradually suppressed, and the purposes for which they were originated were in later ages secured by obtaining a papal dispensation. Thus Ralf Despencer, whose father, Almaric, held six or eight knight's fees, obtained a papal dispensation in 1234, that though he was already rector of Ewelme (and apparently also canon of Southwell), he might hold in addition the rectory of Great Rollright, because of his 'good birth, high character, and scholarship.'[6]

Perpetual vicarages in Oxfordshire, with the rectory appropriated to some monastic house, were as many as forty-six before 1235,[7] and this without reckoning Benson, Warborough and the other daughter-churches of Dorchester, which were treated as chapels rather than vicarages. And the custom of appropriations continued down to the eve of the dissolution of the monasteries. Under Bishop Grosteste vicarages were established at Cuddesdon in 1237 and Fulwell in 1238;[8] under Bishop Gravesend at Clanfield in 1267, Bix Brand in 1275,[9] Brize Norton about 1268,[10] and St. Peter's in the East in 1266.[11] In 1295 the church of Charlbury was appropriated to Eynsham;[12] Northleigh to Hailes Abbey in 1304;[13] Great Tew to Godstow in 1309;[14] Enstone to Winchcombe Abbey in 1310;[15] and Chalgrove to Thame Abbey in 1319.[16] Under Bishop Burghersh we have two appropriations—St. Mary, Oxford, appropriated to Oriel College in 1326,[17] and Ambrosden to the house of Ashridge in 1334.[18] Immediately after the Black Death we find Beckley appropriated to the nuns of Studley in 1352, Deddington to the canons of Windsor in 1353, and Merton to the monks of Eynsham in 1354;[19] while Steeple Aston was obtained by Cold Norton in 1382, North Stoke by the nuns of Bromhall about 1392, and Adderbury by

[1] *Eynsham Cartul.* 137.
[2] See the index to the *Institt. of Bp. Hugh.*
[3] *Institt. of Bp. Hugh*, ii, 16.
[4] Ibid. ii, 28.
[5] Ibid. ii, 9.
[6] *Rolls of Bp. Hugh*, ii, 46.
[7] As given in the 'Liber Antiquus.'
[8] Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll, Grosteste.
[9] Ibid. Roll, Gravesend.
[10] *Eynsham Cartul.* 245.
[11] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 133.
[12] Ibid. fols. 131 and 134.
[13] Ibid. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 145.
[14] Ibid. fol. 155.
[15] Ibid. fol. 157.
[16] Ibid. fol. 170.
[17] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 257.
[18] Ibid. fol. 270.
[19] Ibid. Gynwell, Inst. fols. 207 and 216.

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New College in 1396.[1] In 1398 St. Frideswide's was allowed to appropriate Churchill, and Eynsham the churches of South Stoke, South Newington, and Combe.[2] In 1412 the canons of Chalcombe appropriated the church of Barford,[3] but the troubles of the fifteenth century seem to have reduced most churches to such poverty that it was impossible to allow an appropriation, and the only other case is in 1506 when Stanton Harcourt with the chapel of Southleigh was appropriated to Reading Abbey.[4] But though the monasteries drew large sums from parish churches, they were not without conscience, and occasionally when a vicarage sank in value would surrender the rectory which had been appropriated to them. Thus in 1465 the abbey of Eynsham consolidated the rectory and vicarage of Combe ;[5] and Oseney Abbey did the same at Chastleton in 1459.[6] Four years earlier the canon of Salisbury who held the prebend of Shipton-under-Wychwood endowed the vicarage anew because of its poverty.[7]

It is sometimes assumed that perpetual vicarages were first instituted by Bishop Hugh Wells of Lincoln (1209–35), but several were settled by his great predecessor, St. Hugh (1186–1200). Thus in 1197 he allowed Eynsham to appropriate the church of Cassington, reserving for the vicar a portion of 5 marks ;[8] and shortly afterwards he instituted 'to the perpetual vicarage' of Souldern.[9] The language used in this case is noticeable, for in later times the incumbent of Souldern was called rector, not vicar. The explanation is that as Eynsham took an annual payment from the church of Souldern, it was undecided at first in this and other instances, whether this payment was to be considered the rector's share, in which case the incumbent would be the vicar ; and it is not easy to draw a sharp distinction between an appropriated church and a church which paid a pension, except that in the former case there was always a rectorial manse as well as a house for the vicar, and the monastic rector collected his share of the tithes and stored them at the rectory. At all events it was settled by the year 1220 that the churches which paid pensions to Eynsham were to be reckoned rectories, not vicarages.

In Oxfordshire we can illustrate—what was true of all other counties—how great was the difference in wealth and social position between the higher and the lower clergy. Whatever may have been the gulf between the wealth of bishops and the poverty of the parish clergy in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it is as nothing to what we find in the Middle Ages. From the rules of the Council of Oxford in 1222, and from the vicarages appointed by Bishop Hugh we learn that 5 marks a year was a *minimum* stipend for the parish clergy, while £5 was ample ; and so little did prices vary for the next three centuries that in the collection for the subsidy of 1526 we find that £5 a year was the average pay of a curate at that time, while a chantry was adequately endowed with £6 or £7 a year. Nor must it be thought that these were any casual emoluments to eke out the stipend ; for in estimating the value of a vicarage allowance was evidently made for all that might

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fols. 266, 388, 452. [2] Ibid. Beaumont, Mem. fols. 1 and 8.
[3] Ibid. Repingdon, Inst. fol. 395.
[4] Ibid. Smith, Mem. fol. 172. There were also some appropriations which were not entered in the registers ; e.g. Swalcliffe appropriated to New College, and Horsepath to Magdalen College.
[5] Ibid. Chadworth, Mem. fol. 63. [6] Muniments of Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chadworth, Mem. fol. 11. [8] *Eynsham Cartul.* i, 47. [9] Ibid. i, 135.

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be expected from legacies and offerings.[1] It may be estimated that a vicar received nearly the same pay as an artisan or double the pay of a labourer. When the buildings of Magdalen College were being erected in 1467 the labourers received about 20*d.* a week[2] and skilled masons 3*s.*; two and a half centuries earlier 2*d.* a day was the pension of old servants of the king;[3] and the current allowance for anchorites was 1½*d.* a day and 10*s.* a year for clothes.[4] But if it is true that the parish clergy were not in actual want, their position was very different from that of those who by high birth or abilities became prebendaries or archdeacons. In Oxfordshire we find prebends ranging from that of Banbury worth £30 a year to Thame worth £112;[5] and pluralism was so developed in the Middle Ages, that few were content with one prebend. A return[6] made in 1366 of the benefices held by some of the higher clergy of the diocese of Lincoln shows that one of the canons held prebends in four cathedrals together with two rectories, that his income from all sources was about £150, and that many others had as much. Archdeacons were even more wealthy, the archdeacon of Oxford obtaining from procurations and synodals the sum of £131,[7] his outgoings being reckoned at only £30; in addition to this he always held the rectory of Iffley and one of the prebends of Lincoln. More wealthy still was the bishop, with an income of £1,008 in 1168,[8] reckoned at £1,340 in the year 1225,[9] more than two hundred times the income of a vicar.

Of the inner life of the Church in this county during the Middle Ages, of its working and influence in town or country it is difficult to form any estimate. We know that during the century (1135–1220) when England was seething with religious excitement, a century of miracles and visions, of crusades and interdicts, Oxford felt the movement as much as any place. In 1180 after a succession of miracles, the bones of St. Frideswide were translated with the king's consent and in the presence of many bishops, and a manuscript[10] describes how from parishes throughout the county those that were sick journeyed to her tomb and recovered; one even that had obtained no benefit at the shrine of St. Thomas was healed at hers. Sixteen years later a vision[11] seen by Edmund, a monk of Eynsham, created no little stir, and is doubly interesting if, as seems probable, the monk was a native of the town of Oxford, and the instances he gives of virtue and vice rewarded in the other world were taken by him from among his neighbours and acquaintances. The work as a whole gives the impression that there was much intellectual and religious activity at Oxford at the end of the twelfth century, the period when St. Edmund and Grosteste were studying and lecturing there. It was a time when Oxford was specially prominent; in 1166 a council was gathered there to condemn a certain heresy, the king himself being present.[12]

[1] See the detailed estimate for the vicarage of Peterborough; *Instits. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 209.
[2] H. A. Wilson, *Hist. of Magdalen College*, 22.
[3] *Rot. de Liberate*, 20, 32, *et passim*. Perhaps lodging was given as well in such cases.
[4] *Cal. of Pat.* (1232–47), p. 428.
[5] *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), p. 31. In 1377 it was worth £160; see appendix to the *Peasants' Rising and the Lollards*, G. M. Trevelyan. Bogo de Clare, rector of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, had fourteen benefices, valued at £238 a year. See White Kennett, *Par. Ant.* sub anno 1279.
[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham Mem. fol. 43.
[7] Subsidy of 1526 (Lincoln MS.).
[8] *Pipe Roll*, 14 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 76.
[9] MS. at Queen's College, Oxf. A survey of the lands of the bishop of Lincoln.
[10] Digby MS. A. 177.
[11] Printed in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii.
[12] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 49.

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In 1180 he was in Oxford again when the bones of St. Frideswide were translated, though he was unable to attend the ceremony; his son Richard I was born at the palace of Beaumont, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen; the court was frequently at Woodstock, and a council was held there in 1186, attended by five bishops;[1] while in 1197 there was a gathering[2] of bishops and statesmen at Oxford to discuss the demands of Richard I. Probably the town has never seen so much of kings and bishops as during those forty years. Finally in 1222 there was a great council at Oseney Abbey under Stephen Langton.

With the year 1215 the episcopal registers commence, but unfortunately for the first seventy-five years only the rolls of institutions survive. The other, and for our purpose more valuable, records of the general business of the diocese, which certainly were at one time in existence, have been missing for the last 300 years. But incomplete as they are, the registers throw some light on the church history of the county. As the enthusiasm for monasteries subsided we find new kinds of religious foundations coming to the fore. Apart from support given to the friars, of which the episcopal registers give us no information, much money was spent in the thirteenth and following centuries on the erection and maintenance of private chapels, to be served by private chaplains. These chapels were of every variety of status, and had no uniformity or fixed type. Some were temporary, some were permanent; in a few cases there were endowments, generally none; sometimes there was no separate building but only an oratory in the house. An early private chapel was that of Roger de St. John, established by him at Great Barton about 1205–15 with the consent of Oseney Abbey, to whom the church of the parish was appropriated.[3] The same house granted the right of a private chapel to Ralf Hareng[4] (1221–8) at Thrup in the parish of Kidlington, and at a later date to Hugh de Plecy on his manor of Kidlington;[5] in the former case the privilege was temporary, lasting only for the life of the recipient, in the latter case it was permanent and was to descend to Hugh's heirs, Oseney receiving in return an annual payment of 5*s*. Matthew de Bixtrop (1221–8) obtained a similar grant from Eynsham for his chapel at Forest Hill, and the roll of Bishop Grosteste mentions the establishment of such chapels at Ewelme in 1237 and at Hide in Whitchurch in 1244. In this last case the privilege was to be permanent, and the chapel was to be endowed, but it might not possess either bell or font; the chaplain, to be nominated by the patron, was to be presented to the bishop and was called the rector of the chapel. Sometimes, in cases where the chapel was endowed, the rector or vicar of the parish was willing to take charge of it, as at Little Haseley[6] or at Standhill in the parish of Pyrton, so that though erected for the convenience of the resident lord they became parochial chapels-at-ease. Standhill chapel, which has long been destroyed, had good endowments, which still survive.[7] Sometimes the inhabitants of an outlying hamlet would build a chapel for themselves and engage a chaplain, as at Wheatley, where in 1523 the chapel was served by a friar who celebrated mass on festivals for a stipend of 40*s*. paid by

[1] Eyton, *Itin. of Hen. II*, 271.
[2] *Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), 251.
[3] Bodl. Oseney Charters, 288.
[4] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 192.
[5] Oseney Cartul. MS. No. 308.
[6] *Hundred R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 764.
[7] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 10.

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the parishioners.[1] All such chapels could only be established with the consent of the parson or the monastic house to which the church had been appropriated, and the terms that could be obtained from them varied in different cases, but it was generally stipulated that the chapel should not be used by the parishioners at large, at all events for rites and ceremonies to which a payment was attached, and that the lord and his family should use the parish church for baptisms, churchings, burials, and certain occasions on which special offerings would be made. Sometimes it was laid down that he should attend on the great festivals and make his confession there. At Kidlington[2] it was also agreed that 'if a new knight was made at the manor house, he should offer and redeem his sword, according to custom, at the parish church,' not in the private chapel. These agreements were altered from time to time, and more favourable conditions might be granted by the parson in return for some benefit to the parish church.

Few of these private chapels survive, and probably there is only one which has been in continual use from the fourteenth century—the chapel at Stonor near Henley. This was probably erected in the reign of Edward II; for it is recorded that with the consent of the bishop two of the daughters of Sir John de Stonor were married there in 1331 by the vicar of Pyrton.[3]

Besides chapels, there were oratories licensed by the bishop for one or two or five years, or sometimes for the life of the petitioner. Such licences were given, it seems, only to a lord of a manor or to priests who for some reason desired to have a private oratory. They were renewed from time to time and occur in great numbers in the episcopal registers. In one case a nobleman, Adam de Shareshulle, in 1338 obtained leave for one year to have divine service said by his chaplain in two parochial chapels, at Lyneham and Ascot respectively[4]; and six years earlier the abbey of Dorchester had a similar licence for a chapel they had erected at Huntercombe,[5] but as it was not renewed at the termination of the year we may perhaps conclude that Dorchester did not find it to be a satisfactory arrangement.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century we meet with another kind of foundation, of more expense and wider benefit, namely chantries. They were endowments of land or rent sufficient to maintain at least one priest, whose work was to say mass and the hours daily in the parish church with certain additional devotions at special seasons; in most cases a special chapel was built for his use. The main purpose of those who founded them was, according to their own assertions, the increase of the dignity of divine worship; a secondary purpose was connected with the doctrine of purgatory; a third was to supply the parish priest with an assistant; for though the chantry priest had no share in the work of the parish, he was in some cases to assist at mass according to the directions of the parish priest, and in all cases it must have been a convenience to the parishioners to have a second mass at which they could make their communions on the great festivals. The first chantry to be instituted was apparently that at Minster Lovell, founded and endowed by John Lovel in or about 1273 'in the chapel of St. Cecilia in the cemetery of the church of Minster.'[6] In 1307 a chantry

[1] MS. at Lincoln.
[2] Oseney Cartul. MS. No. 308.
[3] Linc. Epis. Reg., Burghersh, Mem. fol. 4.
[4] Ibid. fol. 2.
[5] Ibid. fol. 1.
[6] Ibid. Gravesend, Inst.

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was founded in a chapel of the church of Rousham by Walter de Ailesbury, lord of the manor, and endowed with rents to the value of five marks; and the rector of the parish considering that the said chantry would be useful to his church granted a house for the use of the chaplain.[1] Earlier than this, in fact before 1290, the chantry of St. Mary had been founded by Richard Wale in the parish church of Chipping Norton, at the altar of St. James 'which was erected in the old chapel of Norton'[2]; he endowed it with 60*s.* of rent annually, and presented William Wale. In 1307 its establishment is attributed to the late 'magister' William Wale, and the late rector of Chipping Norton had augmented its income by 20*s.* a year.[3] At Chastleton there was a chantry in the chapel of St. Mary, adjoining the parish church, founded in 1336 by John de Trillowe, lord of the manor;[4] and at Standlake a chantry at the altar of the Holy Cross, established in 1354 by Simon de Evesham, rector of Standlake.[5] The regulations of this foundation forbade the chantry priest to undertake a parochial chaplaincy for more than fifteen days in the year, or any secular office which involved the rendering of accounts; besides his duties of prayer and mass, he was to choose one of the boys of the village and teach him the scriptures and singing for a period of ten years, paying him 6*d.* a week for his maintenance; the patronage of this chantry was to belong to the rectors of Standlake. But it was at Oxford that chantries were chiefly founded, most of the leading burgesses of the fourteenth century being commemorated in that way. In 1323 Robert de Wormenhale endowed a chantry at the altar of St. Andrew in the church of St. Peter le Bailey with rents worth 70*s.* a year, and presented a missal worth 40*s.*, a chalice worth 16*s.*, 'four towels for covering the altar while service is being celebrated,' and two sets of vestments.[6] In 1336 John de Dokelinton, who had been mayor nine times, ordained a chantry in St. Aldate's church 'in the chapel which is of my own building' and endowed it with 5 marks a year.[7] Four years later a similar foundation was made by Thomas de Leigh at the altar of St. Mary in the church of St. Michael outside the south gate; the chaplain was to receive 5 marks a year and live as far as possible among 'scholars'; he was even assigned some parochial work, and with the consent of the rector of the parish might hear the confessions of those who, residing outside the city, were seized with sudden illness at night, when the gates were shut, so that the rector could not come to them.[8] But in 1357 it was found that rents had fallen so much owing to the pestilence that the original endowments no longer sufficed to maintain a chaplain, and at the request of the founder's son the chantry was granted to Oriel College. In 1350 Nicholas de Burcester, son of the William de Burcester who was mayor twelve times, left endowments for a chantry in All Saints' church, in the chapel of St. Anne, which was 'founded and built by his progenitors.'[9] Finally, a chantry in memory of John de Stodley, mayor eight times, was established by his widow in 1379 in the chapel which he had founded in All Saints' church in honour of the Holy Trinity.[10] In all these cases the patronage belonged to the heirs

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 151.
[2] Dodsworth MSS. vol. 107, fol. 146.
[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 152.
[4] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 282.
[5] Ibid. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 212.
[6] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 249.
[7] Ibid. fol. 274.
[8] Ibid. fol. 285.
[9] Ibid. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 199.
[10] Ibid. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 178.

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of the founder, and the chaplain was presented to the bishop and instituted as though to a cure of souls. But there were other chantries of which there is no mention in the bishop's lists of institutions, where the endowments were either not sufficient to maintain a priest, or were administered by wardens who engaged a chaplain temporarily to perform the work of the chantry. Of the latter kind were chantries connected with guilds, of which there were instances at Oxford and Chipping Norton; of the former kind we hear of several in early Oxford wills, and in many churches there was a chantry managed by special wardens, but unable to keep a chaplain. Where the funds would only suffice for a certain number of masses, the parish priest was generally engaged to say them. After the beginning of the fifteenth century, we hear of the foundation of only one chantry, the richest of all, which was founded at Banbury by Henry V in 1413.[1]

In the bishops' registers some interesting details of church life may be discovered, but it must be remembered that for the most part they deal with what was exceptional rather than what was normal. When we find the archdeacon commanded in 1290 and 1304 to put a stop to the veneration shown by certain people in Oxford to a well in the parish of St. Clement,[2] commonly called the well of St. Edmund, we must not think that such superstition was general, any more than that all rectors were like that of Stanton Harcourt, who would not allow the bells to be rung on anniversaries, cut down trees in the churchyard, and hindered the chaplains who were paid by the parishioners.[3] Another exceptional case was Robert Patteshulle, vicar of Pyrton in 1385, of whom the parishioners complained that he lived far away, that there was no service in church, and that they were deprived of the sacraments and their rights of divine worship. The bishop decreed that the living should be sequestrated; the vicar was to be allowed a maintenance; if what remained was not sufficient to pay a chaplain, the parishioners and the monastery to which the church was appropriated were to contribute.[4] Of church building we have some notices; in 1292 the bishop issued an instruction that while the church of Sydenham, which had fallen into ruins, was being repaired, a wooden chapel which the parishioners had built for service might be licensed, if it were found to be decent.[5] The playing of such games in churchyards as led to effusion of blood had to be prohibited,[6] and cases of assaults in church were not uncommon; in 1364 a tailor who took sanctuary in Charlbury church was assaulted and left half dead;[7] and it is curious that the possibility of such pollution of the church had been provided for when a vicarage was ordained in Charlbury in 1296; for it was then settled[8] that if it were necessary to have a dedication or reconciliation of the church the expense should not fall on the vicar, unless it had been brought about through his fault, and in the case just mentioned such a reconciliation would be necessary, blood having been shed within the building.

The Black Death of 1349 has left curiously little trace in the registers. The diocesan business was continued as usual, and it is only when the

[1] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 175.
[2] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fol. 8; Dalderby, Mem. fol. 70.
[3] Ibid. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 6.
[4] Ibid. fol. 291.
[5] Ibid. Sutton, Mem. fol. 74.
[6] Ibid. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 98.
[7] Ibid. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 25.
[8] *Eynsham Cartul.* 345.

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institutions for the year are counted and found to be 103 instead of thirteen or fourteen, that we realize what was happening. It need not, of course, be the case that 103 of the parish clergy of the county died in that year; many of the institutions may have been cases of promotion from one cure to another; but it is safe to say that the death-rate during that year was seven times what it usually was. Perhaps the only reference to the stress of the time is when the bishop says that he was 'busy as all men know' (*notorie impeditus*).

In the fifteenth century we have a few cases of the union of parishes. In 1466 Asterley was united with Kiddington,[1] and in 1453 Boulney with Harpsden.[2] In each case it was ordered that the churchyard should be maintained, though the church was pulled down. The pestilences of the last half of the fourteenth century lessened the numbers, while the progress of inclosures, as sheep-farming was found profitable, diminished the need of labourers, and villages ceased to be inhabited.

Fulwell, originally an independent parish, the church of which was given to Oseney in 1205, had so sunk by the year 1434 that its population consisted only of the family and servants of Robert Ardern, and the church was served from Mixbury, as it had been for many years.[3] Warpsgrove seems to have had no inhabitants by the year 1453,[4] but none the less rectors were presented and instituted for the next hundred years. Woodperry was another parish where the church came to an end before the Reformation. To judge from the remains that have been found, the church must have been burnt, and as early as 1452 the parish had been united with Stanton St. John,[5] but the outer walls of the church were standing as late as 1520.[6]

Though the first home of the teaching of Wycliffe was in the town of Oxford, it had very little permanent influence there or in the county. The devotion of the university to the new doctrines was very short-lived,[7] and when once it had submitted to the authority of the bishops it showed its zeal by rejecting all traces of Lollardism. Nor did the movement take root in the county; we hear of it in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, but not in Oxfordshire. When we hear that a solemn inquiry was held at Oxford in 1413 concerning heretical depravity,[8] it only means that the bishop summoned all the leaders of the university and warned them to avoid the new errors. But it seems that Lollardism had a hold in south Buckinghamshire all through the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, especially at Wycombe, Marlow, and Amersham, and occasionally it spread across the border into Oxfordshire. We hear of heretics at Chinnor and Thame in 1464, and have a full record[9] of one at Henley, named James Wyllys, aged fifty-nine, a weaver and 'lettred.' He was born and brought up at Bristol, where he learnt his heresy and bought his books from one William Smith, who was afterwards burnt in the diocese of Winchester. He had moved to London, and had there been imprisoned for heresy and had abjured. Now he was arrested at Henley in 1462 on the charge of having taught the following doctrines:

[1] Warton, *Hist. of Kiddington*, 24.
[2] 'Notes of Bolney Church and Manor' (*Oxf. Archit. Soc.*).
[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gray, Mem. fol. 174.
[4] Ibid. Chadworth, Mem. fol. 16.
[5] From a deed among the New Coll. Muniments.
[6] Parker, *Archit. Guide*, 238; also *Oxf. Archit. and Hist. Soc. Rep.* for 1873, p. 135.
[7] See the account in *Engl. in the Age of Wycliffe*, by G. M. Trevelyan.
[8] Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, Mem. fol. 136.
[9] Ibid. Chadworth, Mem. fol. 57.

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That after consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar there remains the substance of bread, and that the true body of Christ is not there; that one baptized by a priest in a river or pond in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is as well baptized as if all the solemnities of the Church had been used; that priests living in sin, such as fornication, cannot absolve; that it is vain to burn candles before images, they are but 'stokkes and stonys'; offerings should not be made to them but given to the poor; saints do not need our offerings; there is no purgatory, but after death souls go at once to heaven or hell. He said 'making fun of the matter, as it seemed' (*ut apparuit, modo protervo*) that he was sorry he had ever made offerings to images in honour of saints. He also had taught that singing of the office, organs, and bell-ringing were not necessary, but rather blameworthy (*vituperanda*). He said he was ready to maintain his opinions till death and to defend them before any judges. The bishop, seeing that he was obstinately fixed, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him; whereupon, 'touched by the grace of God and, as it seemed, with a contrite heart, he recalled his learned errors' (*sapientes errores*), declared them to be false and with tears asked for absolution. The bishop, rejoicing at his contrition, withdrew the sentence of excommunication; but he was, of course, a relapsed heretic, and as such there was but one fate for him. If there was any doubt what it was, it is set at rest by the heading of the record, 'Articuli Jacobi Wyllys *combusti*.' Some of his associates were also arrested: one John Qwyrk, a labourer, 'not lettred,' who had learned from Wyllys the Epistles of St. Paul in English, and besides the heresies of his master had maintained that an ecclesiastical judge cannot separate man and wife, for 'what God hath joined let no man put asunder'; and that the Apostles voluntarily submitted themselves to poverty, whereas bishops now had excessive possessions. He abjured these errors, and as he had not been in trouble before, escaped with a penance. Another pupil of Wyllys, who also abjured, had maintained that a man might have two wives at once, 'even as a priest holds two churches.' Another man of Henley, named John Polley, abjured, and promised that he would not receive 'doctrine books and qwayres concerning heresies,' while two years later there is a long record[1] in English of the abjurations of William Ayleward of Henley, who had taught—

> that our holy Fadre, the Pope of Rome, is a grete best, and a devyll of hell and a synagogue, and that he shall lye depper in hell ix sithes (= times) than Lucyfer; that the blessed Sacrament of the Auter is a grete devyll of hell and a sinagogue, and that he can make as good a sacrament betwene ii yrons as the prest doth upon his auter; that the blode of Hayles is but the blode of a dog or a drake; that the king and all those that maynteyne the churche shall go the devyll, and inespeciall the king, because of his grete supportacion of the churche; that ther owte no man be baptized to (= till) he cam to olde age.

Seeing pilgrims going towards Canterbury, he had said they went 'offering their souls unto the devil.' He had 'talked of the Gospellys and holy scriptures, declaring in Englisch the Gospell of Nichodemus after the lettir.' He confessed that he had been before the bishop of Salisbury, not for heresy but for using a charm to cure children of 'the chinkow' (whooping-cough). He therefore abjured his errors and escaped.

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chadworth Mem. fol. 61.

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In 1522 King Henry VIII issued a writ to all mayors, sheriffs, &c. that forasmuch as the bishop of Lincoln had within his diocese no small number of heretics, to his no little discomfort and heaviness, they were to protect him and his officers 'that they, ne none of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said heretics or thair fautors, in the executing and ministering of justice unto the said heretics, according to the laws of Holy Church.'[1] Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs* has given us some account of the dealings of the bishop with the heretics of his diocese both before and after this writ; he derived his information from a register of Bishop Longland, and fortunately has mentioned in particular the cases of heretics in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.[2] It is clear that it was not a new movement with which the bishop had to deal; it was a survival of Lollardism, and though in certain points it agreed with the Zwinglianism of the continent, there was no connexion between the two; the books found among the heretics did not come from Holland, Germany, or Switzerland, but were *Wickliffe's Wicket*, *The Shepherd's Kalendar*, and a book called *The King of Beeme* (? *Bohemia*). One of the chief offenders, the head of the family of Collins of Burford, said that 'he had been of this doctrine since the year of our Lord 1480.' The chief centre of the Lollards in Buckinghamshire seems to have been at Wycombe and Amersham, as it was sixty years before; but in Oxfordshire they were strong at Burford, where they had a secret conventicle at the house of John Burgess; we also hear of several of the sect at Asthall, Witney, Stanlake, and Henley, with isolated cases at Wheatley, Checkendon, South Stoke, and Clanfield. They were not for the most part of the peasant class, but artisans; several of them were weavers, one was the bailiff of Witney, another a schoolmaster, and many of them were of sufficient position to have their own servants. One of the charges against Robert Collins of Burford was that he bought an English Bible for 20*s*., a large sum in those days, and of many we are told that they were able to read. Whether the inquiry was limited to the south of the county we have no means of saying, but all the localities mentioned were in the valley of the Thames, and perhaps Lollardism followed the trade route from London to Bristol. The doings and words that were 'detected' were of a curiously mixed kind; there was a certain element of Millenarianism or fanaticism in the movement, and one John Hackar 'who could tell of diverse prophecies which should happen in the realm'[3] was accused of speaking of 'a battle that should be, when all priests should be slain, and then should be a merry world.' With such men the Apocalypse was a favourite book, and at the house of Mr. Burgess of Burford they 'communed concerning the opening of the book with the seven clasps,' while Sir John Drury, vicar of Windrush, was accused of teaching his servant 'the A, B, C, to the intent he should have understanding in the Apocalypse.' In other cases Lollardism was merely the carping of sour and censorious natures; the grumbling at holy days, at tithes, at bell-ringing, did not spring from any conscientious principles, and would never have been satisfied, whatever had been the reforms in the Church. But it must in fairness be said that these two classes cover only a small portion of the cases enumerated, and that Lollardism was not merely fanatical or critical, but had also a positive side. Their favourite parts of the Bible were the Gospels and

[1] Foxe, *Martyrs*, ii, 39. [2] Ibid. 28–42 and 194–6. [3] Ibid. p. 194.

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the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, epistles which enforce practical righteousness. Alice Collins of Burford was accused of reciting by heart the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter in English, and her daughter Joan had committed the crime of learning the Ten Commandments in English, beginning 'I am thy Lord God, which led thee out of the land of Egypt and brought thee out of the house of thraldom: thou shalt have no alien gods before me.' There was some kind of discipline among the Lollards and examination by themselves into the uprightness of the lives of the members, and Thomas Rowland was accused of saying to his master, 'If I lie, curse, storm, swear, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat.'

Pilgrimages and Transubstantiation were the two points which they specially spoke against. The true pilgrimage was, they said, 'barefoot to go and visit the poor, weak, and sick.' Perhaps for this reason part of the penance imposed on them by the bishop was to go on pilgrimage every year to Lincoln. The doctrine of the Material Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar was too often denied in a blasphemous and offensive way, as when one said that he had been threshing out God Almighty in the barn; but it was not so in all cases. The words of one of them were 'that the Sacrament of the Altar is an holy thing, yet is it not the same body of the Lord which suffered for us on the Cross.' On the whole we cannot resist the verdict that the Church was culpable in dealing so severely with these people whose lives were morally upright, while those who were orthodox but immoral were let go with a reprimand. If it were contrary to the ancient laws of the Church to read the Sermon on the Mount in English, churchmen ought to have perceived that the time had come when the laws of the Church should be relaxed.

Among the Lollards there is only one person mentioned of gentle blood, Mistress Cottesmore *alias* Doiley. Her first husband was Sir William Cottesmore of Baldwin Brightwell, Oxfordshire; her second, Thomas Doiley of Hambledon, Buckinghamshire.[1] Witnesses against her were brought before Dr. London at the parsonage of Stanton Harcourt, and accused her of having a book which spoke against pilgrimages;[2] of saying that John Hacker of Coleman Street, London, 'water bearer,'[3] was very expert in the Gospels and could explain 'the Pater Noster as well as any priest, and that it would do one good to hear him'; of refusing to let her servant go on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham, in fulfilment of a vow made by her husband Sir William Cottesmore in his last illness. It was also deposed that one day on a visit to Sir William Barrantine of Hazeley Court, about four miles from Brightwell, seeing some images, she said to her servant, 'Look here be my lady Barrantine's gods.' In the index to his book Foxe describes her as 'martyr,' but there is no evidence what befell her. It may be assumed that if she had been put to death the fact would have been recorded. The penance imposed on those of Burford and that neighbourhood was that on a market day they should stand on the highest 'greece' (i.e. step) of the cross of Burford for a quarter of an hour with a faggot on their shoulders, and on a Sunday go in front of the procession before high mass, bearing a faggot, and so to kneel on the step of the altar throughout the service; they

[1] *Memorials of the Danvers Family*, 518.
[2] Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*, ii, 194.
[3] So in Foxe; probably the original was *aquebajulus*, which perhaps answers to the modern parish-clerk.

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were to be branded on the cheek, and some of them were sent to monasteries, condemned to 'perpetual penance' there—a sentence which no doubt would shortly be remitted, if they behaved well.[1] It seems that in all cases the heretics abjured their errors, but if they returned to them, the punishment would be death by burning at the stake.

Again in 1526 there was a search for heretics in Oxford itself, but at this time not so much for Lollards as for those who were followers of the foreign reformers. One Garret brought copies of Tyndale's New Testament from London to Oxford, where he sold them secretly with other such books. The graphic and affecting story of his arrest and of the examination of Dalaber, his friend, by Dr. London, 'the rankest Papistical Pharisee' as Dalaber puts it, may be read in Foxe's *Martyrs*.[2] For this reason, and for the fact that those accused were not Oxfordshire men, and that their movement had no influence on the county, nothing more need be said here.

A return[3] made for the subsidy of 1526 throws not a little light on the numbers and status of the clergy in the archdeaconry at that time. Unlike the Valor of 1535, it gives the names of the curates (*curati*), chaplains and stipendiaries, and the amount of their stipends. It appears that there were 6 prebendaries, and 170 rectors and vicars, beneficed in the county; beneath them were 139 *curati*, or, as we should say, curates in charge; there were also 38 who are described as chaplains or stipendiaries, and answer to our curates or assistant priests; most of them were engaged to assist the parish priests, but in six or seven cases they seem to have been engaged by the wardens of chantries; 10 more are definitely described as chantry priests; 14 more have no designation to show what their position was; and lastly there were 13 retired incumbents in receipt of pensions. This gives the large total of 390 clergy who were in receipt of stipends from spiritual property and liable to be taxed for the subsidy. If a similar return were made now, the number of clergy would be a hundred less, although the population of the county must be twice what it was in 1526.

In addition to these parochial clergy, there were the private chaplains of nobles, and priests either engaged in teaching or earning a precarious livelihood by the saying of masses for the dead; there were also the fellows of colleges at Oxford, for they are not included in the return for the subsidy of 1526. Reckoning must also be made of the regulars, whether friars, monks, or canons. Of the number of the friars it is difficult to form an estimate; but the numbers in the monasteries can be made out. The nine Oxfordshire houses for men which remained after St. Frideswide's and Cold Norton had come to an end contained about 100 members. From the returns made in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, or in 1534 at the recognition of the royal supremacy, we learn that Oseney contained 20 members, Eynsham 16, Thame 13, Bruern 12, Wroxton 10, Bicester 8, Dorchester 7, Clattercote 4, and Rewley probably 15: total 105. This estimate makes no reckoning of novices, who were about 25 in number. The inmates of the nunneries were about 30: Godstow 16 or 17, Studley 8 or 9, Goring 6 or 7.

Of the 176 incumbents of parishes it is certain that a large number were absentees; in some cases this is stated in the return for 1526, in other

[1] Foxe, op. cit. ii, 40.
[2] Ibid. ii, 440.
[3] MS. at Lincoln. There is also at Lincoln a similar return for Oxfordshire for the subsidy of 1523.

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cases it may be assumed. Thus the rectors of Easington and Albury are described as *scholares*, or undergraduates at Oxford. They had curates in the charge of their parishes, who were practically the incumbents, paying to the absentee rectors a portion of the income. And when we meet with curates at such small places as Stoke Talmage (population ninety-seven) or Shipton-on-Cherwell (population seventy-one), and in nearly one hundred other small country parishes, we know that it cannot have been the amount of work or the ill-health of the incumbent, but his absence, that made their presence necessary. If *curatus* is rightly explained as meaning 'curate in charge,' it is clear that two-thirds of the incumbents were absentees. The duties of the cure were no doubt adequately performed by a substitute, who received a stipend of £5 to £7; but the evil of pluralism and absenteeism, against which the authorities of the Church had been faintly struggling for three centuries, seems to have been at its worst shortly before the Reformation, and in the darkest days of the subsequent centuries never reached such a pitch.

When the lot of country curates was so low, it is not surprising to find that the parish clergy taken from them had in many cases a low standard. The vicar of Thame was busy in 1536 with the issue of counterfeit coin, his accomplice having interviews with him in the church while he was at mattins.[1] In 1534 an incumbent beneficed in Suffolk, by name John Billingford, had the idea to leave his parish and ride round to the smaller monasteries of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, pretending to be a chaplain of the queen, demanding and obtaining money from simple-minded priors. Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, when he heard about it, arrested him.[2] If, as was often the case, the post-Reformation parochial clergy were ignorant and unsatisfactory, it can hardly be denied that some were so before.

There is another record at Lincoln which makes it difficult to take a rosy view of the eve of the Reformation. It is an episcopal visitation in 1517, and deals with every parish in the county, giving the presentments made by the churchwardens. As a specimen, the beginning of the Aston rural deanery may be taken :—

> WHEATFIELD: the rectory is ruinous (*ruinosa*);[3] the rector does not say service at the proper hours. EMMINGTON: the chancel is out of repair above the altar, and also the floor, through the fault of the rector; the walls of the churchyard have fallen to the ground through the negligence of the rector; the rector is non-resident; the roof of the nave is ruinous. Also the cure is neglected; for the parishioners have not had divine service since Easter. BRIGHTWELL BALDWIN: the chancel is ruinous; the glass windows of the chancel have not been made; the rectory is ruinous. IBSTONE: the walls of the rectory are ruinous; the seats of the church are broken; the rector is non-resident; he is too old and infirm. ADWELL: the abbot of Reading withholds 2*s.*, with which he used to find two lamps in the church; John Chacobbe, churchwarden, has produced no accounts for seven years; the chancel is ruinous; John Ewstace does not come to his parish church, nor does he pay *stipendium*; the seats in the church are broken. STOKENCHURCH: Juliana Everton owes the church 16*d.*; the church house is ruinous; William Rutt and John Penny have given no account of the 10*s.* they received when they were churchwardens; Richard Sore owes the church 5*s.*; John Shoer owes the church 12*d.*; Robert Hore owes the church a quarter of malt, the legacy of John Croxford. CROWELL: the walls of the chancel are ruinous; Agnes Bride owes the church 7*s.* CHINNOR: the rector is non-resident; the rectory (i.e. the rectorial tithe) is leased to a layman; there are no

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 489. [2] Ibid. vii, 360.
[3] The word is stronger than 'eget reparatione,' used at Shirburn and Cuxham.

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distributions.[1] SOUTH WESTON: the oil and chrism are not kept under lock and key; Thomas Reynold owes the church 3*s.* 4*d.* SHIRBURN: the roof of the chancel needs repair; the seats in the chancel are broken; there are no distributions; the glass windows of the chancel are ruinous. WATLINGTON: the rectory is ruinous; the vicar is non-resident. Letice Dorham is a witch. CUXHAM: the chancel is out of repair. Richard Falle withholds two lamps which should burn in church during divine service. STOKE TALMAGE: the chancel needs repair; the glass windows are broken; the seats are broken; there is no door to the chancel to close it; the stone walls of the church are ruinous. The rector is non-resident; he lives at Haseley. BRITWELL SALOME: the chancel is ruinous; the rector does not sleep within the parish, but at the house of the lady Cotismore;[2] for what cause is unknown. CHALGROVE: there are no distributions; the chancel is out of repair in roof, walls, and floor; the churchyard is not sufficiently fenced.

When this is compared with presentments of the eighteenth century the difference is striking. Of course it must be remembered that in the sixteenth century, when manorial courts still survived, the art of complaining was highly developed; in later centuries the faculty remained, but not the art: men could grumble but could not make presentments. Further, in all that the churchwardens of 1517 mention in their presentments there is nothing very scandalous; the parishioners seem to have kept their part of the church in repair for the most part, and if incumbents did not make good the dilapidations of their rectories it has been so in all ages; but the general neglect of the chancels, though as nothing in comparison with what was found fifty years later, is certainly astonishing, and bespeaks little religious zeal on the part of rectors, whether they were private persons or monastic corporations. In all times it would be possible to find some churches that were out of repair, but it will be noticed that this return goes through all the churches in order, and all are defective. And if the parishioners repaired the nave, whether from love of their church or the threats of the archdeacon, they would not proceed to help the rector in making the chancel decent. It seems that the same selfishness and callousness which was noticeable in political and social matters during the Tudor days was also shown in ecclesiastical matters, and that it was not a noble age either in state or church.

On the vexed question whether there was anything in the state of the monasteries to justify their dissolution, we have in Oxfordshire, in common with the other counties of the diocese of Lincoln, less meagre evidence than in many parts of England, for besides the bishop's registers, we have visitations made in 1445, 1520, and 1530.[3] The impression derived from these sources is that there was something unsatisfactory, especially in the religious houses for men. For a century and a half it had been discussed whether the endowments of monasteries should be taken away, and a precedent had long been set of transferring them to other branches of church work. In Oxfordshire we find a devout churchman such as Henry VI granting the alien priories of Minster Lovell and Cogges to endow his college at Eton; in 1496, when the priory of Cold Norton became extinct for want of members, and the bishop of Lincoln had acquired it by purchase, he made no effort to restore it, but transferred it to his foundation of Brasenose. In 1524 there is the suppression

[1] When an incumbent had leave to be non-resident a condition was made that he should send a portion of his stipend to be distributed to the poor in the parish. The same condition was sometimes made when an appropriation was granted to a religious house.

[2] At Brightwell Baldwin.

[3] MS. at Lincoln.

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of St. Frideswide's, Littlemore, and other monasteries for the foundation of Christ Church ; and if Wolsey, because of his subsequent attitude about the divorce, is accused by some of enmity to the Church, the same cannot be said of Foxe, bishop of Winchester, founder of Corpus Christi College, who deliberately refrained from establishing a monastic institution at Oxford. Though he was a benefactor to the abbeys of Glastonbury and Netley, his chief benefaction was a college for secular, not regular clergy. 'What, my lord,' said his friend, Bishop Oldham of Exeter, co-founder of the College, 'shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of "bussing"[1] monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see?' And a few years later Foxe, in writing to Wolsey, complains how depraved and licentious the clergy were, and particularly (what he had not at first suspected) the monks.[2] Just as striking is the language of Bishop Longland in 1525, about the monastery of Thame ;[3] when the abbot of Waverley had made an unsatisfactory visitation and punished none of the faults of which there had been complaint, the bishop wrote that unless a reformation took place, he, as patron and founder of the monastery, would seize its possessions and apply them to a use more acceptable to God.

It is not difficult to indicate what was amiss with monasteries in the sixteenth century. It was not debt, which on the whole was much less than two centuries earlier. And if monks in the sixteenth century were ignorant, it must be remembered that it was the recognized career for those who lacked ability ; clever scholars became jurists and rose to be prebendaries and bishops. And it must be confessed that noble efforts were made to advance the education of the religious. Within a century before the dissolution of the monasteries, St. Mary's College at Oxford had been founded for the benefit of Augustinian canons, and Bernard College for Cistercians. That there was not a little vice among the religious houses is certain, if the Oxfordshire houses are a fair sample ; and to those who form their ideas of monasticism from what it was in the days of Bede or from our own times, the cases are astonishingly frequent ; but visitations of the colleges of Oxford, and of colleges of seculars like Southwell, show that monks, if not better, were no worse than the secular clergy, and probably less bad than the laity. But the main failing was that in monasteries there was such a large proportion of monks who cared little for monasticism and disliked the rule. In the records of visitations the bishops or other visitors remind us of patient schoolmasters dealing with schoolboys bent on evading the school regulations. At Dorchester in 1530 sometimes no more than two of the canons would rise to mattins, and in most monasteries we hear of some who would not be present more than once or twice in a month. The rule of silence was offensive to many and was observed by few, while fasting and the rule of seclusion within the cloister did not fare much better. In short, that which was distinctive of the monastic life, for the sake of which men of other ages entered monasteries, the very

[1] = amatory. It is, however, right to mention that this story rests on the sole authority of John Hooker *alias* Vowell, the reviser of Holinshed. Dr. Fowler, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, speaks of it as 'the common story,' and uses the cautious words, 'if the story be accurately reported.' In support of its authenticity, however, may be cited Oldham's known antagonism to the monks, embittered by his long litigation with the abbey of Tavistock.

[2] *Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll.* 19, 21 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longland Memo. fol. 34.

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things which were considered the chief advantages of the place, were now regarded as a drawback; and it seems as if half the monks would have liked their monasteries better if there had been no monastic rule. If there were men of religious earnestness in England the monasteries no longer attracted them, or at all events attracted many others of quite a different character. When the dissolution came, it was said by Cromwell's agents that in many places the monks were glad to escape; this statement is generally discredited, but there may be some truth in it. When St. Frideswide's was visited in 1520 complaint was made that the prior was hoarding for himself the money of the monastery, because he had hopes of withdrawing; both statements seem to have been untrue, but they show what was in men's minds.

Certain new practices that arose in the Oxfordshire monasteries towards the end of the fifteenth century are instructive. When the lists of institutions are studied it is found that about that time religious houses granted to laymen the next presentations to livings in their gift. Thus in 1502 the vicar of Watlington was presented by Sir Reginald Bray, to whom Oseney had granted the next presentation; and when the next vicar was appointed in 1538, we are informed that the abbey had granted the next presentation to William Symcok, brewer, of Oxford; he to Silvester Todde, goldsmith, of London; he to Charles, duke of Suffolk.[1] For Eynsham we have similar evidence. As the laymen were men with no claims on the monasteries, as far as can be seen, it is natural to surmise that it was a monetary bargain. A similar indifference to the duties of patronage is shown by the Knights Hospitallers in 1520, when in granting a lease of all their lands in Oxfordshire, they mention that the tenant is bound to perform all necessary repairs, 'and find a priest to say mass daily in Sandford Chapel and priests to say mass in Temple Cowley and Sibford Gower three times a week.'[2] There is no stipulation what kind of man is to be secured, or that he is to be adequately paid. It would be hard to find grosser callousness in lay patrons of any age. Another new feature, whatever it may betoken, was the custom of turning abbots and priors into bishops; Miles, abbot of Eynsham, was also bishop of Llandaff (1500-16), Roger Smith, abbot of Dorchester, was suffragan bishop of Lydda (1513–18), and Robert King, abbot of Thame, was suffragan bishop of Rheon. Whether this is a proof of the unusual ability of these abbots, or an indication that the governing of a monastery was not considered work of sufficient importance for a clever man, it cannot have been conducive to the maintenance of strict discipline. We may notice also during this period a difficulty in finding men fit to be at the head of a monastery. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the rule was that the head of the monastery was chosen by the members of the house, and generally, almost universally, they could find a fit person from among themselves. But in the sixteenth century it appears as if the monasteries often had no one with what is called the 'gift of leadership,' able to be the head of a house. The last two priors of Bicester had never been of that priory, and at each vacancy the canons, as if distrusting themselves, left the appointment to the bishop. Of the last three abbots of Eynsham two, if not all three, came from without, and the last was not

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Russell Inst. fol. 114. Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), iii, 83, 92.
[2] Anc. D. (P.R.O.), A. 3184.

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chosen by the monks, but by the bishop. When the post of abbot was vacant at Dorchester in 1533, the choice was left to Henry Morgan, 'legum doctor.' Even in the case of Cistercian houses such as Thame, we find the bishop using his influence with the abbot of Citeaux about the appointment of an abbot, and asserting that among the monks of Thame there was no one fit to succeed. With nunneries there was not the same difficulty; and we can understand that, as they did not depend for their numbers so much on the power of attracting volunteers as on offering a quiet home for widows and unmarried women, the spirit of the age would have less effect on them. But it is not unfair to say that in too many cases houses for men in the sixteenth century were places where the dull, unambitious, or even slothful might live a life of no luxury, but of no hardship, giving in return for their maintenance a grudging obedience to the rules of their order. There were bright exceptions like Winchcombe Abbey, but we hear of no house in Oxfordshire which showed a similar zeal for learning.

Of the way in which the dissolution of the monasteries was carried out many hard things have been said of late years. It was certainly not done with sympathy; but in fairness it must be remarked that the pensions granted were liberal. The heads of small houses like Bicester, Bruern, or Rewley received £22 or £24 a year,[1] and the monks or canons about £5, sums which represented the full pay they would have been earning had they been secular instead of regular clergy. The chief agent in the suppression of the Oxfordshire houses was Dr. John London, a typical specimen of the much-beneficed ecclesiastic of the Middle Ages. He held canonries at Lincoln, York, Salisbury, and Windsor, the deanery of the collegiate church of Wallingford, the wardenship of New College, and the rectories of Stanton St. John and Adderbury. He was a man 'of no particular animosity against the monks,'[2] ready to serve his employers whether by confiscating images or enforcing the Six Articles, intent only on his own advancement. From the fact that he was an enemy of Cranmer, and from the advice he is known to have given to his nephew,[3] his opinions, as far as he had any, seem to have been on the Papal side; but it is clear that in his case, and in most cases, religious opinions had very little to do with the suppression of the monasteries. Even those who were afterwards of the Papal party were not unwilling to enrich themselves by the acquisition of monastic lands; Sir Leonard Chamberlain of Shirburn, afterwards a strong supporter of Queen Mary,[4] whose descendants were recusants under Elizabeth, bought and sold monastic property on a large scale,[5] while Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, was another instance. Dr. London had special knowledge of the religious houses of the diocese, as he was archdeacon's official as early as 1518,[6] and we find him helping at the episcopal visitation of Oseney in 1520.[7] As he was imprisoned for perjury and came to a bad end, he has served to point a moral for historians of all parties, and has been found useful to bring discredit whether on the persecution of Protestants in 1526, or the suppression of monasteries, or the enforcement of the Six Articles.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, p. 576. To complain that abbots received 'no more than £100 a year' (J. M. Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.*) is unreasonable.
[2] Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* i, 458. [3] Ibid. i, 460.
[4] Lees, *Hist. of Thame.* [5] MS. at Shirburn Castle. [6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 96.
[7] The record (MS. Lincoln) ends 'presente Johanne London, legum doctore, et me, Edwardo Watson.'

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The suppression of the Oxfordshire monasteries seems to have been effected without resistance or protest. As the three houses of St. Frideswide's, Littlemore and Cold Norton existed no longer, omitting the friaries and hospitals, there remained twelve, of which eight had incomes under £200 —Rewley, Bruern, Dorchester, Clattercote, Wroxton, Bicester, Goring, and Studley, the total of their incomes being £902 3*s.* 2½*d.*; the four larger houses were Thame, Oseney, Eynsham, and Godstow.

The report of John Tregonwell to Cromwell, who employed him as visitor of the Oxfordshire houses in 1535, shows that their state was not unsatisfactory,[1] as appears under the separate accounts of Godstow, Eynsham, Bruern, Wroxton, and Bicester.

At Oseney the visitor had commanded that none of the canons should go outside the precincts of the monastery. In like manner orders had been given at Godstow that a back entrance should be closed, evidently to prevent the nuns from going abroad.[2] This strict enforcement of the monastic rule, in a way that had not been observed for at least two centuries, made the life of monks so burdensome that many were glad to surrender their houses, and recover their freedom together with a pension. In the course of 1536 most of the small houses were surrendered to the king, Bruern in October,[3] and some of them earlier. By June 1538, the heads of six out of the eight smaller houses were in receipt of pensions,[4] Clattercote and Studley not being among them. The former house was surrendered shortly after by Robert, bishop of Llandaff, 'commendatory master of the order of Sempringham.'[5] The case of Studley is exceptional. In June, 1536, we find the king making a grant of Corsley in Wiltshire 'parcel of the late priory of Studley, Oxon, dissolved by Parliament'; [6] but it seems that it must have been refounded, for the house was surrendered to the king on 19 November, 1539, and all the possessions of the house, with the exception of Corsley, were sold in February, 1540.[7]

When the turn of the larger monasteries came there was no difficulty. Eynsham was under the rule of Anthony Dunstan *alias* Kitchin, who was afterwards made bishop of Llandaff in 1545, and held that post through all the changes of religion until 1565. He was a learned and upright man, but evidently one able to comply with the powers of the day. Oseney and Thame were both under Robert King, who had been suffragan of the bishop of Lincoln since 1528 with the title 'Rheonensis.' Like most Englishmen of the time he was in favour of nothing more than a mild reformation. Preaching at Stamford on 19 September, 1535, he is reported to have 'accused of hideous sin those who explained the New Testament in taverns (i.e. Cromwell's hired preachers); to have inveighed against those who try to overturn the order which had lasted for 1500 years, and pull down the images of saints, and who deny the Virgin and saints are mediators.'[8] But he was ready to punish one of his monks who, preaching at St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, 'without leave of the curate or of his abbot,' asserted that there was a purgatory.[9] He was a good administrator, and had been appointed for this reason to the abbey of Thame, through the influence of the bishop

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 457.
[2] Ibid. xi, 570.
[3] Ibid. 641.
[4] Ibid. xiii, pt. i, p. 576.
[5] Ibid. pt. ii, 153.
[6] Ibid. x, 1256(6).
[7] Ibid. xv, 282(109).
[8] Ibid. ix, 611.
[9] Ibid. xiii, pt. i, 391.

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of Lincoln.[1] When the abbey of Oseney was vacant by the death of John Burton on 22 November, 1537, the prior wrote to Cromwell, asking him to procure from the king that the new abbot might be one of the brethren.[2] As we have already seen, the heads of monastic houses, though nominally elected by the brethren, had for some time been chosen by authorities from outside. In this case Cromwell nominated Robert King; and on 22 December, Dr. London wrote to Cromwell that the canons of Oseney had elected 'the abbot of Thame according to your instructions'; [3] two months later he writes again thanking him for his goodness to 'your' abbot of Oseney, 'by whose preferment you have done a great benefit to that ruinous house.' [4] Naturally, under these circumstances, there was no difficulty about the surrender of Oseney and Thame. In the same manner the abbess of Godstow was a nominee of Cromwell. On 26 February, 1535, leave was given to the convent to elect an abbess, on the resignation of Margaret Tewkesbury, on account of old age.[5] Katherine Bulkeley *alias* Bewmarys was elected,[6] evidently through the influence of Cromwell. In her letters to him she says 'Of your mere goodness you have of nothing brought me to all I have,' [7] and that the opposition of Dr. London had been overcome by Cromwell's aid: [8] she grants him the post of steward of the monastery, worth 40*s*. a year; [9] she doubles his pension of £2 a year granted by her predecessor, and offers to settle it on himself and his son Gregory for their lives; [10] she thanks him for his help against the encroachments of the citizens of Oxford,[11] and for relieving her from the indignity of surrendering her house to her 'ancient enemy,' Dr. London. But she adds that she was ready to surrender whenever the king or Cromwell wished; that she and her nuns 'had no regard for Pope, purgatory, or praying to dead saints,' and did not value highly the monastic life.[12] This was written in December, 1538; the house was surrendered the following November, and Oseney at the same time; [13] Eynsham had been surrendered 4 December, 1538.[14] It is noticeable that at Eynsham the number of inmates, which was sixteen in 1534, had dropped to ten; at Oseney from twenty to seventeen; [15] and Godstow from twenty in 1535 [16] to seventeen. Large pensions were given to the abbess of Godstow and the abbot of Eynsham, £50 to the former, £133 to the latter. The abbot of Oseney was reserved for a higher post. In 1539 we hear of a scheme for a bishopric of 'Oseney and Thame' with a cathedral at Oseney; [17] and in 1542 it was carried into effect, but the title was 'bishop of Oxford,' [18] though his cathedral was at Oseney; Robert King was appointed bishop, and was assigned Gloucester College for his palace. The chapter consisted of John London as dean, and six prebendaries nominated by the king; for their residences the king gave them all the buildings of Oseney Abbey.

[1] See the article on the 'Religious Houses.'
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. ii, 1120.
[3] Ibid. 1246.
[4] Ibid. xiii, pt. i, 341.
[5] Ibid. viii, 291 (59).
[6] Ibid. 632 (25).
[7] Ibid. xiii, pt. i, 441.
[8] *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camd. Soc.).
[9] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 441.
[10] Ibid. xi, 570.
[11] Ibid. xiii, pt. i, 1262.
[12] Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and Engl. Mon.* ii, 232. In spite of all evidence some modern historians have turned this abbess into a heroine.
[13] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, pt. ii, 538.
[14] Ibid. xiii, pt. ii, 988.
[15] Ibid. vii, 769, 1121.
[16] *Valor Eccl.* ii, 191.
[17] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, pt. ii, 429.
[18] Rymer, *Fœd.* xiv, 755.

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By the dissolution of the monasteries those tithes which had come into the hands of religious houses by appropriations were finally lost to the Church. A minute survey,[1] made about 1460, shows what a large proportion it was. It records that omitting the property of the Hospitallers and of the poor nunneries, such as Littlemore and Studley, the total value of church property within the county, whether land or tithes, that was liable to pay to a royal subsidy, amounted to £3,580 a year. Of this amount £1,930 belonged to religious houses, £1,130 being derived from temporal possessions and £800 from tithes in various Oxfordshire parishes; while £1,650 represented the stipends of prebendaries, rectors, and vicars. The reckoning, however, is not quite accurate, as six or seven churches which had been appropriated to monasteries in the fifteenth century are enumerated as if they were unappropriated; and it would be safe to say that by the year 1535 the religious houses held as much as £900 of the tithe of this county, leaving about £1,200 for rectors and vicars, while the income of prebendaries, amounting to £370, was derived partly from tithe and partly from land. If it is remembered that several of the prebends were ultimately seized by the crown, it will be seen that about two-fifths of the tithes of the county were lost by the suppression of the monasteries.

Local charities, also, were robbed at the same time. Many of the monasteries were practically trustees of charities, being bound to distribute so much to the poor in bread or money on certain days. In the Valor of 1535 these various 'distributiones' are enumerated, amounting for the whole county to almost £100 a year. When the monastic lands were dispersed, this charge on the monastic lands ought to have been maintained, like the other fixed charges, but it has not been possible to find a case where this was done, and there can be no doubt that the charities were seized with the monasteries.[2] It has been said that the rise of pauperism was the result of this robbery. This indeed is absurd; for by the suppressions of the hospitals of St. Bartholomew and St. John at Oxford in previous centuries the poor had been deprived of more than they were by the suppression of the monasteries, yet pauperism had not resulted from that diversion of endowments. But whatever may have been the results, our indignation at the robbery of the poor is not lessened.

To all this confiscation no opposition was offered in Oxfordshire, and the changes in religion seem to have been accepted with greater calmness than might be expected. Here and there we find traces of discontent. In 1534 it is reported to Cromwell that one at Henley had declared that he was for the Princess Mary against any issue of Anne Boleyn,[3] and several truthful but coarse remarks were made about the queen. But when she fell there was sympathy for her, and we hear of murmuring against the king at Eynsham because of her execution.[4] In 1537 Sir Richard Crowley, priest of Broughton, was accused of preaching 'the authority of the bishop of Rome by the name of Pope,' and of asserting that Sir Thomas More died for the true faith; but when examined by Sir William Fermour of Somerton, he

[1] From a roll preserved in the Registry at Lincoln, at present placed with Lexington's rolls.

[2] Balliol College supplies a case in point. In return for land which it sold to Canterbury College, Oxford, it received a fixed payment from the manor of Newington, Oxon, which belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury. At the dissolution the crown seized the manor and Balliol lost the rent-charge.

[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 497. [4] Ibid. x, 1205.

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denied the words.[1] In July, 1537, it was reported of a certain Robert Johns of Thame that he had said that he 'feared the king would have the crosses and jewels of their church,' and that it would be better that they themselves should sell their jewels; and when the conversation turned on the recent rebellion in the north, he said: 'Let us speak no more of this matter, for men may be blamed for speaking the truth.'[2] The people also of Thame observed the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr in spite of the commands of the king. As we have proof that there was discontent in the county, especially in the country districts, in the year 1547, it is safe to assume that ten years earlier many did not approve of the action of the king; but the county made no move at the time of the Northern Rebellion. In fact, all through the reign of Henry VIII there was curiously little opposition; if a man deviated into courage, it was only for a moment, and straightway he was anxious to recall what he had done or said, whereas a few years later the same men showed a very different constancy, as martyrs under Mary or Elizabeth.

But among the few who resisted the king concerning the rejection of the papal supremacy, and refused to take the oath of the royal supremacy, was a leading Oxfordshire nobleman, Sir Adrian Fortescue of Stonor, Shirburn, and Brightwell. As his first wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Stonor, and his second Anne, daughter of Sir William Rede of Boarstall, he was connected by marriage with two of the most prominent of the county families; he was also a cousin of Anne Boleyn. He seems to have made no objection to the divorce proceedings; and, in fact, so many discreditable divorces had been allowed by the authorities of the Church for many years past, that it is easy to understand that even a good man might not be shocked by the doings of the king; but on the rejection of the papal supremacy he took a different line. By having himself enrolled among the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who were known to be strongly on the papal side, and were accused of stirring up enemies against the king of England, he became a marked man; he was imprisoned in 1536 and 1537, then released for a while; finally arrested again, and after a Bill of attainder for sedition had been passed in April, 1539, he was beheaded on Tower Hill on 10 July.[3] Probably it is not fanciful to trace the result of his example in the line taken by his relatives the Stonors twenty years later. At the time they showed no inclination to follow him, and among Cromwell's correspondents Sir Walter Stonor was as anxious as any to oblige him, and to report to him the least trace of treason. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, not only did the family become recusant, but induced other county families that were related to them (e.g. the Symeons and the Chamberlains) to take the same step. It is possible, therefore, that it was Sir Adrian Fortescue who originally was the cause of the strength of the Roman Catholics in Oxfordshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The final establishment of the bishopric of Oxford dates from 4 November, 1546. The arrangements made in 1542 came to an end on 20 May, 1545, when the dean and chapter surrendered their property into the king's

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. ii, 518.
[2] Ibid. 357.
[3] See Lord Clermont, *Hist. of the Family of Fortescue*; also Dom. B. Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, vol. i.

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hands; on the same day the dean and chapter of the King's College of Christ Church, under which title Cardinal Wolsey's College had been refounded in 1532, also surrendered their house to the king. After a delay of nearly eighteen months the college and cathedral, now united, were founded again. The bishop ceased to hold Gloucester College as a residence, and built for himself the house in St. Aldate's Street, now known as Bishop King's house. The new chapter was to consist of a dean and eight canons; the dean was Dr. Cox, who had been dean at Oseney since 1 January, 1544, after the death of Dr. London;[1] and of the eight canons that were nominated, four had been of the chapter of Oseney Cathedral.[2]

After the suppression of the monasteries there remained a scant gleaning from the endowments of chantries, guilds, obits, and lamps. The commissioners for Oxfordshire—Sir John Williams, John Doyly, and Edward Chamberlain—who were appointed 6 February, 1547, reported[3] that there were endowments for obits and lamps in eighty parishes, with an annual income of about £45 from rents and 'the profits of cattle.'[4] There were also twenty-three chantries, guilds, or fraternities in seventeen different parishes. In Oxford there was 'the taylors' stipendiary' at St. Martin's, worth 62*s.* a year; at St. Mary Magdalen's a stipendiary with an income of 47*s.*, and 'our Lady chantry,' value nearly £13, of which the incumbent received £4; at St. Michael's there was a stipendiary with 50*s.* a year, a chantry which had been founded only about twenty years; at St. Giles's a stipendiary with an income of 75*s.*; at St. Mary's the fraternity of St. Nicholas had endowments of more than £4, of which they paid £3 to the curate of the parish to serve as their chaplain; at St. Aldate's there was Aldaster's chantry, worth 76*s.* At Thame the chantry of St. Christopher[5] had an income of £10; at Witney there was 'the free chapel or chantry of our Lady,' value £7 7*s.*, and Farmer's chantry, founded by Thomas Farmer, value £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; at Standlake there was an old chantry, worth 117*s.*; and the chantry in St. Cecilia's chapel at Minster Lovell, worth 40*s.*, and Alysbury's chantry at Rousham, worth £3, were also ancient foundations; at Burford there was the guild of our Lady, with an income of about £14, of which £8 was paid to the chaplain, and the rest expended on the repair of highways and bridges; and there was the chantry of our Lady, value £8. At Chipping Norton there were three foundations—the Trinity Guild, with an income of £14, which supported a priest and also a schoolmaster, 'Sir Hamlet Malban,' and the two chantries of St. James and St. John, each with an income of about £7. At Banbury the Guild of our Lady, founded by Henry V, had an income of nearly £45, and supported three stipendiary priests, a clerk, and a sexton, whose salaries came to £25; this was far the richest foundation in the county. At Henley there was St. Katherine's chantry, worth £6; and there had been another, called Elmes' chantry, 'which one Elmes hath withdrawn more than four or five years past, which was founded by his ancestors.' At Woodstock the chantries of St. Margaret and our Lady had incomes of

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, xv, 12.
[2] Rev. H. L. Thompson, *Hist. of Ch. Ch. passim.*
[3] MS. Top. Oxon. C. 48 (Bodl. Lib.), a copy of Roll 38 of the returns for chantries in the Augmentation Office.
[4] Sheep or cows were often left by will for charitable purposes; the churchwardens would grant them to farmers in the parish year by year at a certain rent; if the animal died it was to be replaced by the farmer.
[5] Founded by 'Sir Ralph, Lord Sudeley' (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 75).

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nearly £8 and £11; and, lastly, there was Newes chantry at Tackley, worth £4 10*s*. This must not be taken as a complete list of the chantries that had once been in existence. Elmes of Henley was not the only person who had been 'withdrawing' what his ancestors had given. At Deddington there had been a chantry which in 1526[1] supported two priests, and was still in existence in 1543.[2] In this case the crown was the patron, and no doubt had 'withdrawn' the endowments. Again, in 1526 there were four chantry priests at Henley, so that two foundations must have been withdrawn besides the Elmes chantry.[3] Others had been granted by the patrons to various religious foundations: Leigh's chantry in the church of St. Michael's South, at Oxford, had been granted to Oriel College; Montacute's chantry to St. Frideswide's. A chantry at St. Peter-le-Bailey disappeared early.[4] But, as has been said, there remained twenty-three in the year 1547, with a clear income of £192.

In most cases petitions were made by the inhabitants that the chantries might not be suppressed. If, as we have seen, there was no great eagerness for the dignity of divine worship in Tudor times, yet Oxfordshire people had no wish that their endowments should be seized by the crown, and certainly had no objection to the doctrine of prayers for the dead. As grounds for the continuance of these foundations it is stated that out of twenty-six chantry priests twenty-two held no other posts and had no other means of livelihood, and that there were in many parishes so many 'howseling people,' that the parish priest without the assistance of the chantry priest would have difficulty in administering to them the Holy Communion at the great festivals. The numbers given would be very useful as a guide to the populations of the parishes, if they could be trusted; but in some cases they are certainly too low, in others too high. In days when a person was likely to be presented in the archdeacon's court if he did not make his Communion, there must have been more than 144 howseling folk at Burford, however strong Lollardism might be. Again, there must have been more than 140 at Chipping Norton; and on the other hand, the number of 203 given for a small village like Rousham seems impossible.

In two respects this act of confiscation has been misunderstood: it has been represented as a general dismantling of parish churches, and as a robbing of parochial charities. It is true that the plate and jewels of the chantries were seized, but the amount was only 167 ounces. Several of the chantries had no plate, and probably not more than ten churches in the whole county were affected. When it is remembered that the parish church of Thame sold more than 170 ounces of plate in the years 1549 and 1550, and apparently more than 100 ounces in 1548,[5] and that the monastery of St. Frideswide produced more than 600 ounces,[6] the confiscation of the ornaments of the chantries becomes a small thing. Furthermore, the doles for the poor, which were often associated with obits and chantries, were not, or were not meant to be,

[1] MS. Subsidy of 1526.

[2] E. Marshall, *Hist. of Deddington*.

[3] St. Mary's chantry at Henley was founded in 1338, St. Katherine's chantry in 1385, Elmes' chantry in 1460; perhaps the fourth priest was supported by the Fraternity of the Name of Jesus, which seems to have had no endowments, but to have depended on annual gifts (see Burn, *Hist. of Henley*, 177, 180, 184, 187).

[4] See the institutions in Wood, *City of Oxf.* iii, 73–106.

[5] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 68, 69.

[6] *Cart. St. Frideswide*, ii, 384.

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seized. This is clear from the wording of the return made by the commissioners :—

> Sum total of all lands, &c., of chantries, guilds, stipendaries, obits, lamps, &c., £275 12*s.* 8*d.*; reprises yearly (with £24 7*s.* 5½*d.* given to the poor) £40 8*s.* 2½*d.*: so remaineth clear £236 4*s.* 10½*d.*

Even of this amount the king did not receive the whole. One of the injunctions of 1547 ordained that the profit of cattle, and money bequeathed to the finding of lamps, should be put in the poor-box or spent on the highways, or even in the repairing of churches.[1] The return of the commissioners was that for the support of lamps and obits there were £45 in annual rent, 'stocks in money 105*s.*; stocks in cattle, priced at 84*s.*; stocks in cattle, unpriced, kyne 7, sheep 72.' In the parish of Pyrton the churchwardens' accounts show that the 'lampe cowe' was sold in 1548 for 15*s.*, and next year that amount was spent upon repairing the roads.

There was no doubt much robbing of churches, but the culprits were the churchwardens and other parishioners. In 1552 the inhabitants of Thame asserted that within the last few years the churchwardens had sold 'four chalices of silver, two crosses of silver, two basons of silver,' &c., including the great bell and the fore bell, that almost nothing was left, that no account had been rendered for three years, that what had been sold was worth £300 and more, and that the money had been divided among the churchwardens and their friends.[2] The accounts, which are still extant, prove that there was not much exaggeration in this statement. In 1548 they sold plate to the value of £70, in 1549 the great silver cross worth £22, in 1550 a pix, two chalices, and two censers worth £28, while in 1551, the second silver cross produced £19 10*s.* and the great bell £23. There is nothing to show what became of the money; though the church expenses did not require a quarter of this sum, there is no appearance of any balance carried on to the next year.[3]

To put a stop to this certain commissioners, Sir Francis Knollys, Leonard Chamberlain, and Edmund Ashefield, were sent round the county in 1552 to make inventories of church goods, and the returns for fifty-eight parishes which have come down to us show what had been happening.[4] At Baldon St. Lawrence the churchwardens declare that since the last inventory there have been stolen 'two vestments of whyte silk, and ii surplese: item, ii crosses, one of copper and thother of brasse: item, ii candlesticks of brasse, and ii hand-bells: item, iiii alter clothes and one towell.' At Beckley 'a chalyce, a cope of whyte damask, ii owld coops of redd sylke, ii vestments of sylke' were missing. At Piddington a vestment had been sold by the churchwardens for 9*d.* In several places 'the residewe of the old inventory was stolen.' Many churchwardens assert that as no inventory had ever been taken, they did not know what the church ought to possess; but where we find there was no paten or no chalice, we feel sure there had been recent theft. At Rotherfield Peppard 'my lady Stoner syns ye deathe of Sir Walter Stoner, hyr husbond, toke away another great chalyce, abowt ye value of ten poundes in to hyr owne keapyng, and hath not delyvered it

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformation*, i, 18.
[2] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 531. [3] Ibid. 68, 70.
[4] MS. Top. Oxon. C. 55 at the Bodl. Libr. is a transcript of these returns.

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agayn.' In several cases the spoiling was done in a straightforward way by churchwardens and parishioners, as a simple means of raising money for church expenses. At Bix a chalice had been sold for 40*s.*, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus and the Book of Common Prayer had been bought for 15*s.*, a Bible for 13*s.* 4*d.*, books they were ordered to purchase by the injunctions, and the residue spent on 'pewing of the churches' (i.e., the two churches of Bix Brand and Bix Gibwin). In the same way at St. Thomas's, Oxford, 'with the whole concent of the paryshyoners,' a chalice and two pyxes, weighing in all 24 ounces, had been sold for £7 16*s.*, and the money spent on buying land 'for the relief of the poore people.' The authorities of the church either made no effort or were powerless to stop it, but it seems that it was hoped to effect this by the taking of inventories by royal commissioners every year. There are returns of thirty-eight inventories taken in spring, 1553, in many cases from the same parishes as in 1552. But ornaments that were unnecessary were carelessly kept and soon disappeared, and all through the reign of Elizabeth this process was going on. In 1584 William Lucas of Churchill, cited in the archdeacon's court, says 'he knoweth not wheare there challice is become, or in whose custodie it remayneth, nether doth he know of any other reliques of superstition to remayne in anye man's hands within there parishe, and saith that he receyved the parcels exhibited from Henry Medecroft.' Medecroft in his turn said he had received 'the relicks' from one Kerne about seven years before, and that there had also been two crosses, one of which 'they put to the belfounder's in Oxford to make there sauncebell withall.'[1]

At the time of the rebellion in Devon and Cornwall early in 1549 there was evidently some serious outbreak in Oxfordshire, but our knowledge of the events is slight. Foxe says,[2] 'During this Hurly-burly among the Popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, the like commotion at the same time by such like Popish priests as Homes and his fellows began to gender in the parts of Oxford and Buckingham, but that was soon appeased by the Lord Gray. . . . Of the rebels 200 were taken and a dozen of the ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.' The State Papers show that Foxe has minimized what happened, and that those executed were considerably more than a dozen. The document is entitled[3]

> The order devised by the Lord Gray with the advice and consent of the gentlemen of the county of Oxford at Witney, July 19, for appointing the said gentlemen, whose names be under written, to cause *further* execution to be done in sundry towns within the said county of certain traitorous persons. . . . First it is thought good by the said Lord Gray and the rest that these traitorous persons whose names be under written shall suffer execution in these several towns under written immediately, or else the next market days following in any of the same towns to be kept, according as the other like offenders have in other places suffered, and after execution done the heads of every of them in the said towns severally to be set up in the highest place in the same, for the more terror of the said evil people. It is also ordered by the said Lord Gray that . . . the said gentlemen shall cause the said traitorous persons to be safely conveyed to the said towns and to be present with their aide to cause the execution to be done accordingly. The names of the gentlemen appointed by the said Lord Gray :—Sir Anthony Cope, Sir John Williams, Sir William Barandyne, Sir William Raynsford, Leonard Chamberlain, esq., Richard Fyner, esq., William Fermor, esq., &c., &c.

[1] Bodl. Lib. MS. Oxf. Archd. P. Oxon. c. 7. See other instances, Mr. J. M. Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 162.
[2] Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*, ii, pt. 2, 17.
[3] M. T. Pearman, 'Account of the Chiltern Hundreds' (*Oxf. Arch. Soc. Trans.*).

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The names of the prisoners appointed and ordered to suffer:—John White, of Combe, Richard Tompson, vicar of Dunstew, to be hanged at Banbury. Sir Henry Mathew, parish priest of Deddington, to be hanged at Deddington. John Brookyns, a craftsman, to be hanged at Islip. William Boolar, of Watlington, to be hanged at Watlington. Two of the most seditious, which are not yet apprehended, to suffer at Thame. Two other of the most seditious to be hanged at Oxford. Richard Whittington, of Deddington, weaver, to be hanged at Bicester. The vicar of Chipping Norton to be hanged there upon the steeple there. John Wade, parish priest of Bloxham, to be hanged on the steeple there. Bowldry, of Haseley, to be hanged at Oxford.

The last is known from local deeds to have been a small freeholder of the yeoman class.[1] The ferocity of this order shows how nervous the Government was. From the fact that so many parish priests were executed, we gather that the rebellion in Oxfordshire was more on religious than socialistic grounds; but it is noticeable that none of the gentry joined it, and among those who took part in the execution of the priests we find the heads of the Barantine, Chamberlain, and Fermor families, which in Queen Elizabeth's reign were leading recusants in the county.

During the reigns of Edward VI and Mary several events, important in connexion with the religious history of the country, took place at Oxford. In 1548 Peter Martyr, brought from the Continent by Cranmer to propagate Reforming doctrine, was installed as Regius Professor of Divinity at Christ Church and began to deliver theological lectures on semi-Zwinglian lines. But this belongs rather to the general history of the nation than to the history of the county; and the same is true of the great event of the reign of Mary, the martyrdom of Hooper, Latimer, and Cranmer. They did not belong to the county nor had they much connexion with the town of Oxford; and a full account of the matter will be found in any history of the Church.[2] The county itself seems to have been free from persecution during the reign of Mary, and the bishop, Robert King, who survived until 1557, had a reputation for being a man of peace and tolerance.

The various changes in church services between 1547 and 1558 can be traced in some of the parish accounts that have survived, and if we may judge by the language of the entries, and by the regular succession of churchwardens and of incumbents, they were accepted with a curious calmness, without enthusiasm or regret. In the churchwardens' account of Pyrton[3] we find that they purchased the Homilies and the King's Injunctions for 1*s.* 2*d.* in the autumn of 1547, and shortly before May, 1548, 'a copy of the King's Injunctions,' price 4*d.*, by which may be meant the Order of the Communion, which came into use on 10 April, 1548, and might be described as the King's Injunctions because it was issued by the king's authority like the Injunctions; the church already possessed a Bible.

In 1548 'a boke for the churche' was bought, price 6*s.*, no doubt the Paraphrase of Erasmus, which by the Injunctions of 1547 was to be acquired within twelve months. The cost for 'the delyveryng of the lamppe cow' was 4*d.*, probably the expense of driving it to the appointed centre that it might be sold. By the Injunctions of 1547 all lands, rents, and cattle which had been given for the maintenance of lamps were to be surrendered, and the money given to the poor or applied to the mending of roads, 'except by the

[1] An ancestor of his is mentioned, Ancient Deeds, C. 2422 (P.R.O.).
[2] Or in Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 179–86.
[3] MS.

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King's Majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed.' As regards lands and rents the king did appoint otherwise, but the price of the cattle seems to have been left; Pyrton received 15*s.* for the cow, and next year spent that amount on repairing the roads. In the same year 18*s.* 8*d.* was received for 'olde brasse,' no doubt for the processional cross, and perhaps candlesticks as well. As the Injunctions ordered that processions in the church before high mass and at other times were to be discontinued, the cross and the banners were unnecessary; the 'banner clothys' were sold in 1551 for 1*s.* 8*d.*; at Thame[1] the two silver crosses were sold in 1549 and 1551, and the 'Banner clothes,' worth only 3*s.* 4*d.*, in 1550. Also as the Injunctions laid down that no candles were to be set up except two on the altar, there was a selling of superfluous candlesticks. Between 22 May, 1549, and 16 May, 1550, 'the boke of the quere' (choir) was bought for 3*s.* 8*d.*, no doubt the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, and later in the year 4*d.* was paid for 'carrying the boke to Oxford,' i.e. for carrying the old service books to the bishop to be destroyed, according to the king's order issued to the archbishop of Canterbury, in December, 1549.[2] The books at Thame[1] were carried 'to the Bysoppe to Thame Park,' which was at that time one of his manors. In 1550 there was a great white-washing of Pyrton church at a cost of 5*s.* 8*d.*, no doubt to obliterate pictures of saints; and early in 1551 Injunctions were bought for 4*d.*, possibly some injunctions issued by the bishop, like those which Ridley issued at London.[3] Between May, 1551 and May, 1552, we find 'paid for making of the Lord's Tabull 10*s.* 8*d.*,' this process being performed at Thame in December and January,[1] and during the next year, May, 1552, to May, 1553, the churchwardens of Pyrton bought for 4*s.* 'a boke of Common Praar sett forth by the Kynge,' i.e. the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. In July, 1553, Queen Mary ascended the throne, and in October, by the repeal of the ecclesiastical legislation of Edward VI, the state of religion at the end of the reign of Henry VIII was restored, and the churchwardens, who were elected in May, 1553, show in the accounts that were presented on 26 April, 1554, that they had paid 14*s.* 9*d.* for a chalice, 6*s.* 8*d.* for a mass book, 8*d.* for 'making of the superaltar,' and 1*s.* 6*d.* 'for making of the Paschal and Wantaper' (i.e. font-taper). Next year they bought a manual for 3*s.* 8*d.*, a processioner for 4*s.*, a cope and four vestments from the neighbouring vicar of Shirburn for 40*s.*, while the rebuilding of the altar cost 3*s.* 4*d.*; it was evidently made of the local stone, and required 'a lode of chalk, a lode of earth and a bushell of lyme.' Next year a cross and a banner were purchased for 30*s.*, and 3*s.* was paid as half the price of a 'portes' (i.e. breviary). The expenses of the year ending Whitsuntide, 1557, included 1*s.* 3*d.* for 'a heare[4] to the altar,' and 26*s.* 8*d.* for 'the Rode (i.e. rood) and the other images,' the work of a carpenter from a distance, who was boarded in the village; and besides the paschal and font-taper there were 'tapars for the Rode.' Next year 'the painting of the hy awter' cost 6*s.* 8*d.*, and of the 'dowme' (? dome) 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 'three quartans of say to hange over the peaks' (pix) cost 1*s.* 2*d.* In November, 1558, half way through the next account, Queen Mary died, but there seems

[1] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 68, 69.
[2] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformation*, 74. [3] Ibid. 77.
[4] *Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll.* 335 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.). The word is explained as 'candelabra.'

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to have been no alteration in ritual for the year ending Whitsuntide, 1559, and 'the Paschal' was lighted in Holy Week as usual; but during the next year 5*d.* was paid for the Injunctions of 1559, and in accordance with their directions the altar was pulled down by the clerk at a cost of 8*d.*; and a 'book of Common Prayer and a plaine book' were bought for 6*s.* 8*d.* What the second book was is uncertain; but at Thame the book of Homilies was bought for 12*d.*, and three small 'processioners' (i.e. copies of the Litany). Next year 1*s.* 8½*d.* was paid at Pyrton 'for the tabels' (or as it is called at Thame 'the table of the Commandments'), 1*s.* 6*d.* 'for wipinge oute of the images,' no doubt painted above the altar. In the year ending 12 May, 1562, there is an entry of 2*d.* 'for making clene of the church, when the rood-loft was pulled down,' and 1*d.* 'for mending of the surplesses.' At Thame the rood-loft and the side altars were pulled down in 1560, but the high altar remained until 1564. The last ripple of the storm is an entry in 1565, 'for thinkes sold 11*s.* 8*d.*' Unfortunately there is no means of telling what were the wishes and feelings of the parishioners; the entries are colourless; the images are not called 'idols,' the 'thinkes sold' are not called relics of superstition; the language used shows no regret or enthusiasm, one way or the other. Further, when the church was beautified or defaced it is hard to tell whether it was of choice or compulsion, by the wish of the parishioners or at the order of the archdeacon; if the retention of the old ceremonies in the first months of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is taken to indicate a preference for that form of religion, we have on the other hand the alienation of church goods in the reign of Edward VI, often with the consent of the parishioners, not ordered by any authority; and in fact, as the returns of the commissioners in 1552 show, the churchwardens were expected to preserve them. The mending of bells and repairing of windows is the same in the reign of Edward VI as in the reign of Mary; the mode of raising money was the same in both reigns, namely the 'church ale' at Whitsuntide; but a large part of the money was spent on roads in the one reign, on church ornaments in the other.

The bishopric of Oxford, for the first century after its establishment, had a very broken history. On the death of Robert King, who occupied the see from 1542 to 1557, Queen Mary nominated Dr. Thomas Goldwell, the bishop of St. Asaph, to be his successor; but before he could be instituted Queen Elizabeth had ascended the throne, and he retired to the Continent. For ten years the see remained vacant, the revenues being appropriated by the queen; but in December, 1567, Hugh Curwen, archbishop of Dublin, who had petitioned the Queen that he might retire to a more quiet sphere, was translated to Oxford and settled himself at Swinbrook. He was one of those who had accepted all the changes of religion. He had first acquired notoriety by his defence of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn; yet he had been a chaplain to Queen Mary, and had been promoted by her to the archbishopric of Dublin. He had the reputation of being an honest secular judge, but a negligent and indifferent bishop; but in his case it is not easy to say which party should be saddled with the discredit. He survived his appointment to Oxford less than one year, and another long vacancy followed, until in 1589, Sir Francis Walsingham urged the queen to appoint to the see. This step, we are told, was not suggested because he had any interest in the spiritual

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welfare of the county, but 'out of pure devotion to the leases, that would yield good fines.'[1] The custom at that time was to grant leases of farms and manors at a small annual rent, but with a heavy fine, to be paid every twenty-one years, when the lease was renewed. As the vacancy of the see had lasted twenty-one years, a bishop was necessary to renew the leases, but apparently arrangements were made that he should not secure the temporalities until after the queen or her courtiers had secured the fines. The queen nominated Dr. John Underhill, rector of Lincoln College, and one of her chaplains; he was consecrated in December, 1589, but his tenure of the post was brief, as he died at London in 1592 'in much discontent and poverty,'[2] and there is a note in the diocesan registers that there was no ordination in his time, because he never entered his diocese from the day that he was appointed to it.[3] Again there was an interval of twelve years, and in 1604 Dr. John Bridges, dean of Salisbury, was elected to the see. He took up his residence at March Baldon, as there was no episcopal palace at that time, and there he was buried in 1618. His successor was John Howson, a canon of Christ Church, who as vice-chancellor of the university in 1602 resisted certain Puritan preachers, and in 1616 had preached a course of sermons against Bellarmine, Saunders, and the Papists. In 1628 he was translated to the see of Durham, leaving behind a reputation for 'learning and those virtues which were most proper for a bishop.'[4] The next to be appointed was Dr. Richard Corbet, dean of Christ Church, a noted wit, author of 'Poems, Jests, Romantic fancies and exploits, which he made and performed extempore,' renowned as a most quaint preacher, and for this reason highly esteemed by King James.[5] He was elected in 1629, but translated to Norwich in 1632. His successor, Dr. John Bancroft, nephew of Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, at the persuasion of Laud, at that time archbishop, took the important step of building a palace at Cuddesdon, and nominated himself first rector, and subsequently vicar as well, of the parish; and until recent times the bishops of Oxford were the vicars of Cuddesdon. Before this time the bishops had no fixed residence, but each lived at the parsonage-house of whatever parish he held together with the bishopric. The palace was finished in 1632, but in 1644 it was burnt for strategic reasons by the Royalist soldiers, and was not rebuilt until 1679. Bancroft died in 1640, having been reputed by the Puritans 'a corrupt, unpreaching, Popish prelate,' and was succeeded by Robert Skinner, bishop of Bristol. He had been a successful tutor at Oxford, and subsequently for nine years had been preacher at St. Gregory's Church in the city of London, where he preached twice every Sunday (at that time a most unusual thing), and had 'obtained love, honour, and applause, especially from the Puritans.' None the less he was selected by Laud for preferment, and was made bishop of Bristol in 1636. In 1641 he was translated to Oxford, and shortly afterwards, with eleven other bishops, was imprisoned in the Tower for eighteen weeks. On his release he retired first to Cuddesdon, then joined the garrison of Oxford, and shortly before the city was surrendered retired to his rectory at Launton, Oxfordshire, to which he had been appointed before 1636, and which he had retained. There he lived

[1] Wood, *Ath. Oxf.* i, 711.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marshall, *Hist. of the Dioc. of Oxf.* 115.
[4] Wood, op. cit. i, 563.
[5] Ibid. i, 601.

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unmolested until the Restoration, and according to his own statement as many as three or four hundred clergy were secretly ordained by him during those years, among them being the renowned Bishop Bull. On the return of the king there were those who cast in his teeth the fact that he had suffered no persecution under the Puritans, and that he had subscribed no more than £30 to the cause of Charles I; but he was able to make a satisfactory defence, and in 1663 was promoted to the richer see of Worcester.

During the first part of this period, when for forty-four years out of forty-seven the see was vacant, much of the work of the diocese devolved on the archdeacons, who received their authority from the archbishop of Canterbury. The first of these was Dr. Walter Wright, who held the post from 1543 to 1561, accepting all the changes of religion in turn; and on this point there can be little doubt he was typical of the vast majority of the beneficed clergy of Oxfordshire. He was one of Cardinal Pole's visitors of the University, and is said to have been particularly zealous at that time for the restored religion, but under Queen Elizabeth he was equally zealous on the other side, and according to Nicholas Saunders was stricken with mortal illness immediately after preaching a sermon against the supremacy of the pope.[1] His successor, John Kennall, held the post from 1561 to 1592, and John Drury from 1592 to 1614. They must have both played an important part in the management of the diocese during the long vacancies of the see, but unfortunately little or nothing is known about them.

But if the external history of the diocese is almost a blank from 1550 to 1640, a flood of light is thrown on the internal state of church affairs at that time by the records of the archdeacon's court for ecclesiastical offences in 1584, 1593, 1598, and other subsequent years.[2] It is at once apparent from them that the rejection of the supremacy of the pope and the prohibition of appeals to him, so far from putting an end to the ecclesiastical courts in England, had practically no effect at all. The archdeacon's court, as we see it in these records, is exactly as Chaucer describes it;[3] the offences tried are the same, the language and form of procedure are the same, and the penalties are the same. The offences which we find brought before it are blasphemy, brawling in church, non-payment of church dues, absence from church, neglecting to communicate at Easter, working on Sundays and holy days, keeping schools and practising medicine without the bishop's licence, witchcraft, and above all the two great offences of defamation or libel, and immorality. These were the matters which churchwardens would present at the archdeacon's visitation, and the court dealt with them after the Reformation exactly as before. The same technical language was retained, and that much-dreaded official of the Middle Ages, the archdeacon's summoner, was in full activity in Oxfordshire until the end of the seventeenth century. The penalties imposed were penance and fines, backed by excommunication, which had not lost all its terrors even as late as 1662. We have even in these records that abuse of the archdeacon's court mentioned by many mediaeval writers, the relaxation of penance in the case of the well-born in consideration of a payment of money. Thus in 1631 a gentleman and

[1] Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis*, i, 64.
[2] Bodl. Lib.; MS. Top. Oxon. c. 48, 55, 56, &c.
[3] See the account by J. M. Trevelyan in *Eng. in Wyclif's Age*, p. 115.

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lady of Adderbury were allowed to escape the disgrace of public penance by the payment of 20*s.*[1] Just as the 'church ales' continued after the Reformation and the custom of making legacies to the Church,[2] so the traditional ecclesiastical law, as administered by the archdeacon, was not altered by the changes of doctrine.

The cases of defamation and immorality do not, of course, throw much light on the church life of the time. If they are numerous after the Reformation, there is reason to think it was the same before. In the presentments for 1517, already quoted, there are not a few cases of immorality reported, and the alteration of doctrine cannot be shown to have had much effect on this matter in one direction or the other. But the other charges brought before the court are at times most illuminating as regards church customs and ways of thought. As regards witchcraft, for instance, two women of Long Combe, presented on that charge in 1593, deny that 'they did ever commit any witchcraft, neither have they any such skyll, neither hath the devill tempted them to that.' The judge orders that they are to produce four compurgators to testify to their innocence.[3] In a similar case five years later the bare denial of the woman is adequate.[4] Although as late as 1812 the churchwardens were asked to present any who practised 'chirurgery' without the bishop's licence, it is evident that this regulation had not been enforced for centuries: in our records we have only one case in which certain women were forbidden in 1633 to 'practice physic.'[5] To work on Sunday and also on holy days was an ecclesiastical offence; this regulation had no connexion with Sabbatarianism or Calvinism, but was the same before the Reformation as after. John Ewer of Yarnton, cited in 1621 for working on holy days, confesses that he set his servant to work, not knowing that it was St. Mark's Day, but that as soon as he was told he 'discharged his servant from his work': he confesses that on an urgent occasion he had winnowed a little wheat on Candlemas Day.[6] Even as late as 1665 a man was cited for working on Michaelmas Day.[7] Saints' days were observed not only by absence from work, but also by divine service. John Ragnall of St. Aldate's, Oxford, cited in 1584 for bowling during divine service, confesses that he did bowl on Saturday, 24 June, at five o'clock in the afternoon.[8] In a case in 1584 where two women contended in church about a pew, the brawling occurred on Monday, 1 November, during the Gospel.[9] There was also service on Wednesday and Friday, and evidently it was fairly well attended; for in 1630 four men of Ledwell having a commission of rebellion against Richard Parsons of Nether Worton, hid in the chapel to arrest him when he appeared, 'it being Wednesday'; but he did not come.[10] The vicar of Mapledurham in 1598 confesses to negligence in that he has not always had service on Wednesday and Friday[11]; and in 1633 the vicar of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, was commanded to have service always on those days.[12] Attendance at the parish church on Sunday was compulsory for all parishioners, as before the Reformation, but the

[1] MS. Top. Oxon. c. 56, 66.

[2] The last 'church ale' at Pyrton was in 1613; after that money was raised by rates. The church received several legacies of 6*s.* 8*d.* between 1620 and 1630, just as before the Reformation.

[3] MS. Top. Oxon. c. 56, 1. [4] Ibid. 23. [5] Ibid. 271.

[6] Ibid. c. 56, p. 25. [7] Ibid. p. 79. [8] Ibid. c. 55, p. 266.

[9] Ibid. p. 264. [10] Ibid. c. 56, p. 35. [11] Ibid. p. 22. [12] Ibid. c. 55, p. 270.

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judge was satisfied with an attendance once in three or four weeks. Absence from church was made a civil offence early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and as such was dealt with by the magistrates, but in the archdeacon's court it was treated as an ecclesiastical offence. There seems to have been no difficulty in enforcing this law except with recusants; all others promised amendment and were dismissed with a caution; but recusants who would not conform were ultimately excommunicated, and if they died unrepentant were liable to be refused burial in consecrated ground.

Of open Puritanism there is little trace, nor does history tell us of the organization of any *classis* in Oxfordshire, after the pattern used in Northants, Norfolk, Suffolk and elsewhere. It is true that we hear[1] of letters sent by Presbyterians in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to 'our brethren' at Oxford and Cambridge, but in each case this refers not to the counties or the towns, but to the universities. In the archdeacon's court there were some cases of neglecting to wear the surplice, but whether it was from idleness or done with an object is not easy to state. Mr. Lancaster, vicar of Bloxham, confessed in 1598 'that he doth not weare the surplysse, but he maketh not skropple of yt, but will were it.'[2] In 1633

> Thomas Dilch of Alvescott saith that hee never is absent from the church, nor did he give him (Mr. Twilty) any reviling speeches; only this respondent tould him that if hee did make him leave the carryinge of his gunne, hee would make him weare the surplese—the said Mr. Twilty, not usinge to weare the surplesse.[3]

In 1667 the rector of Over Worton,[4] cited for 'administering the sacrament without a surplice' replied that he did not wear it 'for the foulness of it, it having been washed but once these three years.' The only clear instance of nonconformity is supplied by Mr. Dodd, the rector of Hanwell, in 1593, who was unwilling to conform to the wearing of the surplice and the use of the cross in baptism; and was granted six months by the archbishop in which to conform.[5] We have, too, in 1630 one who at all events, was accused of a Puritan temperament, in Richard Cotterell, who confessed that he had not 'gone procession' with the rest of his neighbours this last year, but

> hereafter hee undertaketh for himself and his family that they shall conforme themselves. Hee denyeth that hee ever sayde that the readinge of the Gospel at the tyme of perambulation was a vayne thing, neither doth hee conceive it soe to bee.[6]

To judge from these records there was in Oxfordshire no dissent from the Church to the year 1640, except on the part of recusants; and the fact that when the courts begin again in 1660 they are full of the cases of Quaker dissent, proves that had there been any similar opposition to the Church in earlier times the records would have shown its existence. A few cases of blasphemy occur, as when some men at Henley baptized a cat in church, or when six men of Chipping Norton in 1631, 'drinking together on a Sabbath

[1] Bancroft's *Daungerous Positions*, 79.

[2] MS. Top. Oxon. c. 56, p. 21. Yet he seems to have been a Puritan if he is to be identified with the Mr. Lancaster, a friend of John Dodd (Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 285).

[3] Ibid. c. 55, p. 273.

[4] Ibid. c. 56, p. 79.

[5] Ibid. p. 10. John Dodd was a celebrated man in his time. He held the rectory of Hanwell for about twenty years, but he would not conform to the rubrics, and after being frequently cited was suspended by Bishop Bridges. It is recorded of him that he used to preach twice a Sunday at Hanwell, and lectured as well at Banbury. Ultimately he obtained another rectory.

[6] Ibid. c. 56, p. 30.

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day, pretended to baptize all those whose names were not John',[1] but this was evidently a drunken frolic, not a protest against the doctrine of sacraments, and they were ordered to do penance on the next Sunday in their parish church 'between the first and second lesson,' each appearing with a paper on his head,

> with capitall letters written in it to this effect :—I doe come to doe this penance for prophaning the Holy Sacrament of baptism on the Sabbath daye . . . by sprinkling drinke on the faces of those whose names were not John.'

Down to 1640 none refused to make their communion on Easter day except recusants.

If services were comparatively frequent sermons were somewhat rare. A sermon every three weeks was considered an adequate allowance, and the vicar of Mapledurham, cited in 1598 for not reading the homilies, 'saith that he is a preacher, and preacheth every other Sunday.'[2] In 1633, Martin Royse, curate of Bladon, when cited, makes answer 'that he doth preach a sermon commonly once in three weeks, but confesseth that in harvest time there was not a sermon preached in six weeks.'[3] Even at the end of the eighteenth century to be a preacher meant to preach once a Sunday.

Some ancient customs and ways of thought which dated from before the Reformation still survived. As late as 1633 a woman was accused of slandering the marrying of priests ; she denied it, and said that 'she doth not dysteeme, nor revile, the same.'[4] But it is evident that some did. Again, in 1584, the curates of Charlbury and Chadlington were cited for celebrating marriages in Advent, which though not apparently illegal was contrary to old custom.[5]

But the outstanding feature of this period is the strength of the Roman Catholics, and the archdeacon's court was much occupied with their cases. Until the history of each parish has been written it is difficult to estimate how many there were, but among them were some of the highest and richest families, and probably they held one-third of the manors of the county. In the south of Oxfordshire in particular they were very strong, mainly no doubt through the influence of the Stonors. This family owned a large estate extending over, or into, the manors of Stonor, Bix, Rotherfield Peppard, North Stoke, Watlington, Nettlebed, and Highmore, and with their relatives, the Chamberlains of Shirburn and Clare, and the Symeons of Chilworth, Brightwell, and Britwell, owned or influenced a tract of land 15 miles long by 5 miles wide. Adjacent manors were held by other recusant families : Stokenchurch and Kingston Blount by the Belsons, Swyncombe by the Fettiplaces, Waterperry by the Cursons, Great and Little Haseley by the Lenthalls, Huddlestones, and Horsemans, Mapledurham by the Blounts ; at Forest Hill and Sandford there were the Powells, at Thame the Wolfes and certain branches of the Wenmans and Dormers ; at Whitchurch the Hides. Towards the north of the county were the old families of Fermor of Somerton and Browne of Kiddington. At Chastleton we meet with the names of Catesby and Ansley, and after the Restoration Mr. Sheldon of Great Barton and Sir Walter Mildmay of Ambrosden.[6] On the other side there were in the north

[1] MS. Top. Oxon. c. 56, p. 59. [2] Ibid. p. 22. [3] Ibid. c. 55, p. 271.
[4] Ibid. p. 286. [5] Ibid. c. 7, p. 35.
[6] Mrs. Bryan Stapleton, *Oxf. Post-Reformation Cath. Miss.*, gives a most useful list of recusant families from the year 1603.

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of the county the strongly Puritan families of Fiennes of Broughton and Cope of Hanwell, but in the south only such minor gentry as Ellwood of Crowell, father of the well-known Quaker, or Colonel Scrope the regicide. In a list of the justices in 1574, it is stated that there were no resident justices in the hundreds of Binfield and Pyrton, apparently because all the gentry were recusants.[1] Out of the six gentry who in 1580 were in command of the musters from the Chiltern Hundreds three were recusants, Francis Stonor, Robert Belson, and Robert Chamberlain.[2] The great majority of the middle and lower classes accepted the reformed religion, but showed no enthusiasm for it, and if in Oxfordshire a poll of the gentry had been taken at any time during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it is likely that the decision would have been to return to the unreformed religion. According to Strype the university was full of recusants, and out of eighty members of Exeter College he asserts that all but four were secret or open 'Roman affectionaries.'[3]

Though the recusants lived under cruel laws, the records of the archdeacon's courts show they were usually administered somewhat leniently, and it is evident that among the ordinary folk of Oxfordshire there was no hostility or suspicion towards the Papists or their religion. Had it not been for pressure from above, exercised in the last resort by the king's council, there would have been no persecution. Churchwardens were unwilling to present their kindly landlords and squires for non-attendance at church, and tried to evade it. The churchwarden of Mapledurham, cited in 1630 for not presenting Sir Charles Blount for a recusant, replied 'that hee can neither write nor reade, but his intent was to present Sir Charles Blount for a recusant, but he knoweth not how to express it in forme.'[4] In 1633 the churchwardens of Somerton acknowledge that they should have presented Sir Richard Fermor, 'who had not been to church or received the Sacrament for a year.'[5] Also the authorities of the court were evidently not anxious to proceed to extremities. In July, 1630, Lady Elizabeth Stonor, cited to appear at Oxford, sends a servant who 'offereth to make faith that his Lady is so infirme and ill at ease that she is not able to come abroad,' and an adjournment for three months was granted. At the end of that time the servant appeared again, with the excuse that the coach of his mistress 'brake on Friday last,' and again the case was adjourned for three months; and though the lady herself was in the archdeacon's court, proving a will, only eight days later, it excited no remark, and the adjournment was not curtailed. Those recusants who desired delay because they were not yet satisfied in conscience about receiving the Communion were readily granted a year's respite, during which they might confer with some divine, though it was patent to all that their minds were fixed. Some of them conformed so far as to attend church: thus in 1593 William Lenthall of Wilcote says, 'that he has heretofore absented himself from church, but he hath reformed himself thereof, but for the receiving of the Communion he is not yet satisfied in his conscience,' and the same position was adopted by Edmund Ansley of Chastleton.

[1] M. T. Rearman, *The Chiltern Hundreds*, 18.
[2] *Hist. of Exeter College* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), lxxx.
[3] Ibid. 19.
[4] MS. Top. Oxon. c. 56, p. 30.
[5] Ibid. p. 284.

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How much sympathy there was for the hard position of the recusants, and how few wished them harm, is shown by a curious case which came before the bishop's court in 1631. Mrs. Horseman of Wheatley and Holton, a recusant, died on 31 December excommunicate, no doubt for not attending church. Her friends had promised her that she should be buried in Holton church, but as their conscience would not allow them to say to the archdeacon that she had died penitent, he could not give permission for the burial. It is evident that the vicar was anxious that it should take place, but could not disobey the archdeacon's decision. On the morning of Thursday, 6 January, it was found that the door of the church had been forced in the night, a grave made 'under the Communion table,' and though all the village was aware that the body had been buried there, no one could be found to bear witness against the perpetrators. In the course of the inquiry it came to light that there had been a large gathering and supper at the house of Mrs. Horseman on the night of Wednesday, 5 January; and the story of the servants of the house was that for sanitary reasons they placed the coffin in the garden at night, and that unseen hands removed it. The feelings of the village were evidently expressed by a woman who was reported to have said 'God's blessing on the hands that buried the dead.' There was certainly no such tension and hostility towards the church of Rome at this time as there was in the days of Charles II; the clergy, so far from informing against their recusant parishioners, tried to shield them; and on the other hand, we find Mr. Thomas Stonor, a recusant, presenting a bell to the parish church of Watlington in 1660, and six years later, building and endowing there a free grammar school, where the master was to be of the Church of England.

That the persecution of Papists was more political than religious is proved by the fact that it was instigated by politicians, it varied with the state of the political barometer, and was directed against those who, rightly or wrongly, were accused of political intrigue, namely those who harboured Jesuits and the itinerating secular priests called seminarists. Thus in 1589 Thomas Belson of Aston Rowant was arrested at Oxford in the company of two seminarists, and all were condemned to death.[1] Again in 1610 George Napper, a seminarist, a native of Holywell, Oxford, was apprehended at Kirtlington and hanged at Oxford.[2] Also Campion himself, though arrested outside the county, had long been harboured at Stonor, where he and Parsons had a secret printing press.[3] On the other hand, the case of Edmund Reynolds, openly a Papist, who had conducted a public disputation against his younger brother, John Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, and lived in peace at Oxford and Wolvercote until 1630, shows that the persecution was not directed against certain doctrines, but against suspected individuals. Yet even at the best of times the recusants suffered many irritating restrictions and endured for 200 years what the Church of England had to endure for twenty years at the time of the Commonwealth. Excluded from political influence themselves, they had to own as masters over them those who were their inferiors in education, rank, and often in character.[4]

[1] Stapleton, *Oxf. Cath. Missions*, 264. [2] Ibid. 213. [3] Ibid. 294.

[4] There can be no doubt that the Stonors were the chief recusants of Oxfordshire for 200 years, but very little is known about their fortunes. Mrs. Stapleton (*Oxf. post-Reformation Catholic Missions*, p. 293) quotes the story of a Lady Stonor in 1580, who when brought before judges at Oxford for her recusancy

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If the recusants were particularly strong in the south of the county, other opponents of the Church of England were strong in the north. Banbury and its neighbourhood was renowned for its Puritanism even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so that in the 1608 edition of Camden's *Britannia* the joke was made that Banbury was famous for its 'cakes and zeal' (i.e. Puritanism),[1] the previous edition reading 'cakes and ale.' Ben Jonson, in 1614, uses the phrase 'a Banbury man' for a 'Puritan,' and in the *Journeys of Drunken Barnaby*, of about 1616, the author makes fun of a Sabbatarian Puritan of Banbury:

> I came to Banbury, O profane one,
> And there I found a Puritan one
> Hanging of his cat on Monday
> For killing of a mouse on Sunday.[2]

No doubt Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, a staunch Puritan, was to some extent responsible for the strength of the movement. Though not as influential as the Stonors, the Copes were a rich and powerful family, and for three generations had been of ultra-reforming opinions.[3] In 1588 Sir Anthony composed a prayer book of his own, and moved in Parliament 'that all laws then in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void,' and that his own book should alone be used; but the queen stopped the matter by placing him in prison until Parliament was dissolved.[4] He appointed clergy at Hanwell of Nonconforming ways; first John Dodd, of whom we have spoken, and then Robert Harris, both of them energetic and conscientious men, but hostile to the arrangements of the church.[5] Possibly it was through his influence that Thomas Brasbridge was appointed by the crown to the vicarage of Banbury in 1581. He was deprived in 1590 for Nonconformity, or, as his supporters phrased it, 'for some matters of ceremonies'; but so popular was he that ninety-five of the leading inhabitants of the town made a petition to the Lord Treasurer on his behalf, and subscribed to provide him a salary, whether he was allowed to preach or not. He himself wrote to the Lord Treasurer for leave to preach, promising that in his sermons he will 'handle no matters but only Papistry,' asserting that many recusants sojourned hard by the town, and that many of the inhabitants were too much inclined to Papistry.[6] Another vicar of Banbury, William Whateley, who held the cure

discomfited them by the boldness and independence of her reply. She also mentions the case of Lady Elizabeth Stonor, about 1635, who was much persecuted by the rival county family, the Copes of Hanwell, until the king ordered the proceedings against her to be stayed. There is a curious entry about the Stonors at the foot of a page in the parish register of Pyrton: 'Whereas upon the entreatie of Mr. Sheapherd, Mr. William Stonor's Curat, I did sett down the names of the children of the said Mr. Stonor in the Church book and the time when they were christened, these are therefore to give you notice that shall succeed me, if any question shall hereafter arise concerning the place and person where and by whom they were baptized, that none of them were christened in the parish church of Pirton, neither doe I know the time, place, nor person, when, where or by whom they were baptized. J. Barnard, vicar of Pirton.' Accordingly the baptism of Marie, daughter of William and Elizabeth Stonor, occurs 11 Nov. 1622; Francis, a son, 25 Oct. 1623; William, 20 Nov. 1624; Thomas, 18 Dec. 1626; Martha, 7 Jan. 1628; then at the foot of the page, 'Katherine born Feb. 18, 1629; Eliz. born May 19, 1630; Arthur born Sep. 6, 1632; Henry born Mar. 17, 1633.' In the next generation, though it is impossible to believe that the children were baptized at the parish church, two of the Stonors are entered in the register: 'April 5, 1676, Mary daughter of Mr. John and the Lady Mary Stonor,' and 2 Oct. 1678, John Talbot son of the same. The high position occupied by this family in recusant circles is proved by the fact that the Young Pretender, when travelling on the Continent about the middle of the eighteenth century, went under the name of 'Mr. Stonor' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, pt. vi, p. 223).

[1] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 195, 238.
[2] Ibid. 454–6.
[3] Ibid. 239.
[4] Ibid. 285–7.
[5] Ibid. 243

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from 1610 to his death in 1638, an exemplary man, was a Puritan, though not a Nonconformist.[1] In the immediate neighbourhood Robert Cleaver, rector of Drayton, was suspended for Nonconformity about 1605,[2] and John Prime, fellow of New College and vicar of Adderbury about 1580, was a noted Puritan preacher.[3] It is noticeable that all these Puritan clergy were, unlike many of their clerical neighbours, men of learning and earnestness; that 'zeal' was considered synonymous with disloyalty to the Prayer Book, and that indifference was considered the correct attitude for the Church of England. There can be no doubt that, almost without exception, people of real religion in the days of Queen Elizabeth were either recusants or Puritans.[4]

When the Civil War broke out, the clergy of Oxfordshire were even more strongly on the king's side than the clergy throughout the country. After the dissolution of the monasteries, so many of the advowsons within the county came into the possession of Oxford colleges that the clergy were more closely connected with the university than before, and parishes were often held by fellows of colleges. If the University of Oxford adopted a strong attitude in defence of the crown, it was inevitable that the clergy of Oxfordshire would follow; but some of them of humbler position—vicars and curates—were less pronounced in their hostility to the Roundheads, as Anthony Wood noticed of the vicar of Thame. It was natural, therefore, that when the cause of Parliament was triumphant many incumbents who had been the most energetic on the side of the king should be dispossessed of their cures. It is computed that twenty-eight of the clergy, i.e. about one-sixth of them, suffered in this way,[5] being deprived of their preferments and allowed as a maintenance one-fifth of the stipend. It must, however, be remarked that others had reason to be thankful to the Parliament, which in at least five cases made grants to augment poor livings.[6] When the king returned, as many as twenty-four ministers were ejected from their parishes. As they were not, and would not be, episcopally ordained, it was impossible that they should retain their cures, but fairness demanded that some provision should be made for them, especially after the promises made by the king before his restoration.

The history of Nonconformity in Oxfordshire, as an organized body apart from the Church, dates from the Commonwealth, and the first to set up separate places of worship were the Quakers.[7] From the *Autobiography of*

[1] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 268–71. [2] Ibid. 286. [3] Wood, *Ath. Oxf.* i, 215.

[4] In 1543 the quota from Oxfordshire for the army of Flanders was as follows: 'Sir Walter Stonor 30 men, Sir Leonard Chamberlain 30 men, Sir William Barentine 20 men, Sir John Brown 20 men, Lady Englefield 30 men, Sir Anthony Cope 30 men, Sir Symon Harcourt 30 men, Sir John Williams 30 men' (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, pt. i, 832). Of these the first four, or their families, were recusants under Queen Elizabeth; also Sir Francis Englefield was in 1547 'a zealous agent for the pope' (Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 194); the next two were Puritans; the last died before the definite parting of the ways. It therefore appears that not one of the leading families of the county was satisfied with the Reformation, or loyal to the Church of England. When we add that the 'family of Fiennes imbibed a disinclination to the church of England from their infancy' (ibid. 292), we wonder whether there was anyone in the county who approved of the Prayer Book.

[5] See the quotations from Walker's 'Sufferings of Clergy' given in E. Marshall's *Oxf. Dioc. Hist.* 135–7.

[6] W. A. Shaw, *The Engl. Church during the Civil War*, ii, 504, 511. Though the use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden during the Commonwealth, Dr. Owen, who was appointed dean of Christ Church by the Parliament, did not interfere with the meeting of a large congregation of Churchmen where the formularies of the Church of England were followed.

[7] But there is said to have been a congregation of Brownists at Banbury some time before 1641. Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 461 *n.*

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Thomas Ellwood, of Crowell, Oxfordshire, we gather that their chief focus was in Buckinghamshire, where they were supported by men of position, but in Oxfordshire also they were fairly numerous. Three Quaker tracts describe the first advent of the doctrine into the town of Oxford, and of the way it was received by the Presbyterians and Independents, who were then in power.[1] In 1654 two northern women, Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, came to Oxford in the month of April, and 'passed through streets and colleges, and steeple-houses, declaring the word of the Lord.' One Sunday they went into a church, and when 'the priest' (the preacher) had done, one of them began to answer him. For this they were at once carried to 'Buckerdo' (i.e. Bocardo, the prison), and 'the justices' and the vice-chancellor ordered that they should be whipped as vagrants; the mayor was unwilling, but 'those who were zealous and thought that they had done God good service' agreed that they should be soundly whipped, and next day this was done, although the executioner was very reluctant. They had previously 'been mocked and buffeted at John's College, being tied together and jumped [upon] and kicked and thrust into a pool called Gileses pool.' 'Magistrates and scholars and they who pretend to be ministers of the Gospel are the chiefest actors in the persecution.' The second pamphlet deals with the ancient Calvinistic doctrine, that salvation is a matter of the next life, not of this, the Quakers emphasizing strongly the need and effect of grace. The third pamphlet, to which Wood has added the note 'some but not all of the things in this pamphlet are true,' deals in particular with attempts to break up the meetings at the house of Richard Betteris, a surgeon residing in New Inn Hall Street. Scholars had broken the windows of the house, had locked the door and removed the key: they 'which title themselves ministers of Christ' had tried to break up the gatherings by gunpowder and squibs, or had burst in, saying, 'Give us beer and tobacco,' and stamped up and down, and were 'more like swine than ministers.' Some had come in with beer and poured it down the necks and clothes of the Quakers. Scholars had come in and used indecent language, and because the Friends would not speak, had forced their mouths open with violence. 'The scholars of John's College' seem to have been the worst; and when complaint was made to the heads of Houses, no redress could be obtained; 'Doctor Owin' (dean of Christ Church) 'hath spewed up some things against the people of God called Quakers'; at Banbury also the Quakers endured similar ill-treatment in 1654 and 1655 at the hands of the Puritans.[2]

After the Restoration the church took up the persecuting work of the Presbyterians and Independents, but it may fairly be said, without the same violence, fury, and malignity. There is extant a letter to the lord chancellor, from Richard Baylis, the vice-chancellor, dated 12 May, 1662, which describes how he was

> hasting homeward after the morning sermon at St. Mary's, when a complaint met me that the Quakers by scores were gathered together at one of their exercises in the house

[1] 'A true testimony of the zeal of Oxford professors and University men, who for zeal persecute the servants of the living God, following the example of their brethren at Cambridge,' by Richard Hubberthorne; Lond. 1654. Also 'A lamentation against the professing priests and people of Oxford and to all in the cages of unclean birds, called Colleges, 1657.' Also 'A true relation of some of the sufferings inflicted upon the servants of the Lord who are called Quakers,' undated, but about 1657; Bodl. Lib. Wood, 515.

[2] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 451.

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> of Mr. Bettrice . . . I found them all hushed. What they had already said or intended to say, they would not confess. I fairly besought them to depart; they absolutely refused. I read the Act unto them, newly published for the suppression of such conventicles, and added another short sharp lecture unto it, that I would presently put the same into severe execution. The threat no whit moved them but to high terms of scorn, and vaunts that neither prison or gallows should make them change their resolution. Disquieted I was with such sottish impudence, and betwixt pity and just indignation forgot my duty; for stead of exacting the mulct prescribed in statute, I fell to intreaty and persuasion that they would have pity upon themselves, their proper goods and souls, and quietly depart: all in vain. Thus provoked to just execution according to the Act, yet foolish pity prevailed against my judgement and overcame me to dispense, where the law did not warrant me. In fine with some show of force I made a shift to clear the room and dissolve the congregation and to carry my old prisoner Bettrice to Bocardo.

He craved pardon for his remissness, and promised not to be seduced by foolish pity again. The lord chancellor replied that:

> we have instruction from experience that these Quakers are a sort of people upon whom tenderness or lenity do not at all prevail, and that now the Act against them is made public, it is of absolute necessity to put it severely in execution against all or at least some of the principal of them, especially where you are, since it would be of very ill example that we should not be able to root them out of an University.[1]

About the same time we meet with them in abundance in the ecclesiastical courts. To the archdeacon they were a new feature, and one with which he was unable to cope; and as they were quite indifferent to the archdeacon's excommunication, they remained masters of the field. Thomas Dringe of Brize Norton, cited January, 1663, 'saith his conscience will not permit him to goe to the parishe church to theire prayers, for hee is a church himselfe and the Temple of the Lord'; Thomas Minchin of Burford 'doth not allowe of the prayers at the parishe church, using then scandalous speeches against Mr. Glyn, the vicar there. He is excommunicated for his obstinate and schismaticall answer.' Lawrence Wellyer of St. Giles', Oxford, wishing to argue, said 'wee could not prove that in ancient time Christians used any churches. The judge to avoyde argument, monished him to be better advised and to appeare the next court day.' Thomas Busby of Sandford, James Weaver of Enstone, and Henry Shodd of Charlbury, were summoned for absence from church; they refused to put off their hats in court; and the last, when 'inhibited from teaching schoole, said hee believed hee should not observe that command either.'[2] They had no hesitation, no doubt; they did not desire a year's delay, that they might consult a learned divine; they held out no prospect of alteration. With such the archdeacon was powerless; and when others who had separated from the Church showed a similar callousness to the punishment of excommunication, the court, though it was held as late as 1696,[3] was robbed of its main weapon.

A prominent figure among the early Quakers, Anne Downer, was by birth from Oxfordshire, having been born at Charlbury in 1624, where her father was vicar. She subsequently resided in London, where she became a Quaker in 1654, and was the first woman who preached in public in London. In 1656 she visited Charlbury and Chadlington, and preached

[1] Towner MS. vol. 338, fols. 133, 135. [2] MS. Top. Oxon. C. 59, 69–79. [3] Ibid. 87.

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there, and 'convinced many.' Soon after she married Robert Greenwell, who died in Newgate Prison in 1664; her second husband was George Whitehead. On her death, in 1686, an account of her was given in a work containing 'Testimonies concerning that true Servant of God, Ann Whitehead.'[1]

Some of the earliest, if not the earliest, meeting-places of dissenters were those of the Quakers at Banbury and Adderbury; the former dated from 1664, the latter seems to have been earlier.[2] About the same time the Independents and Presbyterians began to organize themselves. Wood describes[3] how those fellows of colleges that were banished from Oxford for attending conventicles became preachers in the country around—Dr. John Owen at Stadhampton, Thomas Cole at Nettlebed, Henry Cornish at Stanton Harcourt; others lived as guests or as tutors in those county families which were inclined to Puritanism. One of the earliest Nonconformist congregations was gathered at Bicester, where Mr. Troughton, fellow of St. John's College, when he was expelled from Oxford in 1662, acted as minister. On his death, in 1681, he was succeeded by Henry Cornish, who was a canon of Christ Church during the Commonwealth. Of the abilities of the former Wood speaks with great respect. The chapel was at first Presbyterian, subsequently Independent.[4]

Of the bishops of Oxford in the reign of Charles II the ablest and most active was Dr. John Fell, 1676–86. Having been a student of Christ Church in the reign of Charles I he was ejected by the Parliament and lived quietly in Oxford until 1660. He was then made dean of Christ Church, and proved himself an efficient ruler. Being a man of strong will and quick decision, and not very considerate of the feelings of the sensitive—'one who did not value what the generality said of him'[5]—he was unpopular; but no reader of Anthony Wood can fail to admire his liberality, love of scholarship, and genuine religion. Immediately on his appointment to the bishopric he began the rebuilding of Cuddesdon Palace. Dr. Paul, who occupied the see from 1663 to 1665, had collected timber for the work, but had done nothing more; Dr. Fell, at his own expense, completed the work in 1679. He also granted an endowment to St. Martin's Church, Oxford, for the maintenance of daily morning and evening service. Together with his bishopric he retained the office of dean of Christ Church, and as at the same time he took a leading part in the conduct of all University business it is not surprising that he shortened his life by overwork.

The latter part of the episcopate of Bishop Fell was a period of much bitterness and tension. The stories of popish conspiracies, and the attempts of the party of James II to secure converts, raised feelings against the recusants such as had never existed before, and Anthony Wood reveals in his diary with what suspicion he himself was regarded because he had Roman Catholic friends. At one time also the hostility of the Church towards Nonconformists was very sharp, and the regulation of the Act of Uniformity that those who failed to attend their parish church should be fined 1*s.* for

[1] *Three Centuries of North Oxf.* by M. S. Henderson, p. 60.
[2] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 452, 482.
[3] Wood, *Life and Times*, i, 499.
[4] Dunkin, *Hist. of Bicester*, 119, 120.
[5] Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii, 797.

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each Sunday seems to have been put in force in some places. The churchwardens' book of Watlington, Oxon., records:—

> Feb. 23, 1681, distrained by John East, churchwarden of Watlington, of William Marson, labourer, as followeth, viz., one brass porrige pot, weight 7 lbs., for seven Sundays absence from our parish church by his wife, appraised by the praisers at 12*s.* 10*d.* Distrained the same day of John Pocock one kittle, weight 15 lbs., at 8*d.* per pound, and one warming pan at 2*s.*, for 15 Sundays absence from our parish church.

There are similar entries in 1682 and 1683, but none after or before.

It is said that the stringent laws passed against the recusants in the reign of William III reduced their numbers, but lists drawn up in 1706 and 1715 show that they were still numerous and influential in Oxfordshire. The former list,[1] which professes to give the names of all Roman Catholics in the county, the amount of their property, and in particular whether they possess any advowsons, is certainly very incomplete even for the parishes from which we have a return.[2] The other list,[3] which is complete for all properties of recusants that were in their own hands, though it seems to omit those that were in the hands of Protestant trustees, shows that the recusants of Oxfordshire had land of the annual value of approximately £10,000, whereas in Buckinghamshire, a county of equal acreage, population, and wealth, the amount was only £5,000.

No sooner was the Church safe from the schemes of James than another trouble arose. A considerable number of the most earnest churchmen refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III and the oath of abjuration of the Stuart line. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge produced many non-jurors, but it does not appear that among the clergy of Oxfordshire the proportion was any higher than in other counties. The rectors of Harpsden and Stanton St. John and the vicars of Charlbury and Pyrton surrendered their cures rather than take the oath;[4] but the university was full of sympathizers, and generally made some provision as far as possible for ejected fellows and incumbents. Thus at Pyrton, when Mr. Acworth the vicar resigned, the patrons, Christ Church, Oxford, appointed as successor a friend of his named William Howell,[5] who, as it is assumed by Hearne,[6] allowed his predecessor a portion from the vicarage of Pyrton sufficient for his maintenance.

In 1690 John Hough, who as president of Magdalen had played such a prominent part in resisting James II, was appointed bishop of Oxford. In 1699 he was followed by William Talbot, who had obtained the deanery of Worcester through the interest of the duke of Shrewsbury,[7] and according to Hearne was addicted to cards.[8] Unfortunately, owing to the attitude of so many of the clergy both in the time of William III and also under the Hanoverian kings, the choice of bishops was limited to the Whigs, who

[1] Printed by the Hist. MSS. Com. *Report* x, App. iv.

[2] Thus the return from the parishes of Pyrton and Shirburn (ibid. 181) mentions only three servants in the one parish and two in the other as recusants; it omits the Gages, who owned 600 acres in Pyrton, 2,000 acres in Shirburn and the advowson of the church; it also omits the Stonors, who owned nearly 2,000 acres in Pyrton.

[3] *Engl. Cath. Non-jurors of* 1715, by J. O. Payne.

[4] See the list given in J. H. Overton, *The Non-jurors*, 471 et seq.

[5] From the Pyrton Register.

[6] Hearne, *Collections*, iv, 299 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.). A note in the Pyrton Register says that the appointment was made 'with the approval of Mr. Acworth.'

[7] Hearne, *Collections*, ii, 72 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

[8] Ibid. i, 106.

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with all the virtues of reasonableness and moderation, were not men of enthusiasm or great strictness of life. In 1715 John Potter, Regius Professor of Divinity, was appointed bishop, a man of learning, whose edition of *Clement of Alexandria* is still the best. There is extant a charge that he delivered to the clergy in 1719, but it throws little light on the state of the diocese. He complains of the hostility to the clergy: 'our frailties and imperfections are highly aggravated'; he dwells on the great scandal that arises if any of the clergy are 'immersed in worldly cares and business,' an unfortunate topic to select in the age of courtier bishops.

The successor of Bishop Potter was Secker, who was translated from Bristol, and after holding the see from 1737 to 1758 was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury. From his triennial charges some idea may be formed of the state of religion in the diocese. In 1738, like his predecessor, he laments the laxity of the times: 'disregard to religion is become the distinguishing character of the present age,' and he implies that there was a malignant hostility to the Church and all Christianity. In 1741 he gives some rules about parochial matters: candidates for confirmation must not be under fourteen years old as a general rule; the clergy ought not to absent themselves from confirmations, but present their own candidates; there should be not less than four celebrations of the Holy Communion every year, and he hopes that ultimately a monthly celebration will be attained; it is not a proper custom that people should sit for the psalms; large numbers stay away from church, but if they will not alter for entreaties they must be presented by the churchwardens; communicants formed a very small proportion of the congregations; the clergy should make an effort to have service on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days; some had no service on Good Friday and Christmas Day; servants, who according to the canons ought to be brought to church for catechizing, displayed an unwillingness to say the catechism publicly. In 1753 he acknowledges that 'immorality and irreligion have grown almost beyond the reach of ecclesiastical power'; yet churchwardens must present gross offenders, and if the court pronounces excommunication they are to be publicly denounced as excommunicate, and the churchwardens are to see that they are not allowed within the church; he speaks too of the difficulty of persuading congregations to keep their churches in repair. Amid much which conveys an impression of gloom he mentions one brighter fact, that his diocese, omitting the university, contributed more than one-fortieth of the income of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the proportion now is only about one-eightieth.

The Methodist movement, which started at Oxford, for some years made little progress in the town. It hardly needs to be said that one of the first works of Wesley and his circle was to visit the prisoners, apparently both in the Castle and Bocardo, which was done with the approval of the bishop; in fact, the bishop's chaplain, who had formerly undertaken the work, resigned it to them. At South Leigh in Oxfordshire John Wesley preached his first sermon in 1725; but when his diary begins, and for some years afterwards, he speaks of Oxford with much despondency. In 1741, when he had occasion to preach in St. Mary's, he was told that every one was so prejudiced against him that it did not matter what he said; and when his turn came to preach in August, 1744, the vice-chancellor immediately

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after the sermon sent his beadle for his notes, no doubt with a view to discover heresy; but Wesley was only delighted that some one should read his sermon. Next year he speaks of Oxford as 'poor and miserable and blind and naked'; but we must remember that he was one who found it difficult to see religion unless it took exactly his form. In 1751, when he came to Oxford for an election, he noticed an improvement; there was no laughter when he appeared, or pointing, or calling of names, and henceforth his visits were more frequent. In 1769 he speaks of a dissenting meeting-house, which it seems he sometimes borrowed for his preaching; and in 1775 his society, which was now a numerous congregation, owned a large house that had formerly belonged to the Presbyterians. In 1780 there was a new chapel at Oxford, and he mentions with pleasure that many gentlemen and scholars came to hear him and behaved well. At Burford, as early as 1739, he preached to as many as 1,500 people; as it was a winter evening, this must have been in the parish church; but afterwards he seems to have paid few visits there. He had several followers at Finstock, and always enjoyed their company, but there is no doubt that Witney was the strongest centre of Methodism in the county, and in Wesley's eyes the most satisfactory in all England. He began his ministry there in 1764, and then, and on all subsequent occasions, praised the quietness, diligence, sobriety and civility of the people. Next year he again visited this 'congregation of late standing,' and by 1767 he describes his audience as 'huge.' In 1769 'we have a large and commodious house at Witney,' which however in a few years was too small. In 1783 another visit was paid to the town, and on Sunday Wesley, who always maintained that his followers were a society within the Church of England and should attend the parish church, was present there himself and the Methodists with him, so that the church was crowded, to 'the surprise and delight of the rector.' But it is evident from these words that unless Wesley was in the town it was not the custom for the Methodists to come to church; and seeing that as early as 1739, to Wesley's grief, some of his followers 'made a jest of going to church and to the sacrament,'[1] every one but Wesley must have realized in 1783 what had happened. He alone was blinded by his theory.

Whatever the causes may be, it is certain that church matters in Oxfordshire became more and more lifeless as the eighteenth century drew on. Whether it was from the dread of enthusiasm, or from a succession of bishops selected for moderate principles and political services, certain returns[2] made in 1781 and 1783 show how slovenly and meagre were the church services at that time. Out of 207 churches in the county, seventy-four had only one service on Sunday; and with the four exceptions of Bicester, Henley, Bampton and Chipping Norton, none had two sermons. The only church which according to the return had service on holy days was St. Mary's, Oxford, and one church, Adderbury, had service on Wednesdays and Fridays. It seems that no church had daily prayers, although St. Martin's, Oxford, had an endowment for that purpose. About one-third of the incumbents were not, and as they were pluralists could not be, resident on their cures. It is true that they kept curates, but as a curate in some

[1] Wesley's *Journal*, i, 245.

[2] Bodl. MS. Oxf. Archd. Papers, Oxon. E. 18.

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cases was engaged by two or more different incumbents to serve their churches, there were some parishes with no resident clergy. Pluralism was rampant, and in the next century there was the crowning instance of Mr. Pretyman, son of the bishop of Lincoln, who from 1819 to 1866 held the rectory of Middleton Stoney with five other pieces of preferment, his total income from them being £4,006 per annum.[1]

Of the bishops of Oxford of the nineteenth century several were men of mark. Charles Lloyd, who occupied the see for only two years and died at the age of forty-four, was one who might have done great things if his life had been prolonged. After a brilliant career at Oxford, he became lecturer, tutor, and censor of Christ Church, and in 1822, when he was thirty-seven years old, was made Regius Professor of Divinity. Though he held the post for only five years, he accomplished some valuable work, and his text of the Greek Testament was the standard text in use at Oxford for sixty years or more. Besides his statutory lectures he had a class for some of the younger tutors, a precedent which was followed in later days by J. B. Mozley, and among those who attended were Newman, Pusey, Greswell, Churton, and Jelf. A description of one of these classes, written by Miss Mozley,[2] gives us a picture of Lloyd as one with somewhat unepiscopal manners—rough, hearty, and with little care for dignity, but fond of his pupils, and with a genuine zeal for learning. It was through him that Pusey went to Germany to study and was promoted to the Professorship of Hebrew; and when Newman began the study of the Fathers it was with his approval. He was a scholar of the type that was more common at Cambridge than at Oxford, with more belief in hard work than in brilliancy, distrustful of dialectic and philosophy, laying emphasis on accurate exegesis and historical evidence. Many of the Tractarians affirmed that they first learnt from him that the Prayer Book was to be understood from the point of view of those who first composed and accepted it, and that the mediaeval service books were to be used as a commentary to explain it—ideas which are common now but were novel then. Newman, who never felt strongly the appeal to history, and had a bent for philosophy, was not much influenced by him, though he felt strongly the vigour of his mind and his personal kindliness;[3] but Pusey and Sir William Palmer, and other Tractarians of the historical school, probably owed much to the training of Lloyd. In 1827 he was made bishop of Oxford, and died two years later while still quite young. Good judges have thought that if he had lived a few years longer he would have been of the greatest value in dealing with the rise of the Tractarian Movement. He certainly would not have allied himself with the dominant old High Church party in Oxford, who were content to remain in ignorance and condemned as erroneous all that was new to them; he would have been in sympathy with much of the theology of the Tractarians, but whether he would have been also in sympathy with the religious side of the movement remains uncertain.

His successor was Richard Bagot, sixth son of Lord Bagot. He had passed through the stages which were customary at the time for one of high birth and good abilities; he was B.A. in 1803, Fellow of All Souls in 1804, M.A. and ordained in 1806, a canon of Windsor and the holder of family

[1] J. M. Falkner, *The Hist. of Oxf.*

[2] Newman's *Letters*, i, 111.

[3] Ibid. i, 209.

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livings in 1807, a canon of Worcester in 1817. He was appointed to the see of Oxford in 1829, and at his own request was translated to Bath and Wells in 1845. It was his misfortune to be called upon to decide some momentous questions in connexion with the rise of the Oxford Movement, and there can be no doubt that the responsibility weighed upon him, but he acquitted himself well in his difficult post. If he was unable to place himself at the head of the movement, he could appreciate well much of its practical side, and all the Tractarian leaders bore testimony to his courtesy, fairness, and personal goodness. Newman, who had a high opinion not only of his character, but also of his abilities, and described one of his charges as 'strong and bold,'[1] was grieved that he said in his charge in 1838 that there were points in the movement of which he did not approve, and asked what the points were; the bishop's reply was that nothing definite was meant, that he was thankful for the movement as a whole, but received many letters, anonymous and otherwise, disapproving of his friendliness to the Tractarians.[2] He continued to exhort Pusey and Newman to 'moderation' and to avoid 'superstition,' but in each case he meant what he himself was accustomed to consider superstition and moderation. He was not like Lloyd, a deep and original scholar, capable of judging whether the position of the Church of England needed to be re-stated; but he was unwilling to hinder the work of those whom he knew to be personally honest and earnest men, and it was only in 1841, as it seems in response to pressure put upon him, that he asked that the series of Tracts for the Times might be discontinued.

During his tenure of the see the extent of the diocese underwent a great change. Since the Reformation it had consisted of the county of Oxford, but the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, about whom Bishop Bagot hazarded the gloomy prophecy that they would be more powerful than all the bishops, shortly after their establishment brought forward a scheme for the transference of Berkshire from the diocese of Salisbury and its union with Oxford. This was accomplished in 1837 by an order in Council; but when next year, in the same way, the county of Bucks, part of the old diocese of Lincoln, was also added, the bishop of Oxford refused this second addition on the ground that it would make the see larger than any one man could supervise. The scheme, therefore, was not carried into effect until he was succeeded in 1845 by Samuel Wilberforce.

This great bishop was appointed to the see when he was only forty years old. Born in 1805, he was archdeacon of Surrey in 1839, canon of Winchester in 1840, dean of Westminster in May, 1845, and six months later bishop of Oxford; in 1869 he was translated to Winchester. Few men have had more influence on the English Church than he, not so much by his teaching as by the example he gave. He was the first, at all events in the diocese of Oxford, to break with the old ideal of a bishop's life—courtly, dignified, and peaceful; he had marvellous powers of work, and by his energy and activity welded the three counties into one body and infused new energy into its church life. If modern English bishops are men of much labour, and for the most part of simplicity of life, it was

[1] Newman's *Letters*, ii, 261. [2] Ibid. ii, 262.

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Wilberforce who set the pattern; and what is now expected from all was originated by him when he came to the diocese of Oxford.

In another way his influence was equally great; he was one of the first to see clearly that other methods of worship and church organization were needed in the nineteenth century from those in use in the sixteenth. In studying the religious history of the county, nothing is more remarkable than the almost Oriental changelessness between the years 1560 and 1820, and in particular between 1700 and 1820. It is true that the Puritans between 1560 and 1600 had made one or two small experiments, such as the institution of lectureships; between 1620 and 1640, during the Laudian revival, there was no doubt a certain development in the dignity of worship, and churches were restored and embellished; also after the Restoration there were some innovations, especially in London and town parishes, such as more frequent services and the establishment of guilds and societies for church objects, culminating in the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; but during the whole of the eighteenth century there was no alteration except the institution of Sunday schools. For the most part church matters in 1820 were exactly as they were two centuries earlier: the churches were kept in the same way, the service was said at the same hours, and with the same kind of ritual; Tate and Brady or Sternhold and Hopkins was still the Hymn Book; and during all that time the parish organization and modes of church-work remained unchanged. An awakening had already taken place, and some new churches had been built, when the Oxford Movement arose and added its force to the revival. The Tractarians laid stress not merely on doctrine and still less on ritual, but rather on personal religion, and soon saw the necessity of altering the customs of the sixteenth century. They saw the necessity of new churches, and indeed built many; Newman erected one at Littlemore in 1836, Pusey another at Leeds, and their followers imitated their example throughout the country. Existing churches were restored and beautified, services were more frequent and reverent, and church life found new openings in various directions. Although Bishop Wilberforce was never quite able to do justice to the Tractarian position, and remained to the end of his life a somewhat insular, rather than Catholic, High Churchman, yet he was at one with them in his desire to make religion a force in the life of individuals and the nation, and not a mere form. He set to work at once to procure the formation of new parishes and the erection and endowment of new churches; parsonages were built in order that there might be resident clergy in all parishes; and church restoration was taken in hand. In 1847 he founded the Oxford Diocesan Society for such objects, the immediate programme being the erection of twenty-two new churches and fifty parsonages,[1] and when he resigned the see, 250 churches had been restored and seventy parsonages built. It was estimated that during those twenty-two years the amount of money spent within the diocese on new churches, church endowments, church restoration, new parsonages, and houses of mercy amounted to over £2,000,000.[2] When it is remembered that during the 300 years from 1520 to 1820 there had been, it seems, no new

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, i, 387.

[2] From the bishop's last charge; quoted in Marshall, *Hist. of Oxf. Dioc.* 188.

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church erected, and probably not twenty during the 600 years from 1220 to 1820, we see what an epoch the episcopate of Wilberforce was. In his extreme care about confirmations and ordinations he set a new example, and what is now the rule of every bishop was initiated by him. Other novelties in church life he was one of the first to encourage, if he did not originate them; for instance, missions, retreats, sisterhoods, and theological colleges. In 1850 he conducted missions in several parts of the diocese; in 1860 he instituted a retreat for clergy at Cuddesdon; sisterhoods were founded in 1849 at Wantage, in 1852 at Clewer, and though at first his evangelical training made it hard for him to appreciate this new development, he soon learnt to value it, and guided it with wisdom. Cuddesdon Theological College was founded by him in 1854, one of the first, though not quite the first, of such institutions; and the bishop appointed Liddon vice-principal, recognizing his genius for that work. When the college and its vice-principal were violently attacked in the Press in 1858 the bishop defended them, and though Liddon subsequently resigned, it was in connexion with another matter. The bishop did much to encourage evening services and surpliced choirs; he urged the abolition of family pews and all that hindered the poor from taking their rightful place in worship. Though he was not without friends in high places, and had not to endure the continuous storm of insult and misrepresentation which fell on Pusey, yet he deserves to be reckoned among those who have suffered persecution for righteousness' sake; as he said himself, if he had not followed his convictions and left the evangelical school to which his father belonged, he would have been enthroned at Lambeth before he was fifty by the dominant evangelical party;[1] and any reference to the back numbers of the newspapers will show that like John Wesley he was called upon to endure much unpopularity with the unthinking public because of his zeal for religion.

John Fielder Mackarness, who was appointed in 1869, was in many points a contrast to his brilliant predecessor, but he was of equal industry and perhaps greater judgement. He had been an incumbent in two parishes for twenty-four years, and no bishop of Oxford had so much experience of parish work. During his episcopate St. Stephen's House at Oxford was opened in 1876 as a place of training for candidates for orders; in 1878 Dorchester Missionary College was founded, not indeed through the efforts of the bishop, but before long he became its visitor: Pusey House was established in 1884 at a cost of nearly £40,000, the bishop himself taking a leading part in the scheme; and in the same year the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, at their first general chapter requested him to become their visitor.[2] He did not aim at ministering to a wider sphere than his own diocese, but in one matter he was brought forward more prominently. In 1879 when he was requested to allow proceedings to be taken against Canon Carter of Clewer for illegal practices in the conduct of divine service, he gave a refusal on the ground that the promoters of the suit were not parishioners. Application was then made in the Queen's Bench for a 'Writ of Mandamus,' and in the first instance the decision was that a bishop had no power to withhold his consent to legal proceedings under the Church

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, ii, 360.

[2] *Memorials of Bishop Mackarness*, 22–47.

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Discipline Act; but in the two higher courts this judgement was reversed, so that it fell to Bishop Mackarness to be the first to secure the episcopal right of veto. There can be no doubt that his action has saved the Church from much strife, and that if he had not appealed from the first verdict, the position of a bishop would, as he said, have been intolerable. He resigned the see in 1888 through failing health, and died the next year. William Stubbs, bishop of Chester, the historian, was elected his successor 24 December, 1888, and occupied the see for more than twelve years. During 1889 and 1890 he served as an assessor to the archbishop of Canterbury during the Lincoln Judgement, but with this exception his episcopate was uneventful. He died 22 April, 1901, and Francis Paget, dean of Christ Church, was appointed.

APPENDIX

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

The connexion of Oxfordshire with the dioceses of Dorchester, Lincoln, and Oxford having been traced, there remains the question of the ecclesiastical subdivision of the county. Henry of Huntingdon states that the first archdeacon of Oxford was Alfred, appointed by Bishop Remigius, and that Walter, of whom we have evidence as early as 1112, was the second.[1] It appears certain that from the first the county and archdeaconry of Oxford have been co-terminous.

The Taxatio divides the county into nine rural deaneries, which had the same titles, and almost the same boundaries, as were in use in 1840. How old these divisions are, and how they originated, is uncertain, but the rural dean appears frequently among the witnesses in Oxfordshire charters in the twelfth century; and in some rural deaneries it is possible to recover the successions from the time of Henry I. Thus in Oxford we have 'Thomas le Den' about 1120;[2] William about 1138;[3] Odbrich 'decanus Oxenefordie' before 1151;[4] 'Johannes de Oxenford decanus ecclesie beate Marie de Oxenford' before 1165,[5] when he was promoted to the deanery of Salisbury; he was succeeded by 'Radulfus decanus de sancto Martino,' 1165 to *c.* 1183;[6] he was followed by his son Nigel de sancto Martino, who died in 1199.[7] That the rural deaneries were always nine in number, and contained the parishes which we find in 1291, cannot definitely be proved; but all the evidence, as far as it has been collected, agrees with this assumption. It is certain, however, that some of the names of the rural deaneries cannot be primitive; as Woodstock did not come into existence until the reign of Henry I, there could have been no rural deanery of Woodstock in Saxon times; and in fact the deaneries seem to have had no distinctive names at first; rural deans and ruridecanal chapters are in the twelfth century expressed by the phrases 'decanus loci' and 'capitulum loci,' or if the name of the place is added to *decanus* it is the parish where the rural dean was beneficed. This style has not always been understood, so that (to give an example) Anthony Wood drew the conclusion from the title 'decanus ecclesie sancte Marie' that the church of St. Mary in Oxford always had a dean, the true explanation being that the post of rural dean was held by the rector of St. Mary's, just as it was afterwards held by two successive rectors of St. Martin's. Perhaps the earliest instance of a rural deanery with a distinctive name is in 1192, when what is now known as the rural deanery of Henley is spoken of as the deanery of Chiltern, the title being 'Thomas decanus de Ciltra';[8] again in 1240 a certain agreement is to be enforced for all time by the 'rural dean of Aston,' which evidently cannot mean 'the vicar of Aston Rowant, now rural dean.'[9] When soon after the middle of the thirteenth century it became the custom for rural deans to have a seal of office, it was inevitable that each rural deanery should have a fixed name,[10] but at what date they obtained the titles which we find in 1291 is uncertain. That

[1] See above, p. 5.
[2] Godstow Cartul. fol. 1; Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 527.
[3] Cartul. of Sandford (Wood MS. 10), fol. 110.
[4] Godstow Cartul. fol. 94, and *passim*.
[5] Oseney Chart. 451 (Bodl. Lib.).
[6] Oseney Cartul. Charter No. 3 (MS.).
[7] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 93.
[8] Oxon. Fines, fol. 2, No. 19.
[9] Oseney Cartul. Charter No. 403 (MS.).
[10] The seal of the rural deanery of Oxford represents an ox. It has not been found on deeds before about 1290; the seal of the Bicester rural deanery is said to have been a pelican.

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ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF OXFORDSHIRE

SHEWING RURAL DEANERIES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES ACCORDING TO THE VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS OF 1535

Reference

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BENEDICTINE MONKS
1. Eynsham Abbey
2. Pheleley Priory
3. Canterbury College, Oxford
4. Durham College, "
5. Gloucester College, "

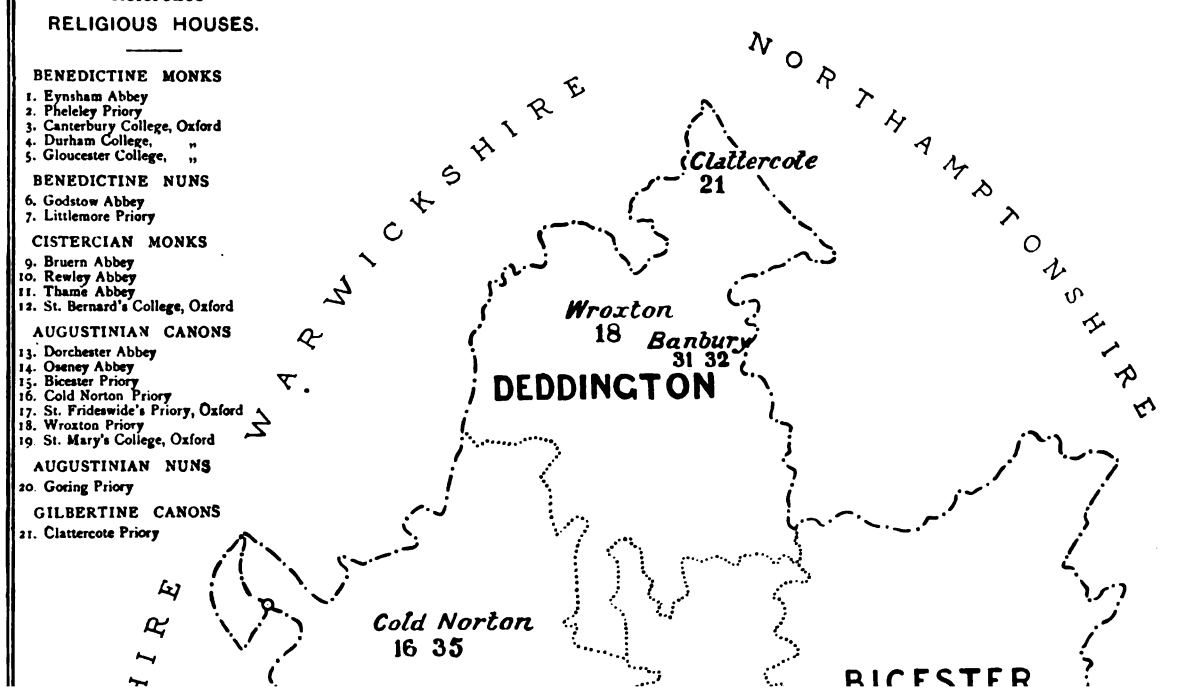
BENEDICTINE NUNS
6. Godstow Abbey
7. Littlemore Priory

CISTERCIAN MONKS
9. Bruern Abbey
10. Rewley Abbey
11. Thame Abbey
12. St. Bernard's College, Oxford

AUGUSTINIAN CANONS
13. Dorchester Abbey
14. Oseney Abbey
15. Bicester Priory
16. Cold Norton Priory
17. St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford
18. Wroxton Priory
19. St. Mary's College, Oxford

AUGUSTINIAN NUNS
20. Goring Priory

GILBERTINE CANONS
21. Clattercote Priory



KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS
23 Sandford Preceptory

FRIARS
24. Oxford Dominicans
25. " Franciscans
26. " Carmelites
27. " Augustinians
28. " Crutched Friars
29. " Friars of the Sack
30. " Trinitarians

HOSPITALS
31. Banbury, St. John the Baptist
32. " St. Leonard
33. Bicester, St. John the Baptist
34. Burford, St. John the Evangelist
35. Cold Norton
36. Crowmarsh, St. Mary Magdalen
37. Ewelme
38. Eynsham
39. Oxford, St. Bartholomew
40. " St. Clement
41. " St. Giles
42. " St. John the Baptist
43. " St. Peter
44. Woodstock, Holy Cross
45. " St. Mary
46. Woodstock

COLLEGES
47. Canons of the Church of St. George, Oxford
48. College of St. George, Oxford

ALIEN HOUSES
49. Cogges Priory
50. Minster Lovell Priory

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this did not take place at the time of the Taxatio is proved by an Eynsham charter of 1270,[1] which mentions by name the deaneries of Witney, Woodstock, Deddington, Bicester, Cuddesdon, and Chipping Norton.

The boundaries of rural deaneries in Oxfordshire, as throughout southern Mercia, correspond in no way with the boundaries of the hundreds, and even the original parishes occasionally extended into two hundreds. Thus Pyrton parish originally included the manor of Easington in the hundred of Ewelme, besides the forty hides in the hundred of Pyrton.[2]

Traces of the subjection of one church to another are found even where for a long time they had been in independent parishes. Thus Launton, which figures in 1217 as a parish church with both a rector and a vicar,[3] had not obtained the right of sepulture even two centuries later, but brought the dead to Bicester church.[4] Sarsden church, which was given to Eynsham by its lord as early as 1180, made an annual payment to the church of Churchill until 1375,[5] and Cokethorpe made a similar payment to Ducklington. This last church had a curious position. An inquisition[6] held in 1290 decided that the church of Cokethorpe had existed from beyond all memory, that the incumbent was called rector of Cokethorpe, but that it was not certain whether the patron was the rector of Ducklington or the lord of Ducklington; the church was to serve the two hamlets of Cokethorpe and Hardwick, but the dead were buried in the former case at Ducklington, in the latter at Bampton.

Taking the rural deaneries in order, we find that in the deanery of Aston the Taxatio enumerates seventeen churches, but omits Tetsworth, Sydenham, Britwell Salome, Pishill, Stokenchurch, Ibstone, and Warpsgrove. Yet at that time there were churches at all these villages. Roger 'persona de Tetsworth' and William 'presbiter de Tettleswode' attest deeds of 1160–90;[7] Isaac, vicar of Sydenham, is mentioned about 1270;[8] and the reason why these two churches are omitted in 1291 is that they must have been given by the patrons to augment the prebend of Thame, and were served by curates appointed by the prebendary; in fact they remained curacies of Thame until recent times. Ibstone, which was reckoned to be in Oxfordshire,[9] and Britwell are both mentioned before 1235 in the Institutions of Bishop Hugh, and the former church was given to Oseney Abbey before 1160,[10] though afterwards surrendered. Pishill was given to Dorchester Abbey before 1189;[11] the rector of Warpsgrove is mentioned in 1279,[12] and the church occurs in 1216;[13] and Stokenchurch, though only a chapelry of Aston as late as the eighteenth century, had a chapel before 1206, and was even in possession of its own cemetery by that time.[14] There were also the following chapels in this deanery: one at Standhill in the parish of Pyrton, founded about 1200,[15] in existence in 1526,[16] but destroyed not long after; one at Ackhampstead or Chyssebech, then in the parish of Lewknor, but now in the county of Bucks, mentioned in 1242,[17] and still existing in the eighteenth century; a chapel of St. James at Henton in the parish of Chinnor, for the construction or repair of which the bishop granted an indulgence in 1308;[18] a chapel at Berwick in the parish of Chalgrove, mentioned as early as 1319,[19] and still in use; and a chapel at North Weston existing in 1526, and served by a curate under the prebendary of Thame.[20] At Britwell Prior there was a chapel of ease to Newington before 1200,[21] which was standing in 1846; but as Newington was a peculiar of the archbishop of Canterbury we have no records about it. It may be added that the church of Warpsgrove, which has long since disappeared, seems to have existed until after 1535.[22] It will therefore be seen that in 1291 there were twenty-three churches in the deanery and certainly three chapels of ease, probably four; and that as far as our evidence goes they were all in existence in 1215.

In the Henley deanery the Taxatio mentions seventeen churches, including Swyncombe (now in the deanery of Aston), and two chapels, Ipsden and Newnham Murren. To this list, however, we must add Lashbrook, a chapel to Shiplake, founded before 1230;[23] a chapel at Woodcote in

[1] Eynsham Cartul. 13.
[2] *Godstow Cartul.* (Early Engl. Text Soc.), 323.
[3] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 70.
[4] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grey, Mem. fol. 175.
[5] *Cartul. St. Frideswide*, ii, 293.
[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fol. 127.
[7] Thame Cartulary MS. fols. 40, 39.
[8] Oxf. Chart. No. 37 (Bodl. Lib.)
[9] *Inst. of Hugh Wells*, i, 147.
[10] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 51.
[11] *Cal. Chart. R. John* (Rec. Com.), 150.
[12] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 756.
[13] *Inst. of Hugh Wells*, i, 7 (corrigenda).
[14] Berks. Chart. 36 (Bodl. Lib.).
[15] White Kennett, *Par. Antiq.* and *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 10.
[16] Subsidy of 1526, Linc. MS.
[17] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste, Inst.
[18] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 118. A parson of Henton is mentioned in a deed of 1239–1240 (see Royce, *Hist. of Chinnor*, 15).
[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 171.
[20] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 287, and Subsidy of 1526, Linc. MS.
[21] Parker, *Archit. Guide to Oxf.* 325.
[22] See *Valor Eccl.*; compare also Addington, *Hist. of Dorch.* 86.
[23] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 178.

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South Stoke, which contains Norman work;[1] the parish church of Bolney, which is mentioned in 1235, and was destroyed in 1453, when the parish was united with Harpsden;[2] Nettlebed, reckoned to be a chapel of Benson in 1279;[3] Bix Gibwin, the ruins of which show that it was of Norman architecture,[4] of which there was a rector named Thomas in 1240,[5] and to which we find presentations as early as the rolls of institutions begin. It may be pointed out that though Newnham Murren was a chapel of Mongewell, yet the record of an inquisition[6] held in 1184 shows that both churches had at that time existed from beyond the memory of man. Thus in the deanery of Henley there were twenty-four churches and chapels in 1291, of which all, or all but one, date from before 1230.

In the deanery of Cuddesdon the Taxatio mentions twenty-two churches, one of them being Thame, and another 'Dorchester with its prebendal chapels.' In 1526 these chapels are enumerated as: Warborough, Stadham, Benson, Clifton Hampden, Drayton, and Toot Baldon; to which we must add Chislehampton, which was served by the chaplain of Stadham (=Stadhampton),[7] and two chapels at Burcot and Overe, close to Dorchester.[8] Whether some of these were built after 1291 we cannot say, but the churches of Benson, Warborough, Clifton Hampden, Drayton, and Toot Baldon prove[9] by their architecture that they existed by the year 1200. We must also add to the list given in the Taxatio the church of Albury, which had both a vicar and a rector in 1217;[10] of Sandford-on-Thames, built by Gerri de Planastre shortly after the Norman Conquest;[11] of Culham, which was confirmed to Abingdon Abbey in 1111;[12] of Newington, which shows Norman work;[13] of March Baldon, which certainly existed in 1219,[14] having, perhaps, been built not long before.[15] We may also safely add the churches of Noke[16] and Piddington, thus obtaining a total of thirty-five churches in this deanery at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Of these the church of Woodperry exists no longer, having apparently been burnt in the fifteenth century, but fragments of it have been found.[17] There was also a chapel of ease at Ascot in the parish of Great Milton, built in the thirteenth century and standing as late as 1800;[18] also another at Latchford in the parish of Haseley, built by Henry Fitz-Nigel, rector of Haseley, in 1300,[19] and according to the complaint of the parishioners destroyed in 1347 by the abbot of Thame, who was bound to provide a monk to serve the chapel.[20] There was also a chapel at Little Haseley in 1279,[21] one at Little Milton in 1542,[22] and another at Rycott, built and also endowed by Richard Quartermain[23] about 1450.

In the deanery of Oxford the Taxatio mentions ten churches, and four that are described as chapels—Binsey, St. Thomas's, Holywell, and Wolvercot—but this return is utterly inadequate; there were twenty-two churches in 1291, and the charters about Oxford are so abundant that we are able to assert with practical certainty that they all existed a hundred years earlier, and that more than three-quarters of them date from before the Norman Conquest. The charter of Henry I to St. Frideswide's in 1122 gives the names of seven churches and three chapels—the churches of St. Frideswide, All Saints, St. Mildred, St. Michael's North, St. Peter-le-Bailey, St. Aldate, and St. Edward; with the chapels of Holy Trinity, St. Michael's South, and St. Clement.[24] None of these are mentioned as though they were new churches, and a fact which we learn in charters of Bishop Roger[25] of the year 1139, that there had been legal proceedings about the possession of many of them in the reign of Henry I, proves that they cannot have been of recent foundation; for in that case there would have been no doubt who was the patron. Four other churches date from before the Conquest—St. Martin's given to Abingdon Abbey in 1032,[26] St. Ebbe's given to Eynsham in 1005, and St. Mary's and St. Peter's-in-the-East, both mentioned in Domesday Book; of the building of Holywell and Wolvercot, the two chapels belonging to St. Peter's-in-the-East, we

[1] This may be the 'capella sancti Leonardi de Egguslade' (Harl. R. fol. 20) repaired in 1402 at the expense of Eynsham Abbey: the abbey held the church and manor of South Stoke, and Exlade is often mentioned as a part of the parish.

[2] *Notes of Bolney Church and Manor* (Oxf. Arch. Soc.).

[3] Hund. R. ii, 751.

[4] Murray, *Handbook to Oxf.* 5.

[5] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 146.

[6] Ibid. fol. 22.

[7] In 1372 the bishop of Lincoln settled a dispute between the churches of Stadhampton and Chislehampton; Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 138.

[8] Addington, *Hist. of Dorch.* 92.

[9] See Murray, *Handbook to Oxf.* 11 and 117.

[10] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 92.

[11] *Hund. R.* ii, 723.

[12] Parker, *Archit. Guide to Oxf.* 369.

[13] Ibid. 821.

[14] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 202.

[15] Parker, *Archit. Guide to Oxf.* 369.

[16] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 16.

[17] Parker, *Archit. Guide to Oxf.* 238.

[18] Ibid. 320.

[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 14.

[20] *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 184.

[21] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii.

[22] Parker, *Archit. Guide to Oxf.* 319.

[23] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 330.

[24] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 11.

[25] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 17.

[26] *Abingdon Cartul.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 439.

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have no information, but they both existed before the end of the twelfth century,[1] and there is no reason why their origin may not have been far earlier. The church of St. Budoc, which is mentioned as early as 1140,[2] must date from before the Conquest; for the patronage of it belonged to the king,[3] which would not have been the case if it had been founded after 1066. Of the church of St. John we have no definite mention before 1215,[4] but the parish of St. John is mentioned in charters at an earlier date. The chapel of Binsey or Margaretwell occurs in 1141,[5] and as it was a sacred spot where Edith the founder of Godstow settled about 1120, it was evidently not a recent foundation. The church of St. Mary Magdalen must also date from before the Conquest, as there was a dispute about its possession as early as the reign of Henry I, who confirmed it on one occasion to the canons of St. George's as granted them by Robert d'Oilly I, and on another occasion to the priory of St. Frideswide, as part of the possessions of the original secular canons.[6]

Only two churches out of the twenty-two were certainly later than 1066. The church of St. Giles was founded by Edwin Godegose in the reign of Henry I, and the advowson was subsequently granted by him to Godstow Abbey.[7] Also the chapel of St. George's was erected by Robert d'Oilly I in 1074 within the castle of Oxford.[8] At first it was a parish church, but in 1142, during the siege of Oxford, a chapel of St. Nicholas was built in the island of Oseney, within the parish of St. George's, and was licensed in 1186, if not earlier, to serve as a parish church for the residents in the island of Oseney. Finally, about 1220, its title was changed to St. Thomas's, and the whole of the parish of St. George's, excepting only the castle, was attached to it.

Of these old parish churches several have been suppressed. The church of St. Budoc about 1265 was given by the king to the Penitentiarian friars for their chapel,[9] and the parish was united with St. Ebbe's; in 1298 the parish of St. Frideswide was suppressed and united with St. Edward's;[10] and the church of St. Edward in its turn came to an end about 1450;[11] St. Mildred's Church was pulled down in 1437, and the parish united with St. Michael's.[12] The church of St. Michael's South was destroyed at the building of Cardinal College; and the chapel of Holy Trinity, the site of which is uncertain, never attained the rank of a parish church.

In the deanery of Woodstock we notice again that the Taxatio is incomplete, for it omits the churches of Begbroke, Stonesfield, and Wilcote, although we have institutions to them before 1224.[13] Against the modern parish and church of Freeland we can set several chapels which have been destroyed: one at Hensington, in Bladon, mentioned as early as 1200, and as late as 1545;[14] another at Ledwell, in the parish of Sandford St. Martin, existing in 1220;[15] two more at Ludwell and Hordley, in the parish of Wootton.[16] At Frees, in Kidlington, there was a chapel of St. Leonard granted to Oseney before 1195,[17] while the Hospitallers had a chapel at Goseford in the same parish in the year 1235.[18] Omitting Cogges and South Leigh, which have now been transferred from the Woodstock to the Witney deanery, there were thirty-one chapels and churches in the time of the Taxatio, but now only twenty-seven. Nor is there any reason to say that they had then been recently erected. From the institutions of the bishop of Lincoln we know that, with the possible exception of three of the chapels, they were all in existence in 1220. Of Cassington we are fortunate enough to know the date; for this village, which was originally part of the parish of Eynsham, a church was built about 1115–23,[19] and so badly that the tower had to be taken down within a few years.[20] Yarnton, which was also originally part of the parish of Eynsham, and paid tithes to that abbey, must have had a church before Cassington; otherwise the people of Yarnton would have been cut off from their church when Cassington was made into a parish.

Once more when we reach the Chipping Norton deanery we notice how incomplete is the Taxatio. It makes no mention of the churches of Cornwell, Sarsden, and Salford; yet the two former were given to Eynsham Abbey before the end of the twelfth century,[21] while in Salford church there is Norman work. Although the deanery contains four modern parishes and churches —Finstock, Leafield, Milton-under-Wychwood and Ramsden—yet it had more churches in 1200

[1] Holywell church had an anchorite about 1180; see Surius, vi, 688.
[2] In an Oseney charter.
[3] *Cal. Pat. R. John* (Rec. Com.), 64.
[4] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 36.
[5] *Cartul. St. Frid.* i, 24.
[6] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 17.
[7] Misc. Books, Exch. K.R. No. 20, fol. 1.
[8] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 10.
[9] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 476.
[10] *Cartul. St. Frid.* i, 129.
[11] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 58.
[12] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 95.
[13] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 95, 126; ii, 13.
[14] Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock*, 323, 410.
[15] *Liber Hugonis Welles*, 2.
[16] *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 31.
[17] Oseney Cartul. MS. charter 74A.
[18] Ibid. charter, 108.
[19] *Eynsham Cartul.* 43.
[20] Ibid. 92.
[21] Ibid. 100, 122.

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than now. For the five following have disappeared: a chapel at Showell in Swerford, given to John, bishop of Norwich, before 1214[1]; a church at Asterleigh or Esterley, erected before 1216,[2] and destroyed in 1466, when the parish was transferred to the rural deanery of Woodstock and united with Kiddington[3]; the parish church of Treton (in Domesday Drayton) was given to the monks of Bruern about 1160 and absorbed by them[4]; at Pudlicot there was a chapel given to Eynsham before 1167,[5] but apparently destroyed soon after; and whereas Sarsden and Churchill are now served by one church, there were formerly two. The Taxatio also mentions a chapel at Linham, in the parish of Shipton (now Lyneham); but as we find no reference to it in a deed of 1226, concerning the parish church of Shipton[6] and its dependent chapels, it is doubtful whether it existed at that time. The case of Pudlicot in this deanery brings clearly before us the fact that the process of destroying churches and amalgamating parishes began as early as the end of the twelfth century, and that speaking generally there were more churches and parishes in the thirteenth century than in the sixteenth or eighteenth. Excluding Swinbrook, which was then in this deanery, the number of churches and chapels was twenty-seven, but now only twenty-five.

In the deanery of Witney the Taxatio omits the churches Asthall Leigh, Bradwell, Kelmscot, Fulbrook, Filkins, Little Faringdon, Hailey, Crawley, Holwell, Bampton Aston, Bampton Lew, Widford, and Yelford; but several of them were certainly in existence. The church of Yelford occurs in 1221[7]; Fulbrook in 1229[8]; Bradwell was given to the Templars before 1185,[9] and its two chapels of Kelmscot and Holwell are mentioned in 1220[10]; Widford and Little Faringdon are omitted because they were at that time in the counties of Gloucestershire and Berkshire respectively[11]: Filkins and Crawley, Aston and Bampton Lew are new churches. For Hailey and Asthall Leigh we have no evidence. Of these churches Widford is now disused; and while the deanery contained about thirty churches in 1291, it now has thirty-four.

In the deanery of Deddington, where there are now thirty-eight churches, the Taxatio gives no more than fifteen; but it is easy to show that the number should be much higher. The following churches, omitted by it, were in existence before the year 1200: Cropredy, which was a prebend of Lincoln from early times, and Sibford Gower, which was given to the Templars in 1153[12]; while the churches of Barford St. John, Claydon, Horley, Hornton, and Wardington all contain traces of Norman architecture. Balscote chapel and Milcombe were both in existence in 1220;[13] Over Worton in 1279[14] and Epwell and Nether Worton show by their architecture that these were erected before 1291. For the same reason the churches of Bodicote and Great Bourton are certainly as early as the fourteenth century, and Mollington probably earlier. Shenington, which is now in this deanery, was in the diocese of Worcester in old days. In the year 1396, when a vicarage was ordained at Adderbury, we hear[15] of a chapel, now destroyed, at Milton, within that parish; and we are also told of similar chapels at Clifton in Deddington, and Prescot in Cropredy.[16] We have therefore good reason for thinking that the number of churches and chapels in 1291 was very little, if anything, short of the number there now is. Of the origin of these churches we can only fix the date for Milcombe; about the year 1200 it was in dispute[17] whether the church of Wigginton or the church of Bloxham could claim the tithes of Milcombe; but twenty years later there was a chapel at Milcombe, built no doubt by the nuns of Godstow, who had the appropriation of Bloxham church. It may be pointed out that the name Cyric-tiwa (i.e. Church Tew), used in Saxon times for Great Tew,[18] proves the high antiquity of that church.

In the deanery of Bicester the Taxatio gives a list of twenty-nine churches, some of which are now transferred to the modern deanery of Islip; yet even this is incomplete. It omits Merton church, given to Eynsham before 1140,[19] Newton Purcell, given to Bicester Priory about 1200,[20] and Shelswell, to which we have institutions from 1220 onwards[21]; and as the church of Hampton

[1] Oseney Cartul. No. 246 (MS.).
[2] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 23.
[3] Warton, *Hist. of Kiddington*, 24.
[4] See the account of Bruern Abbey in the article on the 'Religious Houses.'
[5] *Eynsham Cartul.* 2.
[6] *Sarum Chart.* (Roll. Ser.), 103.
[7] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, ii, 6.
[8] Ibid. ii, 28.
[9] Misc. Bks. Exch. K.R. No. 16, fol. 29.
[10] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 183.
[11] The rector of Widford is men ioned in the Close R. of 1231, p. 71.
[12] Wood MS. empt. 10, fol. 93.
[13] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 6 and 7.
[14] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 838.
[15] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 452.
[16] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 129, 135.
[17] *Cartul. of Godstow*, i. (E.E.T.S.). 351.
[18] Mat. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 29.
[19] *Eynsham Cartul.* 41.
[20] Anct. D. D. 903.
[21] *Inst. of Bp. Hugh*, i, 110.

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Poyle is of early English architecture, it must have been standing by 1291. Early in the fourteenth century there was a chapel at Stratton Audley,[1] but it is not mentioned in the ordination of the vicarage of Bicester about 1220.[2] Two of the parishes and churches of this deanery have disappeared, Tusmore and Shelswell, the former before 1718, the latter about 1800.[3] The number therefore in 1291 should have been thirty-three, and we see that there were more churches then than now.

As at present constituted the county contains ten rural deaneries, a new deanery of Islip having been formed by the removal of Noke from the deanery of Oxford; Bletchingdon, Charlton, Hampton Gay, Hampton Poyle, Islip, Marston and Oddington from that of Bicester; and Beckley, Elsfield, Forest Hill, Headington, Stanton, Studley, and Woodeaton from that of Cuddesdon.

[1] Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 98 and 102.
[2] Blomfield, *Hist. of Tusmore and Shelswell.*
[3] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 7.

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THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF OXFORDSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

THE religious houses of Oxfordshire were not remarkable for wealth, antiquity or learning. None of them could compare in wealth with the neighbouring abbeys of Reading or Abingdon; nor in antiquity with the ancient monasteries of Worcestershire. None of the Oxfordshire houses had an income of £800 a year at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries; and none of them could claim an unbroken existence from Saxon times.

It is noticeable that the county contained no Cluniac nor Premonstratensian houses, and, if we omit the canons of St. George's in the castle of Oxford, no collegiate church, except All Saints', Oxford, which is treated elsewhere in its later aspect as Lincoln College.

Many of the Oxford colleges would naturally be described under the heading of 'religious houses.' Though not monastic, because their members were not bound by the vow of poverty, yet they were religious houses; and the vows of chastity and obedience were enforced there, just as in any collegiate church. But for convenience' sake all colleges, other than the monastic colleges, are reserved for future treatment.

The houses will be described in the following order: first the five Benedictine houses, two being for men and three for women; next, the three Cistercian houses; then the seven houses of the Austin rule, of which two abbeys and four priories were for men and one priory for women. Of the Gilbertine order we have Clattercote, originally a hospital for lepers. There were two alien priories, Cogges and Minster Lovell, founded about 1103 and 1203 respectively; and from 1073 to 1149 there existed the secular canons of St. George's, Oxford. There were also establishments of the Templars at Sandford, and of the Hospitallers at Clanfield.

There were five monastic colleges established in Oxford; Gloucester College founded in 1283; Durham College, in 1291; and Canterbury College, in 1362; all these were for Benedictines. St. Bernard's College for Cistercians was founded in 1437, and in 1435 St. Mary's College for Augustinian canons. There was also St. George's College under the canons of Oseney.

Of endowed hospitals we have seven, while there were unendowed hospitals numbering at least six, probably more.

The word 'priory' survives at certain spots in the county, where no independent houses existed. The so-called priory of Caversham can only have been a grange from Notley Abbey, and the priory at Great Milton a grange from Abingdon. Occasionally a person called 'prior de Kurtlinton' is mentioned; but he was, it seems, nothing more than the agent of the abbey of Aunay, who resided at Kirtlington to collect the tithes for the abbey.

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RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

1. THE ABBEY OF EYNSHAM

The Benedictine abbey of Eynsham, under the patronage of St. Mary, was first founded in 1005 by Æthelmar, the Ealderman, and endowed with the manors of Eynsham, Shifford, Shipton-on-Cherwell and Yarnton in Oxfordshire; Esher and Ditton in Surrey; Mickleton in Gloucestershire; and the church of St. Ebbe in Oxford with land adjoining.[1] The first abbot was Ælfric, the grammarian.[2] At the Norman Conquest the monks fled and the place was deserted; but Bishop Remigius,[3] who seems to have received the lands which the abbey once held in his diocese, restored and re-endowed it, and by 1086 it was in possession of Eynsham, Shifford, Yarnton, Mickleton, and Little Rollright with the church of St. Ebbe,[4] Columbanus being the abbot. In 1091 the bishop, who was building a cathedral for himself at Lincoln, determined to transfer his monastery to Stow in Lincolnshire. Eadnoth I, bishop of Dorchester (1005–16), had founded a monastery there, retaining for himself and his successors in the see of Dorchester a certain share of the offerings made at the monastery; between 1055 and 1057 Earl Leofric and Godiva had enriched it with the manors of Fledborough, Newark, and Brampton;[5] but with the advent of the Normans the foundation came to an end. The Conqueror, however, assented to the refoundation of the house and to the union of Eynsham with it, and gave Sleaford to the bishop in compensation for the offerings he had hitherto received at Stow.[6] William II not only renewed his father's grant, but renounced all claim to the patronage of the new monastery;[7] and in 1091 the bishop nominated Columbanus, abbot of Eynsham, to be abbot of Stow.[8] But two or three years later the next bishop, Robert Bloett, who had no affection for monks, determined to keep Stow and its endowments for his own use, and to send the monks back to Eynsham; but the king insisted that he should grant in compensation the churches and manors of Histon in Cambridgeshire, and Charlbury and South Stoke, Oxon, with tithes from Banbury and Thame.[9]

Eynsham therefore was finally established in 1094 or 1095. Of the original possessions it retained the manors and churches of Mickleton and Eynsham; it held Little Rollright (probably in exchange for Shipton-on-Cherwell), the manor of Shifford and the church of Yarnton, but in the manor of Yarnton nothing beyond the feudal lordship. It had also the three large and rich manors given by Bishop Robert. Other possessions, which followed in the course of the twelfth century, were the churches of Merton (given by David king of Scotland), of South Newington (given by Hugh de Chesney about 1160), Combe (by the Empress in 1141), Cassington (by its builder Geoffrey de Clinton about 1120), Tetbury in Worcestershire (by Reginald of St. Walery), Brize Norton (by Walkelin Hareng), Cornwell, Westcot Barton, Whitfield in Northants, Souldern[10] (by Jordan de Sai), and others. Histon and Brize Norton churches were appropriated in 1268, Whitfield in 1240, Charlbury in 1293, Merton in 1354,[11] Eynsham, Yarnton, and Cassington before 1200. One donation of Bishop Alexander, received in 1138, deserves special mention; the ancient offerings called processionals, smoke-farthings or Pentecostals, a farthing from every house, which were made to the cathedral at Pentecost, were as regards the county of Oxford assigned to Eynsham.[12]

In 1291 the income of the abbey was about £325, of which three-quarters came from properties received before 1100.

A peculiar feature of Eynsham, easily explicable from its history, was that the patron was not the king, as with other Saxon monasteries, but the bishop. In 1196 King Richard claimed to be patron, but St. Hugh resisted him and won the day.[13]

Of the inmates of Eynsham none have secured any prominence except Adam, abbot 1213–28. He is well known now as the author of the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* (published in the Rolls Series), having been taken by St. Hugh from Eynsham in 1197 to become his chaplain. He was also author of another work more highly valued in the Middle Ages, the account of the vision of Edmund the monk of Eynsham, which is extant in no less than twelve manuscripts. The occurrence is mentioned by Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover. On Thursday before Easter 1196 a young monk fell into a trance, and only returned to life on the Saturday evening; whereupon he related how he had visited the other world in the company of St. Nicholas, and what he had seen. His own brother Adam, at that time sub-prior, put it into literary form with no little skill,[14] evidently at the suggestion

[1] *Eynsham Cartul.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), chart. 1, 7.
[2] *Leechdoms* (Rolls Ser.), iii, p. xxiii.
[3] *Vita Sancti Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), 189.
[4] Dom. Bk. fol. 166.
[5] *Cartul.* chart. 1. [6] Chart. 3, 27.
[7] *Linc. Catb. Stat.* (ed. Wordsworth), ii, 3.
[8] Chart. 5. [9] Chart. 6, 7.
[10] Chart. 15, 17, 19, 29, 60, 104, 116.
[11] Chart. 235*a*, 356, 372, 503, 575.
[12] Chart. 8.
[13] *Vita Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), 190.
[14] It has been printed in *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. xxii. Also Prof. Arber has reproduced an old English translation of it.

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of St. Hugh. These works show that Adam was a man of scholarship and earnestness, though he lived to be deposed for mismanagement and perjury.[1]

In November, 1284, Archbishop Peckham visited Eynsham and found that the late abbot, John of Oxford, who had resigned some three years previously, had been provided for by Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, on an unwisely liberal scale, which the archbishop ordered to be reduced. His daily allowance of four loaves and four gallons of beer was in future to suffice for the monk assigned him as a companion as well as for himself, and on Sundays and feast days he was to dine with the convent—unless invited to the abbot's table; no secular was to eat with him and what was left over from his meals was to be added to the convent's alms. His money allowance was reduced from 10 marks to 100*s*., and although not forbidden to keep a secular squire the desirability of his attendant being a clerk was strongly urged. Peckham at the same time ordered that the 'outside cellarer,' or monk to whose care the abbey's manors were entrusted, should not have a staff of servants or horses, and when taking meals at any manors should charge them to the bursars.[2]

In 1296 on the Tuesday after Pentecost 'certain clerks, scholars of Oxford, were attacked at Eynsham; some were wounded, others killed'; the unknown perpetrators were to be excommunicated.[3] It was the day on which the Pentecostals were brought to Eynsham, and also the first day of the fair, which the abbey was allowed to hold by the grant of Henry II.

In 1344 there were great disturbances at the abbey. Abbot Nicholas de Upton was deposed by the bishop, but returning with a band of 1,500 armed men, as his enemies said, drove out the new abbot and many, if not all, of the monks. Fourteen of them complained to the pope that they had fled in fear of their lives;[4] two others were 'vagabond in secular habit.'[5] It seems that Nicholas remained master of the field, and the monks returned; but in 1351 he resigned, and lived for many years at Eynsham in honoured retirement with a liberal allowance.[6]

In 1353 the abbey owed to Edmund de Bereford the sum of £1,000.[7]

In 1380 the bishop conducted a visitation. The allowance of each monk was to be £4 6*s*. 8*d*. for clothes, meat, and wine; in addition to this the abbot was bound to supply them with salt, oatmeal, beans, butter, cheese and firewood; and the number of monks was to be raised to thirty as soon as suitable persons could be found.[8] A roll[9] of about 1405, unfortunately incomplete, gives the names of twenty-two inmates, and there is reason to think there were about four more.

In 1435 the monks made proposals to the bishop for the discharge of the debts of the abbey; the abbot, his servants, and the monks were to have £64 for their food and drink; the wages of the servants were £40, the expenses of the kitchen £60, repairs £40. In all, they estimated that out of an income of £390, there would be £132 available for the paying of debts.[10] But shortly after this, the bishop writes that the abbot has been openly guilty of adultery, fornication, &c., and asks whether he can show cause why he should not incur the penalties of the crimes, which indeed he had confessed at the last visitation.[11] Whether he was deposed we do not know. A few months later the bishop ordained that the monks were to have no more than two marks a year for clothing, until the debts of the monastery were paid.[12]

At the visitation of 1445 there were fourteen monks besides the abbot; all was well, except that one of the monks, turning apostate, had fled with a nun of Godstow; he had, however, repented and returned.[13]

At the visitations held in 1517 and 1520 the members were sixteen; the income of the house was £469; one of the monks was '*communis mendax*,' he liked to get drunk and stirred up strife. There were the usual complaints that the abbot's relatives were burdensome to the monastery, but there was nothing seriously wrong.[14] In 1526 the net income was £434; in 1535 it was £421, at which date the house contained nineteen inmates.[15] The condition of the house at this date seems to have seriously deteriorated, as Tregonwell, who spoke favourably of all the other Oxford houses, reported to Cromwell,

> At Ensham I found 'a raw sort' of religious persons and all sorts of offences among them, *etiam crimen pessimum*, for which they have been punished by the ordinary. The abbot is chaste in his living, looks well to the reparation of the house, but is negligent in overseeing his brethren, which he excuses by his daily infirmity.[16]

An attempt to involve the abbot was shortly afterwards made by one John Parkyns, whose rambling accusations are endorsed with the succinct and apparently accurate description, 'a fole of Oxford or thereabout.'[17]

[1] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 109.
[2] *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 843.
[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fol. 153.
[4] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 174.
[5] Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 46 *d*.
[6] Chart. 642.
[7] *Cal. of Close R.* (1349–54), p. 604.
[8] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 198.
[9] Harl. Roll F. 27.
[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grey, Mem. fol. 153.
[11] Ibid. fol. 111 and 167.
[12] Ibid. fol. 201.
[13] MS. at Lincoln.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Valor* (Rec. Com.), 212.
[16] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 457.
[17] Ibid. xii (1), 79, 261, 264.

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EYNSHAM ABBEY



AMABILIA DE SAUNFORD,
PRIORESS OF LITTLEMORE,
1266-74



LITTLEMORE PRIORY



GODSTOW ABBEY



GODSTOW ABBEY



THAME ABBEY,
COUNTER-SEAL



STUDLEY PRIORY

OXFORDSHIRE MONASTIC SEALS : PLATE I

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In December, 1539, when the house was surrendered, it seems that there were only ten monks.[1] The abbot was granted the unusually large pension of £133 6*s.* 8*d.*, and was subsequently made bishop of Llandaff, acquiring some notoriety for being able to retain his see under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth.

There are two seals of the monastery; the earlier, a pointed oval, represents the Virgin seated on the left, and the Lord on the right beside her with the right hand raised as though to crown her; below is a figure with a pastoral staff in adoration facing to the right.[2] Legend :—

SIGILLUM · ECCLESIE SANCTE . . . . . S ET SANCTE MARIE EGNESHAMIE

The seal[3] of Adam, abbot 1213–28, is a pointed oval, showing, within a double inscribed border, an abbot standing on a carved bracket with pastoral staff in his left hand, under a cusped and pinnacled niche, above which is the Virgin with the Child on her right knee. Legend :—

Inner border : EDITUS . EX . ADAM . TUEATUR . A . . . N . DEUS . ADAM

Outer border : . . . . LUM . ADE . GRA . . . . . HAM . . .

The fourteenth-century seal is a pointed oval: the Virgin, seated on a throne in a carved and canopied niche, the Child on the left knee. In a niche over the canopy Our Lord, also seated on a throne, with nimbus and orb, lifting up the right hand in benediction. At each side a smaller canopied and pinnacled niche, containing on the left St. Peter, with keys, on the right St. Paul, with sword. The bracket on which each of these side niches is supported, is ornamented with a trefoiled panel. In base, under an arch, the abbot, kneeling, with pastoral staff, to the left.[4] Legend :—

SIGILLVM : ECC . . . CE : MARIE. ET : APLOR. : PET' : ET : PAVLI : EGNESHAM . .

There is also in the British Museum the seal of an abbot. Pointed oval: a left hand, and vested arm, issuing from the left, and holding a pastoral staff.[5] Legend :—

SIGGILL' ABBATIS D'EINELSH'M

Abbots of Eynsham[6]

Columbanus, occurs 1086 and 1094
Walter I
Walter II
William, *c.* 1150–2
Godfrey, 1152–96
Robert, 1197–1208
Vacancy, 1208–13
Adam, 1213–28
Nicholas, 1228–39
John of Dover, 1239–41
Gilbert of Gloucester, 1241–64
Alexander of Brackley, 1264–68
John of Oxford, 1268–81
Thomas of Wells, 1281–1307
Adam of Lambourne, 1307–16
John of Cheltenham, 1317–30
John of Broughton, 1330–8
Nicholas of Upton, 1338–44 and 1344–51
William of Stamford, 1344
Geoffrey of Lambourne, 1351–88
Thomas Bradingstock, elected 1388, alive in 1409
James of Ramsden, elected 1414, alive in 1429
Thomas Oxinford, elected 1432, alive in 1436
John Quynyngton, in 1441 and 1449
Robert Faryndone, 1457–69
William Walwayn, 1469, alive in 1483
Miles Salley, occurs 1499, died 1516
Thomas Chaundler,[7] elected 1517
Henry Reading, occurs 1519, died 1530
Anthony Dunstone *alias* Kitchin, 1530–9

2. THE PRIORY OF PHELELEY

This small priory is known to us only from three charters in the Eynsham Chartulary.[8] It was a gathering of Benedictine monks under a 'prelatus,' presumably a prior, and situated in a part of Wychwood, which was appendant to the manor of Bloxham, but adjacent to the parish of Charlbury. Though it is called a hermitage (*heremum*), it was not the abode of a solitary individual, for mention is made of several brethren, and the position of head of Pheleley was of sufficient dignity to be coveted by a monk of Tewkesbury. We may conjecture that during the reign of Henry I some Benedictine monk retired to a solitary life in Bloxham Wood, and, as happened in the case of Gilbert of Sempringham and Roger of Markyate, was joined by others and became their prior. One of the charters mentions that Henry I had assigned it as a cell to Eynsham, and that the two next owners of Bloxham, Stephen and the count of Meulan, renewed the grant. Finally, on the death or the removal of the head of the community, the count of Meulan, about 1145, asked the abbot of Eynsham to take charge of it, and apparently the monks and their endowments were transferred to Eynsham. There is no

[1] Willis, *Hist. of Abbeys*, 178 and App. 23.
[2] Found on a deed at Lincoln of about 1290, and one at Westminster of 1213–28. See B.M. civ, 58.
[3] B.M. civ, 59.
[4] B.M. lxx, 72.
[5] B.M. lxvi, 95.
[6] See preface to the *Eynsham Cartul.* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), vol i.
[7] Called by Wolsey 'the flower of St. Benet's order;' *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (1), 2724.
[8] *Eynsham Cartul.* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), chart. 32, 33, 34.

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evidence to show what those endowments were; but in 1291 Eynsham possessed land in Bloxham worth £3 10s. a year, no doubt acquired from Pheleley.

3. CANTERBURY COLLEGE, OXFORD

As early as 1331 a hall near the church of St. Peter-in-the-East was bought by the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, and four monks were sent to study at Oxford.[1] But in 1362 Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, founded in the parish of St. Edward a college for twelve students, of whom four were to be monks and the rest secular clerks, and endowed it with the church of Pagham, Sussex; it also had at first rents from eight houses in Oxford, and something from the manors of Woodford, Northants,[2] and Worminghall, Bucks.[3] The first warden, a monk, was appointed in 1362,[4] but the charter of endowment is dated 1363,[5] and the licence to acquire land for building was not given until 1364.[6] In 1365 the founder, at a time when it was said he was in weak health, ousted the monks and appointed a secular, John Wiclif, to be warden;[7] but the next primate reinstated the monks, and after a struggle all the seculars were expelled by decision of the pope in 1370.[8] More land was bought in 1373, 1380, and 1392,[9] and in 1383 the number of monks was increased by five, who were to receive their maintenance from Canterbury, at the rate of 10*d.* a week.[10] Monks from other Benedictine houses were allowed to rent rooms, and we hear of inmates from Rochester, Coventry, Battle Abbey, Peterborough, and Evesham (or Eynsham).[11] To some extent they were all subject to the 'prior studentium,' the head of Gloucester College, and in 1426 he made complaint that the monks of Canterbury College did not observe in eating meat the same rules as the other Benedictine monks.[12] The endowments, which originally were about £86 a year, gradually disappeared.[13]

The heads of the college, generally called wardens, but occasionally priors,[14] were chosen from the monks of Canterbury by the prior of Christ Church, and admitted by the archbishop.[15] Shortly after the dissolution of the monasteries, the buildings, including a hall and chapel, were acquired by Christ Church.[16]

PRIORS OF CANTERBURY COLLEGE[17]

Henry Wodhull, appointed 1362
John Wyclyve, appointed 1365
Richard de Hatfield, occurs 1367[18]
John Radington, appointed 1367
Henry Wodhull, reappointed 1367
John Bydington, appointed 1370
William Richmond, appointed 1371
William Dovorre, appointed 1380
John Aleyn, *c.* 1382
William Chert, occurs 1396
William Hadley, occurs 1400
Thomas Tokynham, occurs 1401
Thomas Wyking, appointed 1401
Richard Godmersham, appointed 1403, occurs 1410
John Langdon, occurs 1411[19]
John Waltham, occurs 1440
Robert Lynton, occurs 1444
John Wodnesburgh, occurs 1447
William Thorden, occurs 1449
Richard Gravene, recalled from Oxford in 1454
William Hadlegh, occurs 1459
Reginald Goldston, occurs 1466
Thomas Goldston, occurs 1473[20]
William Chichele, appointed 1473[21]
Thomas Umfrey, occurs 1475
Robert Estrie, occurs 1494
Thomas Chandler, occurs 1495
Robert Holyngborne, occurs 1501–6
William Gyllyngham, occurs 1508–9
Edward Bocking, occurs 1512 and 1518[22]
Richard Thorney or Thornden, occurs 1529–34
William Sandwych, occurs 1536

4. DURHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

Hugh de Derlington, prior of Durham, (1287–90), first sent monks of Durham to study at Oxford; but it was his successor Richard de Hoton, who in 1291, by the purchase of land on the site of the later Trinity College and St. John's, and by the erection of buildings,

[1] *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 392.
[2] *Lit. Cant.* ii, 447; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 450; Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 276.
[3] Lipscombe, *Hist. of Bucks.* i, 574.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 89.
[5] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 276.
[6] Ibid. 277.
[7] Not to be identified with the reformer, according to Mr. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii, 498. The best account of the struggle is in Maxwell Lyte's *Hist. of the University*, 177–80.
[8] *Lit. Cant.* ii, p. xxviii. But the case was still proceeding in 1371. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, 342.
[9] Wood, op. cit. ii, 277, and Pat. R.
[10] Wood, op. cit. ii, 285.
[11] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 451.
[12] Reyner, *Apostolatus*, App. 188.
[13] Wood, op. cit. ii, 289.
[14] *Rec. of the City of Oxford*, 178 *n.*
[15] Wood, op. cit. ii, 285.
[16] Ibid. ii, 289.
[17] Ibid. 287–9.
[18] According to *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 89.
[19] Ibid. 112. Given by Wood, on the authority of Twyne, as occurring 1478.
[20] *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 262.
[21] Ibid. 272.
[22] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 120.

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became the founder of Durham College.[1] Until 1381 it had no endowments, the monks, six to ten in number,[2] being supported by the priory of Durham, with occasional gifts from Jarrow, Wearmouth, and other cells of Durham. Their head was a prior, and at the elections of the bishop of Durham in 1316 and 1333 voted with the title of 'Prior Oxoniae,' among the priors of the other cells of the monastery of Durham. On 11 April, 1323, 'the monks of Durham College, next Balliol Hall,' obtained licence for an oratory,[3] and in 1326 the prior of the monastery of Durham obtained leave from Oseney Abbey, which held the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, to erect a chapel. He agreed that the parish church should take all the offerings except on the two feasts of St. Cuthbert, in lieu of which he would pay 6*d.* a year. He also agreed to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a year for tithes from that part of the grounds which was within the parish of St. Mary Magdalen.[4] The chapel, however, though contemplated, was not built until 1409.[5] The bull granting to Durham College the right of sepulture is of 1411, and the college accounts[6] of 1392, which show that only 1*s.* 6*d.*, not 2*s.*, was the sum due to Oseney in that year, prove that there was no chapel at that date.

About 1379 Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, determined to endow the college, and after his death in 1381 his executors completed his purpose. At a cost of £3,000 they purchased rectories which brought in £200 a year. New statutes were now made. There were to be eight student monks from the monastery of Durham, each receiving £10 a year with the title of 'fellows' (*socii*), of whom the prior of Durham was to select one to be warden; they were to study philosophy and theology. There were also to be eight secular students called 'pueri' or 'scholares,' four from the diocese of Durham, and four from north Yorkshire, to be selected by the senior student monks; these seculars were each to receive £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, and were to perform certain unspecified services towards the monks; their study was to be grammar and philosophy.[7] In time, when the income of the college fell to £150 or less, the allowances were decreased, but the members were still sixteen in number at the time of the *Valor ecclesiasticus*.

The first compotus of Hatfield's foundation is of 1389, but Robert Blaklaw, who had been appointed prior of the college shortly before, retained his office and old title, so that the head was still called prior in 1401;[8] after his time the head was called warden, and held office only for seven or eight years, that being the length of the course of study for both fellows and scholars. Between 1400 and 1420 the buildings of the college were much enlarged, and we find that there were often spare rooms, which were rented by monks of York and Whitby and by other individuals.[9] At the time of the *Valor ecclesiasticus* the income was £122; it was £115 in December, 1540, when it was surrendered to the king by the prior of Durham. The site of the college with most of the endowments was made over to the dean and chapter of Durham, and the college existed in 1541 and 1542 with a rector, six fellows, and four 'inferior fellows,'[10] but in 1544 it was once more surrendered to the king, and in 1554 the site and buildings were bought by Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College. There is an interesting survey of the buildings of Durham College, undated, but evidently made at the end of the reign of Henry VIII.[11]

Priors of Durham College[12]

Gilbert Elwyk, S.T.P., occurs 1316
John de Beverlaco, S.T.P., occurs 1333
R—de C—,[13] between 1340–60
? Uthred de Boldon, S.T.P., *c.* 1360
? John Aclyff, or de Acley, *c.* 1380
Robert Blaklaw, *c.* 1389–1404
William Appylby, 1404–9
Thomas Rome, S.T.P., 1409–19
William Ebchester, S.T.P., 1419–28
Richard Barton, S.T.B., 1428–31
John Mody, S.T.P., 1431–*c.* 1440
John Burnby, S.T.P., 1442–50
Richard Bell, S.T.B., 1450–53
John Burnby, again, 1453–56
Thomas Caly, S.T.B., 1457–*c.* 1463
Robert Ebchester, S.T.P.,–*c.* 1464 *c.* 1475
William Law, S.T.B., *c.* 1478–*c.* 1481
John Aukland, S.T.P., *c.* 1481–9
Thomas Rowland, S.T.B., 1484–7
Thomas Castell, S.T.P., 1487–94
William Cawthorne, S.T.P., 1494–*c.* 1501
Thomas Swalwell, S.T.P., *c.* 1501
? Thomas Castell, occurs 1511
Hugh Whitehead, S.T.P., 1512–*c.* 1519
Edward Hyndmer *alias* Henmarsh, S.T.P., *c.* 1527–41
George Clyff, S.T.B., 1541–2

An example of the seal of this priory reproduced in the *Collectanea*[14] 'seems to represent the Virgin

[1] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 264.
[2] *Durb. Coll. R.* (*Collectanea*, vol. iii, Oxford Hist. Soc.), p. 8.
[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Mem. fol. 79.
[4] From the original among the Oseney Charters at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[5] *Durb. Coll. R.* 71; also 20, 'in expensis factis circa dedicationem capelle,' compotus for 1409.
[6] Ibid. 58.
[7] See *Durb. Coll. R.* 12, 13, 15.
[8] Ibid. 65.
[9] Ibid. 19.
[10] Ibid. 67.
[11] P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys, Roll. 548.
[12] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 23–5.
[13] Possibly Robert de Claxton, or perhaps Robert Crayk; ibid. 23.
[14] Ibid. Plate ii.

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and Child between St. Cuthbert and St. Benedict, who presents a student monk.[1] The figures are shown under pinnacled niches, and in the base is a shield of arms—a chevron between three lions, the coat of Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham. Legend:—

SIGILLVM COM . . . . COLLEG' MONACHOR, DUNELM' OXON'

5. GLOUCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

In the year 1283 John Giffard of Brimpsfield, having bought a house in Stockwell Street, Oxford, from the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, presented it to the community of the Benedictine order of the province of Canterbury, that thirteen monks might study there.[2] The abbots who presided over the conference of the order requested the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, to take charge of this gift, and accordingly monks were sent from Gloucester under the charge of Henry de Heliun as prior; and in 1284 we find H. 'prior Oxonie,' voting as the prior of a cell of Gloucester.[3] In 1291, when John Giffard granted four more tenements, the conference of the Benedictine order decided that an independent priory should be established under Henry de Heliun as first prior, the patron saints being St. John the Evangelist and St. Benedict. The abbey of Gloucester released him from all subjection and renounced all special claim upon the premises; and in consequence the abbots of the order consented to make contributions towards the erection of buildings, on condition that they should have the privilege of sending monks to reside there for a course of study. Besides these temporary inmates there were to be other permanent members of the priory, probably monks who had taken their degrees; and when the office of prior became vacant both alike should have the privilege of voting, and whoever was chosen was to be presented to John Giffard or his heirs, as the founder and patron of the priory.[4] It is clear, therefore, that Gloucester College was not, like Durham College, a cell of another house; and the title 'Gloucester' adhered to it merely because for the first eight years it was affiliated to Gloucester Abbey. On 6 July, 1291, an agreement was made between Oseney Abbey, which held the parish churches of St. Mary Magdalen, Saint George, and St. Thomas, and the prior 'of the monks of St. Benedict in Stockwell St.' that the priory, which was situated in these three parishes, should be exempt from tithe by a payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* a year,[5] and that the monks might build a chapel for their own use with the right of sepulture.

As the priory had no endowments, each monastery not only built its own tenement, but repaired it, if necessary, and always retained the ownership. Thus, in 1371, Christ Church, Canterbury, conveyed its rooms to the abbey of Westminster,[6] and in 1412 and 1440 Malmesbury Abbey granted two of its rooms, being between those of Winchcombe on the north, and Tewkesbury on the south, to the priory of Worcester in perpetuity.[7] The monasteries were also called upon to support their own students; it is said that the allowance given by Gloucester Abbey was £10 to each monk;[8] but Eynsham only allowed £6 10*s.*[9]

The ordinance made by Pope Benedict XII in 1337, that all Benedictine houses should send students to a university, one for every twenty monks, and that even if the number was less than twenty they must send one student if their numbers were more than six,[10] must have increased the attendance at Gloucester College. For, though some of the Benedictine houses sent their monks to Cambridge, notably St. John's at Colchester, yet they had no college there for many years, and most of the students came to Oxford. At a meeting of the Benedictine order in 1343 it was decided that no rooms at Gloucester College were to be kept vacant more than half a year if there was any applicant for them; but that the monastery 'that had built them or repaired them liberally (*nobiliter*)' might claim them back for its students at any time.[11] From speeches made by the prior at meetings of the Benedictine order in 1423 and 1426, we learn that the ordinance of Pope Benedict was not being loyally kept, not from a dislike of learning, but because it was expensive to support monks at Oxford; that Evesham ought to supply two monks, Abingdon two, Malmesbury two, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, four, Chertsey one, Coventry one, Whitby one, Burton one, and Tavistock one; Chester, Muchelney, Hide, Abbotsbury and Westminster are also mentioned, but the numbers are not given;[12] also we know that Worcester sent two in 1346.[13] But we must not conclude that all these resided at Gloucester College; both Durham College and Canterbury[14] College admitted monks from other monasteries, and we hear of some turbulent

[1] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 26, *n.* 3.
[2] *Cartul. of S. Peter's, Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 32; Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum*, App. 54; *Annals of Worc.* (Rolls Ser.), 488.
[3] *Cartul. of Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 26.
[4] From Reyner, who obtained his facts from Cott. MS. Tib. E. iv, fols. 43, 44; Wood (*Life and Times*, iv, 105) thought the manuscript had additional facts, but in reality Reyner copied the whole.
[5] MS. among muniments of Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[6] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 451.
[7] Ibid. xiv, App. viii, 182.
[8] Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 534. [9] Harl. Roll F. 20.
[10] Reyner, *Apostol.* App. 199.
[11] Reyner, op. cit. 162. [12] Ibid. 176, 186.
[13] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 168.
[14] See the accounts of them.

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students who betook themselves to Gloucester College when expelled from Canterbury College.[1] But there can be no doubt that Gloucester College was the chief seat of Benedictines; we have seen that Malmesbury, Worcester, Westminster, Tewkesbury, and Winchcombe had rooms there, and Wood gives reasons for adding St. Albans, Reading, Ramsey, St. Peter's Gloucester, Glastonbury, Norwich, Rochester, and Bury St. Edmunds;[2] so that the number of its students must have been considerable. The prior of the college, generally called 'Prior Oxonie,' was in some sense set over all Benedictine students, those from the northern as well as from the southern province; on one occasion he complained of breach of Benedictine rules at Canterbury College; and though Durham College would not own obedience to him, yet they allowed that he was the representative of the order in Oxford.[3]

Three other facts may be learnt from the records in Reyner; first, that the original mode of electing the prior was soon changed; such strife had there been about it that the students were forbidden to take any part in it; anyone who broke this rule was to be sent back immediately to his monastery;[4] and we gather that it was the custom for the presidents of the Benedictine synod to appoint to the post. Secondly, we learn that the buildings progressed but slowly; in 1343 it had been decreed that the students should attend the chapel on holy days, but this can only have referred to an oratory, such as was licensed in many halls, since the chapel was still unfinished in 1426, though it had been many years in building.[7] Thirdly, we notice how much preaching was done at the college; it was repeatedly ordained at the synods of the order, that those monks who went to Oxford 'solely that they might be able to preach, when they return to their monasteries,' should practise frequently 'in the common place of our order' (i.e. Gloucester College).

PRIORS OF GLOUCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

Henry de Heliun,[8] occurs 1283 and 1292[9]
Thomas Ledbury, occurs 1420 and 1423[10]
Edmund Kirton, occurs 1426[11]
John Bevere, appointed 1429[12]
John Whetehampstede, before 1444[13]
John Amundesham, *c.* 1450[14]
Richard Ringsted, occurs 1452[15]
John Fordam[16]
Dr. Stangwell in 1502[16]
John Winchcombe in 1512[16]
Anthony Kitchin, occurs 1526 and 1529[17]

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

6. THE ABBEY OF GODSTOW

At the beginning of the Chartulary of Godstow, of which we have both a Latin[5] and an English version,[6] there is a description of the foundation of the abbey. Dame Ediva, a resident at Winchester, widow of Sir William Launcelene, had a vision, bidding her settle near Oxford until God should send her a token 'in what wise she should build a place' to His service. When for some time she had lived a holy life at Binsey, one night a voice told her to rise, and go where a light from heaven touched the ground, and there establish a nunnery for twenty-four 'of the moost gentylwomen that ye can find.' Apparently she saw the light at Godstow, northward from Binsey. Going to King Henry I she told him 'what God in a vision her had sent,' and with his help a monastery was founded on Easter eve in honour of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist. As the king left England in August 1133, and never returned, we may assume that the date of the foundation of Godstow was not later than Easter, 1133.[18] The story proceeds to say that Dame Edith was abbess of the convent 'LI' years, a length of time which in the circumstances of the case is incredible. But we shall see that she and her successor, who was also apparently named Edith, covered together a period of nearly fifty-one years.

In 1139 the church was dedicated. There were present the king, the queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Lincoln, Salisbury,

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 451.
[2] Wood, *City of Oxford*, ii, 255.
[3] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 19.
[4] Reyner, op. cit. 134.
[5] Exch. K. R., Misc. Books, No. 20.
[6] Printed by Early Engl. Text Soc. in 1905.
[7] Reyner, op. cit. 176, 186.
[8] Cott. MS. Tib. E. iv, fol. 43, gives Heliun, not Helm, as in Reyner.
[9] Close, 20 Edw. I, m. 11 *d.*
[10] Reyner, op. cit. 176.
[11] Reyner, op. cit. 186; he was elected abbot of Westminster in 1444. The date 1435, given in Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 262, is only a conjecture, as may be seen by a reference to the *Hist. of Univ. of Oxf.* (ed. Gutch), i, 587.
[12] J. Amundesham, *Annales* (Rolls Ser.), i, 40.
[13] Wood, *City of Oxf.* ii, 262. [14] Ibid. ii, 260.
[15] Charter at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[16] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 261 and 263, on authorities which it has not in all cases been possible to test.
[17] Foxe, *Book of Martyrs* (ed. 1684), ii, 439; Wood, op. cit. ii, 263.
[18] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions a miraculous light seen in the heavens in January, 1131.

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Exeter, Worcester, and others, and the gifts bestowed by them on the abbey are enumerated in a charter of Bishop Alexander.[1] The date of this dedication must be after 8 January, on which day Theobald was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, yet not long after, since (as the deed shows), Alberic, the pope's legate, whose departure from England followed the consecration of Theobald, had not yet started. When we notice that 18 January and 24 June were the two great festivals of Godstow,[2] it seems likely that the former commemorated the dedication of their church.

As the abbey was erected on the land of John de St. John, he was considered the patron and founder; but the most liberal benefactors were King Stephen, his wife and son. Of the leading barons, Miles of Gloucester, and the earl of Leicester, made donations, and likewise not only the bishops that were present, but also the abbots of Abingdon and Westminster. About 1144 Reginald Baalun, son of Roger earl of Hereford, gave his manor of Eaton in Wiltshire, which in 1535 produced £50 a year. Other gifts followed rapidly; for Godstow, always an aristocratic nunnery, was at the height of its reputation during the twelfth century, and the chartulary shows that wives and daughters of many of the leading families of the south became nuns there. About 1180 the abbey received gifts from Walter de Clifford in Frampton and Pauntley, Gloucestershire; and one of the deeds[3] mentions that Margaret his wife, and Rosamund his daughter, were both buried at Godstow. The latter is known as 'the fair Rosamund.' That she received her education at Godstow, as the guide-books suggest, is nowhere indicated; nor need she ever have lived there. It was a common custom of the time for well-born people to choose a monastery in which they were to be buried; and it was considered an honour to be the burying place of one of the king's mistresses.[4] When she died at Woodstock, early in 1176, 'for love of her the king conferred many benefits on the convent.'[5] A commentary on these words is supplied by the Pipe Roll of Michaelmas, 1176, which shows that the king was sending lathes and roofing shingles from Wallingford to Godstow, and was also supplying building material (no doubt stone) from Gloucestershire. The chartulary also tells us that about the same time he became patron of the abbey by the grant of Bernard of St. Walery, the house of St. Walery having succeeded to the property of John de St. John,[6] and in the same year the king enriched the abbey with the two churches of Wycombe and Bloxham. In 1191, when Bishop Hugh visited Godstow, the tomb of Rosamund was treated almost like a shrine; but the bishop ordered that the body should be removed from before the high altar and buried outside.[7]

The chartulary shows that the abbey at different times had property in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Dorsetshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Sussex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, and Yorkshire. It possessed the churches of St. Giles, Oxford, and Pattishall, Northamptonshire, both given in 1139; of Dinton, Buckinghamshire, given about 1170; and also of Wycombe and Bloxham, all of these having been appropriated before 1220.[8] Great Tew was acquired in 1309 and appropriated then.[9] There were also pensions from the churches of Lamyatt in Somerset and Daglingworth in Gloucestershire. At one time also Easington in Oxfordshire paid a pension, but the nuns surrendered both pension and advowson to the bishop.[10] The king remained patron of the abbey until its dissolution, and had the right of nominating a nun at his coronation.[11]

Such evidence as we have suggests that the monastic rule was well kept at Godstow at the end of the twelfth century. We may deduce this partly from the fact that Archbishop Geoffrey wished to make the priory of St. Clement's, York, subject to it;[12] partly also from the vision of the monk of Eynsham at Easter, 1196,[13] which, without mentioning Godstow, speaks several times of an abbey of nuns near Eynsham, whose prayers were much desired by those whom the monk saw in torments. Godstow is about three miles from Eynsham, and there was no other abbey of nuns in Oxfordshire. Of one abbess he tells how she washed the limbs of lepers, anticipating one of the best-known passages in the life of St. Hugh.

In the year 1281 the king ordered the sheriff to arrest the abbess and produce her before him at the next Parliament.[14] It sounds as if there was some serious offence; but as it is described elsewhere[15] as trespass against the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford and the king's ministers, which

[1] Printed Dugdale, *Mon.*

[2] *Cartul.* (E. E. Text Soc.), 30. [3] Ibid. 161.

[4] See *Abingdon Cartul.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 122, of a mistress of Henry I: 'Ansfrida . . . celebri sepultura a fratribus est intumulata.' The case of Edith Forne, buried in Oseney Abbey, is not quite similar.

[5] Hoveden. Dom. Gasquet (*Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* ii, 230), says, 'Godstow . . . where Rosamond Clifford, the mistress of Henry II, passed her last years in penitence,' apparently only a guess, more charitable than historical.

[6] *Cartul.* (E. E. Text Soc.), 30.

[7] Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 167.

[8] The appropriation of Pattishall is not mentioned in *Liber Antiquus*, but Godstow's moiety was a vicarage before 1220 (Rolls of Bp. Wells, i, 21).

[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 154.

[10] Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 26.

[11] Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 13.

[12] Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 188.

[13] Printed in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxii.

[14] Close, 9 Edw. I, m. 9.

[15] Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 24 *d.*

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trespass was forgiven her, it was probably the encroachment, of which we hear in 1276,[1] when she was accused of enclosing 60 acres of the demesne of the king and of the common pasture of the citizens of Oxford. In 1285 it was presented that she had appropriated 40 acres of pasture of the demesne of the king, but she was able to show for it a grant of Henry III.[2]

In November, 1284, Archbishop Peckham wrote to the abbess of Godstow expressing his disbelief in a charge of unchastity rumoured against the sub-prioress, but ordering her and the other nuns to be careful to avoid all suspicious appearances, especially as regarded scholars, priests, and monks, in connexion with whom scandal was particularly liable to arise.[3] About the same time he gave instructions for the full and careful performance of divine service, enjoining amongst other things that the 'childish celebrations' of Innocents' Day should not continue beyond that day. He gave the usual elaborate injunctions for avoiding scandal, and ordered that no scholars of Oxford should be allowed to speak with any nun unless known to be a relation in at least the third degree. Confessions were to be made in a place exposed to public view near the altar, and the confessors were to be two or four special friars preachers, and the same number of minors, the chief of the chaplains, and the master, if he were a priest. This master,[4] as we here learn, was the head of a small community of brethren, including the principal chaplain, who conducted the services in the abbey church. At this time their numbers had become excessive, and the archbishop ordered that no more should be admitted until there were only four—then only by consent of the master, the abbess, and the chief chaplain.[5]

In 1290 the bishop excommunicated certain unknown persons, who in the neighbourhood of Wycombe stopped a carriage belonging to Godstow, and carried off a nun, Agnes de Shene. But as, shortly afterwards, we find the nun herself is excommunicated, together with another apostate nun, a kinswoman of the Countess of Warwick, the bishop had evidently discovered that the nuns were privy to the plot.[6] On the other hand, in 1339 we hear of an apostate nun, who repented and received absolution.[7]

Though Godstow was rich, with an income in 1291 of nearly £200, yet, as was often the case, it suffered from debt more than many poor houses. For ladies so aristocratic a somewhat expensive style of living, with several servants and chaplains, was natural. In 1316, at the request of the abbess and nuns, the king, taking the abbey into his protection 'on account of its poverty and miserable state,' appointed the abbot of Eynsham and the prior of Bicester to be keepers of the abbey, paying the nuns a certain allowance, and applying the residue to the discharging of debts.[8] Nineteen years later, on the death of Margery Dyve, the abbess, the profits during the vacancy were remitted to the abbey by the king's order 'because of its poverty and misfortunes.'[9]

The first visitation of which we have record was in 1357. The bishop orders that the nuns shall not absent themselves from the monastery for more than three weeks, and then only for reasonable and necessary cause; and that inasmuch as secular people living in the abbey have greatly disturbed the service of God, no secular woman is to be an inmate, except the necessary servants and such persons as have corrodies.[10] However, in 1363, his successor, at the earnest prayers of Alice, wife of Alan of Ayote, granted permission that she might stay for two years at Godstow at her own expense.[11] In 1384, the abbey being vacant, the bishop warns the prioress that nuns should not be permitted out of the convent, cases of scandal having arisen; and in 1392 the abbess is ordered to forbid the visits of John de Kirkeby, chaplain of Wolvercot.[12] In 1432 the discipline of the house was lax; the bishop ordered that the porter was to take an oath not to admit strangers; certain women, who were evil examples by their extravagant dress, were to be excluded; the bailiff was to have no more secret talk with any nun, 'forasmuch as he says that there is no good woman in the monastery'; there is to be no drinking (*potationes*) after compline, but all were to go to the dormitory; if any nuns admit secular men to feasts in their rooms they are to be excommunicated, 'for the scholars of Oxford say that they can have all kinds of good cheer (*omnimodas solaciones*)[13] with the nuns to their heart's desire'; nuns are not to go into Oxford, nor to talk with secular persons in the nave of the church, or in the chapels, but only in the hall of the abbess, and in the hearing of another nun; the porter is not to convey letters or presents or tokens to any scholar at Oxford or other secular person. One nun had broken the vow of chastity.[14]

At the visitation by Bishop Alnwick in 1445, the house consisted of the abbess and sixteen nuns, and returned its income at £200. The abbess complained that the scholars of Oxford had common access to the monastery and the

[1] *Hund. Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 35.
[2] *Oxford City Doc.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 206, 207.
[3] *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 851.
[4] An action was brought, in 1280, against the abbess, 'Odo warden (*custos*) of the house of Godstowe,' and others; Assize R. 1253, m. 12.
[5] *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 845–50.
[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fols. 32 and 35.
[7] Ibid. Burghersh, Mem. fol. 368.
[8] Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 6.
[9] Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12.
[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Mem. fol. 100.
[11] Ibid. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 7.
[12] Ibid. fols. 351 and 410.
[13] 'Solaciones,' the regular word for 'feasts.'
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grey, Mem. fol. 167.

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cloisters, and that she could not stop it; that secular people had access to the nuns in the choir during divine service, and also in the refectory at meal-time; the prioress complained that nuns went often to Oxford, that one had frequent converse in the church with a certain Hugh Sadeler of Oxford; several, however, of the nuns said 'omnia bene.' The bishop's injunctions were much as before concerning the exclusion of secular people; the abbess was herself to sleep often in the dormitory, and was to rise to mattins with the sisters 'at least on all double feasts.' No seculars were to sojourn in the abbey except it be children, and in that case, if boys, they must not be more than nine years old; if girls, not more than twelve. No corrodies were to be granted.

On the death of Alice Henley in August, 1470, there seems to have been a disputed election. The Patent Rolls of April, 1471, inform us that Margaret More had been elected, but in October, 1471, Alice Nunny is described as abbess of Godstow in succession to Alice Henley, and she is pardoned for having obtained a papal confirmation without the royal assent; while in October, 1480, a general pardon is granted to Margaret More, 'nun of Godstow, *alias* late abbess.'

At the visitation of 1517[1] we have nothing more than the usual injunction against the admission of secular people within the monastery. In 1520 the house consisted of the abbess, fourteen nuns, and a lay sister. Mention is also made of three junior nuns, whose names are not given. The income of the house was more than 400 marks. There was nothing more seriously amiss than that the elder nuns refused to sing as the precentrix directed.

In 1526[2] the income was gross £289, net £234; in 1535,[3] when the number of inmates was twenty, the income was gross £319, net £258. When John Tregonwell visited Godstow in September, 1535, he reported favourably to Cromwell of all the convent; even a nun who had been sent thither by the bishop some fourteen years before to expiate a grievous lapse from virtue had ever since lived honestly.[4] Possibly it was at this visitation that orders were given for the closing of the back gate of the precincts, to the great inconvenience of visitors, as the abbess testified in the following year when she wrote to Cromwell sending him a present of apples and a fee of 40*s*.[5] To further secure his favour she offered him, in March, 1538, the stewardship of the abbey, worth only 40*s*., but placing at his disposal for the king's service some twenty or thirty men.[6] The royal visitors reported in 1538 that there was great strictness of life at Godstow, 'that most of the young gentlewomen of the country were sent there to be bred, so that the gentry of the country desired the king would spare the house.'[7] On 4 November, 1539,[8] Dr. London came to the abbey to secure its surrender. It is generally supposed that he behaved badly to the nuns, and that the abbess made a firm stand for her religious principles, but though she resisted London, it was not on religious grounds. In a letter[9] dated 5 November, addressed to Cromwell she said that London was of old her enemy, because, when she was appointed abbess through Cromwell's help, London had wished that some one else should be elected. She complained that he 'tarried and continued to her great charge and cost;' that he used first threats and then entreaties to secure the surrender of the house. She professed herself quite ready to surrender to Cromwell or the king, but not to her ancient enemy London, and asserted that she was no waster of the goods of the house, as London said. There is preserved a letter of London,[10] written 6 November, which is certainly more charitable than that of the abbess. He begs the nuns may be allowed suitable pensions, especially the abbess, who had been obliged to borrow money of her friends to pay her first-fruits. This loan, which must have been made at least four years before, was apparently still unpaid. On 26 November the abbess thanks Cromwell for removing Dr. London, 'who was ready to suppress the house against my will, and had done it indeed, if you had not sent so speedily contrary commandments.' She adds that the nuns did not use or regard pope, nor purgatory, image nor pilgrimage, nor praying to dead saints, and did not cling too much 'to this' (i.e. monastic) 'garment and fashion of life.'[11] The abbey was surrendered to Sir John Williams 17 November, 1539, the abbess receiving a pension of £50 and her sixteen sisters smaller sums.[12]

Abbesses of Godstow

Edith I
Edith II, occurs 1168[13]
Agnes *c.* 1182–95[14]
Juliana, occurs 1197,[15] and *c.* 1213[16]

[1] MS. at Lincoln. [2] Ibid. [3] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec.Com.).
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 457.
[5] Ibid. xi, 370. [6] Ibid. xiii (1), 441.
[7] Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.* (ed. Pocock), i, 378.
[8] The date given by Dom. Gasquet, op. cit. ii, 231.
[9] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 758; Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.* vi, 192.
[10] *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc.), 228.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 767.
[12] Ibid. xiv (2), 539.
[13] 'E. secunda': *Cartul.* (E. E. Text. Soc.), 162.
[14] Ibid. 533. The vision of the monk of Eynsham (cap. 44 and 51), mentions an abbess near Eynsham who died *presenti anno*, i.e. between Easter 1195 and Easter 1196, and another that had been dead fourteen years.
[15] Ibid. 229.
[16] Among the muniments at Lincoln there is a letter from Juliana to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln. The writing and the subject of the letter suggest Hugh Wells: if so, it cannot be earlier than 1213; before that date he was abroad.

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Felicia Bade, occurs 1220, and 1225[1]
Amphelissa, elected 1225,[2] occurs 1235[3]
Flandrina, elected 1242,[4] deposed 1248
Emma Bloet, elected 1248,[5] resigned 1269
Isolda de Durham, elected 1269,[6] resigned 1278
Rose de Oxeye, elected 1278,[7] resigned 1283
Mabel la Wafre, elected 1283,[8] resigned 1295
Alice de Gorges, elected 1295,[9] died 1304
Maud Upton, elected 1304,[10] died 1316
Margery Dyve, elected 1316,[11] died 1335
Maud de Beauchamp, elected 1335,[12] occurs June 1346[13]
Agnes de Streteley, elected 1349,[14] occurs 1373[15]
Margery Tracy, occurs 1375,[16] died 1384
Margaret Mounteney, elected 1384,[17] occurs 1413[18]
Agnes Wygtham, elected 1415,[19] occurs 1426[20]
Joan, occurs 1428[21]
Agnes, elected 1430[22]
Elizabeth Felmersham, occurs 1435 and 1445[23]
Alice, occurs 1451,[24] died 1470
Margaret More, elected April 1471[25]
Alice Nunny was abbess, October 1471,[26] resigned 1481
Katherine Field, elected 1481[27]
Isabel Braynton, elected 1494,[28] died 1517
Margaret Tewkisbury, elected 1517,[29] resigned 1535
Katharine Bulkeley, *alias* Bewmarys, elected 1535,[30] surrendered 1539

The remarkable early twelfth century seal is a pointed oval: the Virgin, seated on a throne on the left, a palm-branch in the right hand; before her on the right St. John Baptist, holding in the left hand a scroll inscribed: ECCE AGNVS DEI. The left hand of the Virgin, and the right hand of St. John hold up an Agnus Dei on a circular plaque. At the Virgin's feet Ediva, the first abbess, kneeling in adoration, with the name EDIVA over her head.[31] Legend :—

SIGILLVM . SCĒ . MARIE . ET . SCI . IO[H'IS . B]APTI[STE . G]ODESTOENS . ECCL'IE.

This was in use as late as 1371,[32] but in 1379[33] we find a new seal: a pointed oval, two figures in canopied niches, the Virgin with Child on the left, (?) Ediva on the right; below, a kneeling figure in adoration. Legend :—

SIGILL' : COMUNE : SCE : MARIE [: &] : s[CI : IOHI]s : BAPT : DOMUS : D' : GODESTOWE.

A fourteenth century seal of an abbess is a pointed oval: St. John Baptist standing in canopied niche, with tabernacle work at the sides, with the Agnus Dei on a plaque in the left hand, and pointing to it with the right hand. In base, under a four-centred arch, with masonry at the sides, Ediva the first abbess with crown and pastoral staff, kneeling in prayer.[34] Legend :—

SIGILLŪ : COMUNE : [a word here defaced] : ABBATISSE : DE : GODSTOWE

The matrix of a counterseal or signet found within the walls of the abbey represents the head of St. John Baptist in a dish.[35]

* CAPVT IOH'IS IN DISCO

7. THE PRIORY OF LITTLEMORE

The Benedictine priory of Littlemore was founded by Robert de Sandford, one of the knights of the abbot of Abingdon, on a piece of pasture in Sandford, called Cherley, and was endowed by him with 6 virgates of land.[36] As he was of full age as early as 1111,[37] and when the Pipe Rolls of Henry II begin had been succeeded

[1] *Cartul.* (E. E. Text. Soc.), 584 and 133.
[2] Pat. 9 Hen. III, m. 4.
[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste, Inst.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.; also 'Royal Letters,' No. 552. (*Dep. Keeper's Rep.* v, 68). The name given for her predecessor is 'Flandrina de Brewes.'
[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend, Inst. and 'Royal Letters,' No. 553.
[7] Pat. 6 Edw. I, m. 9.
[8] Pat. 12 Edw. I, m. 20.
[9] Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 2.
[10] Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 23.
[11] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 166.
[12] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 273.
[13] *Cartul.* 231.
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 195.
[15] *Cartul.* 416. [16] Ibid. 511.
[17] *Cal. of Pat. R.* (1381–5) p. 459.
[18] Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. 20, fol. 194.
[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, Mem. fol. 114.
[20] Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. 20, fols. 192, 194.
[21] Inq. P. M. 6 Hen. VI No. 41.
[22] From the 'Collectanea Nicholai Bishop' (MS. at Camb. Univ. Lib.).
[23] *Cartul.* 597, and visitations of Bishop Alnwick (MS. at Lincoln).
[24] An Oseney charter at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[25] Pat. 49 Hen. VI, m. 6.
[26] Pat. 11 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 6. Margaret More was apparently considered a usurper, having been confirmed by Hen. VI, during his brief recovery of power.
[27] *Cal. of Pat. R.* (1476–85), p. 228. She was abbess in 1493 (Lipscombe, *Bucks.* ii, 393).
[28] Lipscombe, *Bucks.* ii, 393.
[29] Linc. Epis. Reg. Atwater, Inst. fol. 35.
[30] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 632 (25). The 'late abbess' was still living at Godstow in 1539.
[31] B. M. lxx, 73. A poor specimen of this seal is reproduced in *Collectanea*, vol. iii, of the Oxf. Hist. Soc.
[32] New Coll. Muniments, St. Pet. in E. No. 25.
[33] Ibid. No. 8
[34] B. M. lxx, 75. [35] Ibid. 74.
[36] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 723.
[37] *Abingdon Cartul.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 60.

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by his son Jordan, we may assign the foundation of the nunnery to the reign of Stephen. A charter of his is preserved by which he grants 'to St. Mary, St. Nicholas and St. Edmund' the land of Cherley; and he speaks of the 'church of Cherley' and Maud the prioress, and mentions that his young daughter was a nun there.[1] In a few years, however, it seems to have been settled that the patron saint was St. Nicholas only, and the name of the priory, which for some time varied between Sandford and Littlemore, is always Littlemore after the middle of the thirteenth century. Various members of the family of Sandford made other gifts; one gave 9 virgates more in Sandford;[2] one must have given the church, of which the nuns had an appropriation as early as 1220;[3] in 1222 Hugh de Sandford granted 10*s.* a year from Wytham, Berkshire;[4] the priory also held tithes in Bayworth (in the parish of Sunningwell), and Lambourn, Berkshire; land in Sydenham, and Garsington, Oxon; and Kennington, and Liverton in Chilton, Berkshire:[5] it also claimed at one time the advowson of the church of Puttenham, Hertfordshire, but resigned it to Osbert, prior of Ashby, for the annual payment of a mark.[6] It also possessed some outlying property in Cambridgeshire in 'Bureweya' or 'Bergheia,' in the parish of Soham, granted by Roger de Sandford and confirmed by Henry II.[7] This property in 1279 brought in 40*s.* a year and 4,000 eels,[8] and in 1433, when the priory was allowed to exchange it for houses in Oxford, it was worth 60*s.* a year.[9] When Thomas de Sandford granted his share of the manor of Sandford to the Templars, the advowson of the priory went with it; and the Templars were the patrons from about the year 1240 until their dissolution.

In the early years of Henry III the house received several marks of royal favour. The Close Rolls of 1220–2 show that the king paid 40*s.* a year for the maintenance of a 'boarder' (*prebendaria*) at Littlemore; in 1232 he granted it permission to send a sumpter horse twice a day into Shotover Forest to collect dead wood, and in the same year confirmed to it a hide of land in Hendred, Berkshire.[10] In 1245 Pope Innocent issued a bull to the effect that, as the nuns were unable by their own resources to complete the rebuilding of their church, he granted during the next three years an indulgence of ten days to all who aided the work.[11] From this date the history of the house is almost a blank; it is not mentioned in the papal registers, or the registers of the bishop of Lincoln. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 it is omitted, no doubt because of its poverty, while it fails to appear in the Valor of 1535, because it had already been dissolved.

When it was visited in 1445 by Dr. John Derby, commissary of the bishop of Lincoln, the number of nuns seems to have been seven. They did not sleep in the dormitory, for fear it should fall; it was stated that they broke their rule, by eating flesh every day in the refectory; a certain Cistercian monk, and also a secular clerk, visited the prioress frequently and drank with her; there were three lay women who boarded in the nunnery, one paying 8*d.* a week and the two others 4*d.* each. Among other injunctions the visitor ordered that no secular persons, especially scholars of Oxford, were to be admitted to the convent, and that each nun should be allowed a separate bed.[12] Two years later a clerk of Oxford left them a small legacy to repair the house.[13]

When a visitation was held in 1517 by Edmund Horde, commissary of the bishop, the house was in a shocking state. The *comperta* are, that the prioress had ordered the five nuns under her to say that all was well; she herself had an illegitimate daughter, and was still visited by the father of the child, Richard Hewes, a priest in Kent; that she took the 'pannes, pottes, candilsticks, basynes, shetts, pellous, federe bedds, &c.,' the property of the monastery, to provide a dowry for this daughter; that another of the nuns had, within the last year, an illegitimate child by a married man of Oxford; that the prioress was excessive in punishments, and put the nuns in stocks when they rebuked her evil life; that almost all the jewels were pawned, and that there was neither food, clothing, nor pay for the nuns; that one who had thought of becoming a nun at Littlemore was so shocked by the evil life of the prioress that she went elsewhere. A few months afterwards[14] the bishop summoned the prioress to appear before him, and after denying the charges brought against her, she finally admitted them; her daughter, she said, had died four years before, but she owned that she had granted some of the plate of the monastery to Richard Hewes. In her evidence she stated that though these things had been going on for eight years, no inquiry had been made, and, as it seems, no visitation of the house had been held; only, on one occasion, certain injunctions of a general kind had been sent her. As a punishment, she was deposed

[1] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. No. 4.
[2] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 723.
[3] *Liber Antiquus*, 8.
[4] Bracton, *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), ii, 149.
[5] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 1–40, some of which are printed in the *Mon.* iv, 494.
[6] *Rotuli Hugonis Wells*, i, 44, and Bodl. Chart. 22, 23.
[7] Bodl. Chart. 6 and 8.
[8] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 502.
[9] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 156.
[10] *Cal. Chart. R.* 166, 170.
[11] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 29.
[12] Visitations of Bishop Alnwick. MS. at Lincoln.
[13] *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 558.
[14] From a note-book of Bp. Atwater at Lincoln.

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from the post of prioress, but was allowed to perform the functions of the office for the present, provided that she did nothing without the advice of Mr. Edmund Horde. But some nine months later when the bishop himself made a visitation 'to bring about some reformation,' things were as scandalous as ever. The prioress complained that one of the nuns 'played and romped (*luctando*)' with boys in the cloister, and refused to be corrected. When she was put in the stocks, three other nuns broke the door and rescued her, and burnt the stocks; and when the prioress summoned aid from the neighbourhood, the four broke a window and escaped to friends, where they remained two or three weeks; that they laughed and played in church during mass, even at the elevation. The nuns complained that the prioress had punished them for speaking the truth at the last visitation; that she had put one in the stocks for a month without any cause; that she had hit another 'on the head with fists and feet, correcting her in an immoderate way,' and that Richard Hewes had visited the prioress within the last four months. From the evidence it is clear that the state of things was well-known in Oxford, where each party seems to have had its adherents.[1] The record carries us no further than 1518, but it shows that in this case at all events Cardinal Wolsey was justified, when in 1524, he asserted that Littlemore ought to be dissolved. It was worth at that time, £12 in spiritualities (no doubt the church of Sandford), and £21 6*s*. 6*d*. in temporalities,[2] some part of this being from houses in Oxford. At a collection for a subsidy in the previous year the income was stated to be £34 13*s*., of which £7 6*s*. 8*d*. was in spiritualities.[3] The priory was actually dissolved in February, 1525,[4] the prioress receiving a pension of £6 13*s*. 4*d*.[5]

PRIORESSES OF LITTLEMORE

Maud,[6] *c*. 1150
Amice, occurs 1219,[7] and after 1221[8]
Isabel de Henred, elected 1230[9]
Isabel de Turribus, occurs 1265,[10] died 1266
Amabilia de Saunford, elected 1266, died 1274[11]
Amice de Saunford, elected 1274,[12] died 1277
Maud, elected 1277[13]
Maud de Gloucester, died 1293[14]
Emma de Waneting, elected 1293[14]
Alice de Abendon, occurs 1303[15] and 1326[16]
Agatha, occurs 1334[17] and 1335[18]
Agatha de Oxford, died 1340[19]
Maud de la Rye, appointed 1340,[19] occurs 1343[20]
Asselina Bulbek, appointed 1349[21]
Maud Paunesfot, occurs 1374[22] and after 1392[23]
Joan, occurs 1403[24]
Agnes Pydyngtone, occurs 1409[25] and 1415[26]
Alice Wakeley or Wakelyn, occurs 1445[27] and 1457[28]
Christina, occurs 1462[29] to 1489[30]
Katherine Wells, 1507[31] and 1518[32]

The seal is a pointed oval, representing a tabernacle or shrine with closed doors; below in adoration, a figure with a pastoral staff between two swinging censers. Legend:—

S' COE P'ORIE SCE MARIE ET SCI NICHI DE LITLEMORA . . . . . ANNO DNI MCCCXVIII.

8. THE PRIORY OF STUDLEY

The Benedictine Priory of Studley is mentioned first about the year 1176, when Bernard of St. Walery granted to the nuns of Studley half a hide in Horton,[33] a tithing of Beckley. The grant was during the time of 'Robert, sheriff,' no doubt Robert de Turevile, sheriff of Oxford, 1175–9. It may be that Bernard of St.

[1] Visitation of Atwater. MS. at Lincoln.
[2] Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon.* (ed. Gutch), iv, 414.
[3] From a record in the Alnwick Tower, Lincoln.
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (1), 1137 (9).
[5] Ibid. 1138.
[6] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. Nos. 3 and 4.
[7] *Camb. Feet of Fines* (ed. Rye), 10.
[8] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 18.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Hugh Wells.
[10] Bodl. Chart. Oxon, 36. The Feet of Fines, Oxon. give Isabel as prioress in June, 1235; May, 1241; and Jan. 1261.
[11] Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Bishop Gravesend.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 131.
[15] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), i, 90. The deed still exists among the Ch. Ch. muniments.
[16] Rawlinson MS. 1138. The accounts of Bicester Priory mention the installation of a prioress of Littlemore in 1327 (Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 156).
[17] Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 490.
[18] A charter at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 284. The nuns, 'considering how expensive a long vacancy is,' ask the bishop to appoint a prioress.
[20] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 42.
[21] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 196. Appointed 'on the death of the last abbess.'
[22] *Muniments of Magdalen College* (ed. Macray).
[23] *Oxf. Topog.* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), 191.
[24] Rawlinson MS. 1138.
[25] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 46.
[26] Rawlinson MS. 1138.
[27] Visitation of Bishop Alnwick.
[28] *Muniments of Magdalen College*, 125.
[29] Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford* (ed. Gutch), iv, p. 655.
[30] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 47. She is here called Christina Shrevenham.
[31] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 48.
[32] Visitation of Bishop Atwater.
[33] Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 486.

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Walery, having resigned his patronage of Godstow nunnery to the king about 1175, founded another nunnery, or as the language of the charter might suggest, endowed a community of women, which was already in existence at a spot called Studley in Bernwood. It is noticeable, however, that in 1279 his son Thomas was considered to have been the founder of the house;[1] and Dugdale prints a deed by which the nuns recognize him as their patron, and in return receive privileges from him.[2] We may suggest that the first prioress died after 1195, and that when it became necessary to elect a successor, Thomas of St. Walery, the lord of Beckley, was definitely recognized as the founder; it seems also as if the site of the nunnery was transferred to the half-hide in Horton.

The chartulary is unfortunately lost, but the extracts made from it by Brian Twyne[3] prove that Studley was a popular house with the leading citizens of Oxford, and received liberal gifts from them. In 1279 Studley held almost as much property in Oxford as the nuns of Godstow, though its whole income was far less. It possessed the church of Seacourt, Berkshire, in 1200, but for some reason lost it in 1208;[4] the church of Ilmer, Buckinghamshire, was given by Thomas, son of Bernard, before 1205,[5] and the church of Beckley by Robert, Count of Dreux, in 1226;[6] but this latter was only obtained after a lawsuit with the king and the Templars.[7] Afterwards, the nuns resigned the patronage to Bishop Gravesend 'because by the weakness (*fragilitatem*) of our sex, and from the fact that we do not mix with men, we might be ignorant who was suitable for the post of parson,'[8] but by the ordinance of Hugh Wells, made in 1230, they took all the tithes of the hamlet of Horton, and some of the tithes of Nash.[9] The most liberal benefactor was Godfrey de Craucumb, no doubt a relation of Alice de Craucumb, prioress in 1251. He gave the nuns the two manors of Crowcombe, Somersetshire, and Corsley, Wiltshire, which in 1536 produced more than a third of the income of the house.[10] One gift more deserves mention: Henry de Anna, rector of St. Mildred's, Oxford, gave rents in Oxford sufficient for each 'of the fifty nuns belonging to Studley' to have 12*d.* on his anniversary.[11] As the number of inmates was only nine in 1445 and ten in 1520, and as the revenues of the house never reached £100, we are astonished that the nuns were as many as fifty; but the value of the property bequeathed indicates that there is no error in the number; and at Goring, we have another instance of fluctuations as great. The numbers there fell from 36 to 7, at Studley from 50 to 10. In the Taxation of 1291 there is no mention of Studley; and if from this fact we should guess that the house was excused through poverty, we should not be at fault; for in 1292 Michael, vicar of Hanslope, was appointed master of Studley, at the request of the prioress, to administer the temporalities and spiritualities.[12] The next year and again in 1294 the bishop wrote to the prioress that the presence of John of Sevekworth, clerk, had brought discredit on the house, and that he was not to be allowed to abide there longer.[13]

When Edmund, earl of Cornwall, died in 1300, the patronage of the priory came into the hand of the king, with the rest of the honour of St. Walery. In 1352 the nuns obtained the appropriation of Beckley church,[14] and in 1389 'in relief of their poverty' were allowed to acquire two carucates of land in Nash;[15] two years later they were allowed to sell 10 marks worth of timber in their demesne wood 'for the repair of their house, which is ruinous.'[16] In 1445, at the visitation of Bishop Alnwick, there were nine inmates. There was no fault with the state of the house: the bishop appointed as their confessor the vicar of Bicester, forbidding them to have a scholar of Oxford 'as it is not seemly that scholars of Oxford should come to the nunnery.' At the visitation of 1520 the nuns were ten in all; the income was reckoned at £84; there were complaints that the brother of the prioress and his wife stayed within the monastery; the prioress did not consult the sisters on important matters; the house was in debt to the amount of 40 marks. The state of the house was perhaps less satisfactory than the record suggests; for the bishop instead of closing his visitation, adjourned it to another day. At another visitation, held in Sept. 1530, by Dr. Rayne, vicar-general of the bishop of the diocese, the house was found to be in poverty, with debts amounting to £60; the choir, the dormitory, and the nave of the church were out of repair; the number of inmates was 10, but an injunction was made that it should be increased; the woods of the priory had been much diminished by the late prioress and also by 'Thomas, Cardinal of York, for the construction of his college in the University of Oxford.' There were complaints about the food. The nuns said that

they be often tymes served with beffe and no moton upon Thursday at nyght and Sondays at nyght, and be served often tymes with new ale and not hulsome;

[1] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 716.
[2] Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 486.
[3] See Dunkin, *Hist of Ploughley Hundred*, 130–40.
[4] *Feet of F. Berks.* 113; *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 63.
[5] Dunkin, *Hist. of Ploughley*, 133. It was appropriated before 1220. See *Liber Hugonis Wells.*
[6] Ibid. 126. [7] Pat. 14 Hen. III, m. 2 *d.*
[8] From a charter at Lincoln. [9] Dunkin, op. cit. 135.
[10] Ibid. 138. [11] Ibid. 142.
[12] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fol. 15.
[13] Ibid. fol. 92, 129.
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 207.
[15] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.
[16] Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 29.

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and we gather from these words and from the similar remarks of other nuns that beef for supper was considered to be unwholesome. It was ordered that no corrody should be given to the mother of the prioress, until more was known of her manner of life.[1] A few months later, when the bishop had received the report of the visitor, he sent injunctions to the nuns, that as the monastery was in great debt and the buildings out of repair, a more economical mode of living was to be adopted, with fewer servants; also 'the number of ladies' was to be augmented and they were to use veils which came down to the eyelids.[2]

In 1526 the net income was about £74; in 1535 it was £82.

There is a conflict of evidence about the date of the suppression of the house. As early as June, 1536, the king made a grant of the manor of Corsley in Wilts, 'parcel of the late priory of Studley, Oxon, dissolved by Parliament'[3]; but as the deed of surrender by the prioress, Joan Williams, is dated 19 November, 1539,[4] and all the possessions of the house, with the exception of Corsley, were sold in February, 1540,[5] we are driven to the conclusion that Studley was refounded after its first dissolution. To add to the difficulty, there is mention in 1536 of 'Mary Baynbrig, late prioress of Studley,'[6] whereas there is no room for her in the list of prioresses, nor was there any sister of that name at the visitation of 1530.

PRIORESSES OF STUDLEY

Petronilla, occurs 1200 and 1227[7]
Juliana, *c.* 1230[8] and *c.* 1241[9]
Alice de Craucumbe, elected 1251[10]
Elizabeth, occurs 1258,[11] died 1276
Margery Clement, elected 1276[14]
Mabel, elected 1288,[15] died 1292
Clementia Oweyn, appointed 1292,[16] resigned 1322
Agnes Husee,[17] elected 1322
Margery de Berchesdone, occurs 1342[18] and 1351[19]
Margaret, died 1378[19]
Elizabeth Freemantle, elected 1378,[20] died 1388
Agnes Attehalle, elected 1388[21]
Agnes, occurs 1424 and 1436[22]
Eleanor Cobcot, occurs 1445[23]
Eleanor, occurs 1472 and 1487[24]
Elizabeth Samwell, died 1515[25]
Catherine Cobcot, elected 1515,[25] died 1529
Joan Williams, appointed 1529,[26] surrendered 1539

The twelfth-century seal is a pointed oval, representing the Annunciation; two figures standing on each side of a tree or pillar; the Virgin on the right with a book in her left hand and the right resting on her bosom; the angel Gabriel with nimbus is on the left, with the word AVE issuing from his mouth. Legend :—

SIGILL' · ƿVENTVS · ECCL'IE · S[CE MA]RIE · DE · STODELEIE.

This seal was in use in 1370,[27] but if we may credit Dunkin,[28] there was another seal in the sixteenth century. The subject is the same, but the central object is definitely a tree, not a pillar, and the angel is represented as saying AVE MARIA. Legend :—

SIGILLV̄ · COE · CONVENTV[S ·] MARIE · D' · STODLEY.

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

9. THE ABBEY OF BRUERN

The Cistercian abbey of Bruern was founded by Nicholas Basset in 1147.[12] Unfortunately no chartulary is extant,[13] but many of the original deeds are preserved at the Record Office,[29] and a few at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library; we have also valuable confirmations by

[1] MS. at Lincoln.
[2] From the bishop's register; printed in *Archaeologia*, xlvii, 54.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 1256 (6).
[4] Ibid. xiv (2), 552: printed Dunkin, *Hist. of Studley*, 160.
[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 282 (109).
[6] Ibid. x, 1256 (6).
[7] Feet of F. Oxon. file 2, No. 26 and file 4, No. 36, also *Berks.* 113. [8] Dunkin, *Hist. of Studley*, 136.
[9] *Hist. of the Croke Family*, i, 429.
[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste, Inst.
[11] Feet of F. Oxon, file 8, No. 4.
[12] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 232.
[13] There is no chartulary of the abbey at Brasenose Coll. Oxford (as often stated); the college has not any property at Bruern, Oxfordshire, but only at Stoke Bruerne, Northants.
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend, Inst.
[15] Dodsw. MSS. vol. 107, fol. 145.
[16] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 129; in 1298 the prioress is called Clementina, Sutton's Mem. fol. 203.
[17] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 247.
[18] Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 251.
[19] *Hist. of Croke Family*, i, 423.
[20] Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 251.
[21] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 303.
[22] Twyne, MS. 23, fol. 161, 409.
[23] Visitation of Bishop Alnwick.
[24] *Archives of All Souls College*, 154.
[25] Linc. Epis. Reg. Atwater, Inst. fol. 33.
[26] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, Inst. fol. 172.
[27] From a deed in New Coll. muniment room.
[28] *Hist. of Studley*, 160.
[29] More than twenty of these are printed in Madox, *Formulare Angl.*; also see Round's *Ancient Charters*, and *Facsimiles of Charters in the British Museum*.

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Henry II (about 1170), by Richard I in 1189, and by John in 1205.[1] From these we learn that the original name of the abbey was 'the church of St. Mary of the heath of Tretone (*de brueria Tretonie*),'[2] Treton being the manor which in Domesday Book is called 'Draitone.' The first grant of Nicholas Basset must have consisted of a tract of open pasture (*brueria*) on which the abbey was erected; but at some time after the confirmation charter of Henry II, and probably about 1173, the founder gave the whole of his manors of Treton and Nethercote, together with the church of Treton.[3] From that time the name of Treton and the parish church almost disappeared; as the Cistercians paid no tithes on land which they farmed, there would have been no income for the parson, and in 1535 the parish church was represented by Sandbrook[4] chapel, and the manor itself was ultimately called Bruern.

The property of the monastery lay in the western part of Oxfordshire and the eastern part of Gloucestershire, and also at Priddy in Somerset. Among early grants may be mentioned a gift of land at Holwell in Swalcliffe, attributed by Madox to the time of Bishop Robert Grosteste, but in reality of the time of Robert de Chesney (1148–66).[5] There is also a deed by Robert de Witefeld, sheriff of Oxford 1181–5, by which he gives two hides at Milton-under-Wychwood, mentioning that Peter his uncle was a lay brother at Bruern.[6] Much of the property of the abbey, especially in Gloucestershire, was suitable for sheep-farming;[7] and Bruern, even more than most Cistercian houses, must have trusted to the wool trade. It is noticeable that in 1233 the monks obtained a grant from the king, that no one should distrain them for a debt by their sheep, so long as they have other beasts or goods by which they may be distrained.[8] Of churches they possessed only Treton and Denchworth in Berkshire, the latter having been appropriated before 1376,[9] but after 1291.[10] At the latter date the income of the abbey was stated to be £73, but the return does not seem to be complete.

We have but little knowledge of the history of this abbey. In 1232 there were building operations in connexion with its church,[11] and in 1250 the bishop of St. Asaph consecrated the altar of the Virgin Mary and St. Edmund the Confessor.[12] In 1252, as the abbot had neglected to make a visitation of the abbey of Beaulieu, which had been imposed upon him by the general chapter of the Cistercian order, it was ordered that by way of punishment he should be deposed from his stall for twenty days.[13] In 1279 the same chapter issued an injunction to the abbots of Ford, Tintern, and Neath to examine into the promotion of the abbot of Bruern, who was said to be guilty of intriguing (*conspirator*).[14] Next year we have the entry that 'Augerus,' late abbot of Bruern, is said to have been deposed unjustly; therefore the abbot of Tintern and others are to visit the abbey and make a report.[15] Finally, in 1281 they report that Augerus is eligible for the post of abbot at Bruern or elsewhere, and the five monks who had traduced him are ordered to fast 'on bread and water' every Saturday until further notice.[16] There is no doubt that this 'Augerus' is to be identified with the 'Rogerus' who was deposed in 1279,[17] Robert de Estal being chosen in his place. Whether Roger, or Auger, was re-appointed in 1281 we do not know, but we find that the abbot in 1290 was named Robert. From 1284 to 1340, as we learn from the Close Rolls, the monastery owed large sums of money, amounting in the former year to 2,100 marks, in the latter to 1,100; and in 1304 it was so oppressed with debt that it was put into the custody of W. de Rodeston.[18] It also had the trouble of a disputed succession; for in 1363 Robert de Stoe, monk of Bruern, who had been proctor at the papal court for the monks against John de Dunster, formerly abbot, when the verdict was given in favour of the abbot, so that he was reinstated, petitioned the pope that he might become a monk of Beaulieu, fearing the anger of Abbot John, if he returned to Bruern.[19] Three years later the abbot himself made a petition for an indulgence for those who contribute to the repair of the monastery, as it had been occupied for five years by an intruded person, who had so wasted the property of the abbey that it could only support six persons instead of sixty monks and sixty lay brothers.[20] These numbers, however, are incredible, if we remember how slender the income of the house was.

Brighter days came in 1382, when licence was given to acquire the manor of Fifield, in Oxfordshire, and other lands to the value of £10 a year.[21] In 1440 King Henry VI granted them at a rent of £8 a year the advowson of the church of Wootton with licence to appropriate;

[1] Cart. Antiq., T. 39; R. 1; NN. 49.
[2] Madox, *Formulare*, 252.
[3] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 737.
[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 265.
[5] *Formulare*, 27.
[6] Aug. Off. Chart. vol. vii, No. 82.
[7] *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 203.
[8] *Cal. Chart. R. Hen. III.* 176.
[9] *Cal. Anc. D.* B. 1319.
[10] See the *Taxatio.* [11] *Cal. of Close R.* (1231–4), p. 73.
[12] Madox, *Formulare*, 309.
[13] Martene, *Thes. Anec.* iv, 1397.
[14] Ibid. under the year 1279. The name of the abbey is spelt 'Buxeria' in error.
[15] Ibid. iv, 1472.
[16] Ibid. under the year 1281.
[17] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 476.
[18] Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 17.
[19] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 446, 470. [20] Ibid. 511.
[21] Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 2.

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but in 1461 Edward IV revoked the gift.[1] In 1529 and 1530 we hear of riots at Bruern, and attempts to unseat John Chaffcombe, the abbot.[2]

In 1526 the gross income was £134, net £120; in 1535, at which date the house contained twelve monks in priests' orders and three that were not ordained, the income was returned at £136 net. Cromwell's commissioner at this time reported that the abbot was well learned in Holy Scripture, and had repaired the damage done to the house by his negligent predecessor, and had brought the convent into good order.[3] This abbot was Richard King,[4] possibly a relation of Dr. Robert King, abbot of Bruern in 1527, when he was promoted to the abbacy of Thame.[5] The house was suppressed and the monks expelled in October, 1536,[6] the abbot receiving a pension of £22.[7]

Abbots of Bruern

David, occurs in 1163[8]
Richard, died 1176
Christopher, elected January 1176–7, resigned 1187[9]
Geoffrey, occurs 1195,[10] and after 1198[11]
J., occurs 1203[12]
W., occurs 1217[13]
Richard, appointed 1218, died 1228[14]
Thomas, occurs 1229 and 1242[15]
John, occurs 1246[16]
Roger, deposed 1279[17]
Robert de Estal, appointed 1279[17]
Robert, occurs 1290[18]
Roger de Lecebourne, occurs 1294[19] and 1299[20]
John, occurs 1311[21] and 1315[22]
Thomas, occurs 1320 and 1327[23]
Robert, occurs 1330 and 1340[24]
Roger, occurs 1350[25]
Geoffrey, occurs 1352[26]
John de Dunster, occurs before 1358 and after 1366[27]
William, occurs 1376[28] and 1396[29]
Walter, appointed 1405,[30] occurs 1418[31]
John Assheley, occurs 1447[32]
John, occurs 1464[33]
Peter Wynborne, appointed 1468[34]
Robert King, appointed 1515, resigned 1527[35]
John Chaffcombe *alias* Macye, occurs 1529[36] and 1530[37]
Richard King,[38] occurs 1535, last abbot

A seal belonging to the house is in the British Museum, pointed oval, the abbot standing on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.[39] Legend :—

SIGILLVM : ABBAT[IS : DE :] BRVERIA

10. THE ABBEY OF REWLEY

The Cistercian Abbey of Rewley, under the patronage of St. Mary, was founded by Edmund, earl of Cornwall. His father, Richard, king of the Romans, who died in 1272, the founder of Hayles Abbey, had intended to establish a college or chantry of three secular priests to pray for his soul, but his son Edmund substituted 'six Cistercian monks, having more confidence in them.'[40] If this was the original plan, it was soon enlarged. In 1280 he offered the general chapter of the Cistercian order to found a college (*studium*) for Cistercians at Oxford, and the chapter accepted the offer, and decreed that the college should have the same privileges as the college of St. Bernard at Paris, and that it should be under the abbot of Thame, as the other was under the abbot of Clairvaux.[41] It was not at

[1] Supplement to the *Hist. of Woodstock*, by E. Marshall, 72.
[2] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, iv (3), 5373, 6141.
[3] Ibid. ix, 457.
[4] Ibid. 493; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 265.
[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv (3), 5189.
[6] Ibid. xi, 641. [7] Ibid. xiii (1), 1520 (39*b*)
[8] Dodsworth MS. vol. 77, No. 18.
[9] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 240. He became abbot of Waverley in 1187.
[10] Madox, *Formulare*, 218.
[11] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, ii, 19.
[12] *Cal. Docs. in France*, 52; probably Joceline, mentioned in Madox, *Formulare*, 277; Anct. D., B 105; and Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock*, 35.
[13] Cott. MS. Vitell, E. xv, fol. 150.
[14] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 291, 304.
[15] Feet of F. Oxon.
[16] Pat. 30 Hen. III, m. 7.
[17] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 476.
[18] Close, 18 Edw. I, m. 10*d*. It is stated that the abbot who was in office in 1285 was elected in 1282, *Placita de quo War.* 663.
[19] Close, 22 Edw. I, m. 11 *d*.
[20] *Cartul. of Winchcombe*, i, 293.
[21] Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 6*d*.
[22] A document among the muniments of Brasenose Coll. Oxford.
[23] Close, 13 Edw. II, m. 2*d*.; 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25*d*.
[24] *Cal. of Close R.* (1330–3), p. 147; and (1339–41), p. 464.
[25] Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, 298.
[26] *Cal. of Close R.* (1349–54), p. 404.
[27] See above. [28] Anct. D. B. 1319.
[29] Misc. Cartae Aug. Off. v, 25.
[30] Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, Mem. fol. 7.
[31] Madox, *Formulare*, 331.
[32] Inq. p.m. 25 Hen. VI, No. 43.
[33] Supplement to the *Hist. of Woodstock*, by E. Marshall, 72.
[34] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chedworth, Mem. fol. 89.
[35] Lee's *Hist. of Thame*, 385; *Reg. of Univ. of Oxf.* i, 47.
[36] *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv (3), 6047; ix, 493, where he is called late abbot and his surnames are given.
[37] Ibid. iv (3), 5373, 6141.
[38] Ibid. ix, 493; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 265.
[39] Cott. chart. xi, 67.
[40] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 480.
[41] Martene, *Thes. Anec.* iv, 1472.

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first intended that it should be an abbey, but next year the chapter decreed 'out of due respect to the earl of Cornwall' that the abbot of Thame should be empowered to appoint an abbot of his own choice for the house of study at Oxford, and that there should be a daily memory of the late earl of Cornwall at mass at the college (*studium*) of Oxford, according as the abbot of the place shall ordain.[1] In August, 1281, there was an agreement[2] between the abbeys of Oseney and Thame that, in consideration of an annual payment of 36*s.* 8*d.*, the former should withdraw all objections which they were entitled to make to the foundation of a monastery within the parish of St. Thomas, the church of which was appropriated to them; and as there is no mention of an abbot of Rewley, we conclude that he had not yet been appointed. In December, 1281, the building was dedicated by Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, the first monks being obtained from Thame.[3] Next year the chapter of the Cistercians gave it the title 'Sancta Maria de regali loco,' and decreed that houses which sent students to Rewley for study should make them an allowance.[4]

The name Rewley (*de regali loco*) was derived from its situation. The island of Oseney, lying west of the castle, was divided equally between Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivri. The abbey of Oseney obtained from the former the southern half of the island, and from Bernard of St. Walery a part of the northern half; the remainder, coming with the honour of St. Walery to Richard king of the Romans, acquired from him the name *regalis locus*, and retained the title ever afterwards.

The abbey obtained from its founder the manor of Yarnton, mills in Cassington, the hamlet of Wyllanston in the parish of Mixbury, two parks in Nettlebed called Great and Little Hymer (now Highmore), tenements in London, and the advowson of the church of St. Wendron in Cornwall (now called Wendron).[5] Of this church the abbey had the appropriation as early as 1324.[6] Subsequently Edward the Black Prince gave the advowson of St. Stithians, Cornwall, and in 1354, the bishop granted them the appropriation.[7] Before 1291 the abbey also had possessions in Chesterton, Oxon, doubtless given by the founder, who owned that manor.[8] The Valor shows that by 1535 it had rents in Coventry, but had acquired little beyond its original endowments.

In 1299 they had licence from the king to enclose sixteen acres belonging to them in North Oseney,[9] and in 1320 to acquire land to the value of £10 a year.

The number of inmates, which at first was fifteen, by the year 1294 was raised to sixteen,[10] but it is noticeable that the abbey seal gives the former number, an abbot and fourteen monks. In 1292 an order was issued by the abbot of Cîteaux that the Cistercian houses in the province of Canterbury should send students to the 'studium Oxonie,' one from every monastery with twenty monks. They were to grant their students an allowance (*bursa*) of 60*s.*; some abbeys which had sent students had withdrawn them; this was forbidden.[11] How long Rewley remained a place of study is not certain. The fact that there was a dispute in 1300 as to what precedence the monks of Rewley should have in university processions shows that the monks were students then,[12] and an entry in the Patent Rolls for 1315 concerning damage done at Rewley contains the words 'the monks residing there are scholars.' Probably it ceased to be a place of study when Bernard College was built, and King Henry VIII, patron of the abbey, seems to have ordered that a grammar master should be kept at Rewley, and that one or two of the monks should be supported at Bernard College.[13]

In 1324 there seems to have been some question whether Rewley was an English monastery or alien, for the Patent Rolls record that Rewley is not subject to any religious house of France and that all the monks there are English except the abbot, Peter de Duvone. As with other Cistercian houses, the bishops' registers give us no information about Rewley, and its history is practically blank.

In 1426 the chapter of Cistercians ratified the promotion of 'Thomas Bronus' to be abbot 'Caroli loci juxta Oxon.' One of the foreign Cistercian abbeys bore the name 'Caroli loci,' but the addition of 'juxta Oxon' suggests that 'regalis loci' is what should have been written.[14]

Its net income in 1526 was reckoned at £107, and in 1535 at £174.[15] It is said by Anthony Wood that at the dissolution the number of monks had risen to twenty-one, but this was merely tradition.

The approaching storm of the dissolution ruffled the usually placid water of monastic life at Rewley some time before it burst upon the abbey and swept it away. As early as 1532 the aged abbot, John Ryton, wrote to Cromwell complaining bitterly of the insolence and oppression of the king's servants who quartered

[1] Martene, *Thes. Anec.* iv, 1476.
[2] In the Chartulary of Thame Abbey.
[3] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 397.
[4] Martene, *Thes. Anec.* iv, 1479.
[5] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 700.
[6] *Exeter Epis. Reg., Stapeldon* (ed. Randolph), 345.
[7] Ibid. *Grandison*, 1132.
[8] *Taxatio: Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 826.
[9] Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 7.
[10] Ibid. 22 Edw. I, m. 16.
[11] Printed by A. G. Little in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for Jan. 1893.
[12] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), 78.
[13] *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 255.
[14] Martene, *Thes. Anec.* iv, 1575.
[15] *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 255.

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themselves and their horses upon him, adding 'if I shall be accompanied with Italians I shall not be long in the world.'[1] Apparently this or some other fate did speedily befall him, as next year Nicholas Austen was abbot and wrote to Cromwell that the youngest member of the convent had accused a brother of quoting a sentence from Agrippa's book *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, with treasonable application to the king's divorce, and had laid information of the same to the mayor of Oxford; the abbot desired that the punishment of the parties might be committed to him or to the abbot of Tower Hill as visitor of the order.[2] The same abbot, early in 1536, offered Cromwell £100 to save the monastery if only by converting it into a college,[3] but it was useless, and Abbot Nicholas was pensioned off with £22,[4] and retired to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, to study.[5]

ABBOTS OF REWLEY

William de Gizors, elected 1282[6]
Richard (Bartone), occurs 1284[7]
Warin, occurs 1286[8]
Robert, occurs 1287[9] and 1289[10]
Richard, occurs 1294 and 1297[11]
Richard II, appointed 1302[12]
Thomas, appointed 1310[13]
Peter, appointed 1317,[14] called Peter de Duvone in 1324[15]
Simon, occurs 1330[16] and 1337[17]
Adam de Stanleghe, occurs 1354[18] and 1368[19]
John, occurs 1402[20]
? Thomas Brown, appointed 1426[21]
Henry Skiris, appointed 1444[22]
William Colshull, appointed apparently 1453[23]
Gilbert Bilbey, occurs 1480[24]
Henry, occurs 1505 and 1513[25]
John, occurs March, 1521[26]
John Kylner, occurs 1528[27]
John Ryton, occurs 1532[28]
Nicholas Austen, occurs 1533,[29] last abbot

The seal, of which only an imperfect specimen is known,[30] is round; the lower part represents a teacher instructing fourteen pupils; the upper part is defective.

11. THE ABBEY OF THAME

'The abbey of Thame was founded 22 July, 1138,' according to the Annals of Waverley,[31] but the words probably mean that on that day was founded the abbey, which ultimately was settled at Thame, for the monastery was first built at Otteley in the parish of Oddington.[32] The founder was Robert Gait, or Gai, or Geyt, or le Gai (for his name had these and many other forms), who granted five virgates in Oddington and built an abbey (*construxit ibi abbatiam*), having obtained from the abbot of Waverley a promise to furnish monks for a monastery.[33] One of the first of the charters is dated 'on the day on which the convent came to Otteley,'[33] the day no doubt being 22 July, 1138. But it is evident that the abbey spoken of was nothing more than a temporary residence, for a charter of the son of the founder releases the monks from their obligation 'to build an abbey,' as the site was unsuitable; while the grandson, reverting to the language of the original charter, permits that 'the abbey should be a grange.'[34] The permanent buildings and the abbey church were erected on land given by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, three carucates in extent,[35] being his park of Thame, so that henceforth the abbey was called 'sancte Marie de Parco Thame,' and was reckoned to be of the bishop's foundation. The change cannot have been later than 1140, as the park was confirmed to the monks by Pope Innocent in March,

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1355.
[2] Ibid. vi, 1677.
[3] Ibid. x, 387.
[4] Ibid. xiii (1), 1520 (38).
[5] Ibid. xii (2) 1320.
[6] *Ann. Mon.* ii, 397, which gives the date as April, 1281, but there seems to have been no abbot of Rewley in Aug. 1281 (see above).
[7] Assize R. 710, m. 42.
[8] Pat. 14 Edw. I, m. 8.
[9] *Cal. of Charter R.* ii, 339.
[10] Pat. 17 Edw. I, m. 18.
[11] *Eynsham Cartul.* No. 501 and Thame Cartul. fol. 19.
[12] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 52.
[13] Ibid. fol. 152; called Thomas de Kirkby by A. Wood.
[14] Ibid. fol. 347.
[15] Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14.
[16] Ibid. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.
[17] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 302; but Willis, who copied Wood, says 1327.
[18] Grandisson, *Reg.* (ed. Randolph), 1132.
[19] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 699 (quoting Tanner).
[20] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 393.
[21] Martene, *Thes. Anec.* iv, 1575.
[22] Linc. Epis. Reg. Alnwick, Mem. fol. 61.
[23] Ibid. Chedworth, Mem. fol. 7.
[24] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 699.
[25] Bodl. Chart. Berks. Nos. 154 and 157.
[26] Exch. Aug. Off. Conventual Leases.
[27] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 302.
[28] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1355.
[29] Ibid. vi, 1677.
[30] Skelton, *Oxonia Restaurata*, 95.
[31] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 227; but some ancient authorities give the year 1137 (see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for Oct. 1893, p. 644).
[32] Oddington Grange probably marks the site.
[33] From the Thame Chartul. in the possession of the marquis of Bath, who very kindly allowed the use of it for the purpose of this article. It contains 86 pages, and was begun about the year 1205. See also Lee's *Hist. of Thame*, 343–75, which gives a faulty transcript of a portion of it.
[34] For an abbey that consisted of temporary wooden buildings see *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Soc.), i, cxii.
[35] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 820.

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1141,[1] and a probable date is autumn, 1139, when Alexander and Roger his uncle, either voluntarily or by compulsion, divested themselves of much of their wealth. Other early benefactors were the knights that held fees under the bishop of Lincoln within the hundred of Thame, who gave largely of their lands in Morton, Tetsworth and Attington; and before 1146, William, son of Otho, brother of Everard the first abbot, gave seven hides in Sibdon, Buckinghamshire. King Stephen also gave them land at Worth near Faringdon, but Henry II, on his accession, deprived them of it, as having been given by his enemies,[2] though he recompensed them with a grant of land at Wyfold, Oxon.[3] Popes Eugenius and Alexander granted them privileges such as that no one might interdict their monastery from divine service, but that even if excommunicated they might say the office with closed doors. They had also the regular privilege of the Cistercian order, that they need pay no tithes on land which they tilled themselves. This naturally was much resented by rectors and by monasteries which owned tithe, and many attempts were made to evade it, so that Pope Alexander had to write in defence of Thame more than once, and point out that the privilege did not merely mean that tithes were not to be paid by the monastery on newly enclosed land, but that the monks need not pay on any land that they cultivated.[4] The natural result was that Cistercians became large farmers, not from love of agriculture, but because their land was worth nearly 20 per cent. more if they kept it in their own hands. Already in 1179, as a papal confirmation tells us, they had four granges in Oxfordshire, at Wyfold, Otteley, Stoke Talmage, and Chesterton; and two in Bucks, at Saunderton and Sibdon; and they had obtained from the king the concession that their horses and goods need pay no toll at Hastings, Dover or Southampton on the one coast, and Dieppe, Barfleur and Oistreham on the other. Henry III renewed this privilege,[5] and granted in 1224 that the ship of the abbot of Thame might carry abroad a cargo of wool.[6]

Of the internal history of a Cistercian house it is difficult to learn anything. They were not subject to episcopal visitation, nor had the bishop the power of examining into the election of an abbot. We cannot, therefore, tell the numbers at Thame, but we know from the Chartulary that there were lay-brothers (*conversi*) as in other Cistercian houses, and one of them is specially mentioned by William of Newburgh as being of such sanctity that he was supposed to have the gift of prophecy, and foretold in 1167 that there would never be a bishop of Lincoln again.[7]

In 1291 the income of the abbey was returned at £116, none of it coming from tithe. The first church they obtained was Chalgrove, granted to them by Edward II in 1317 to maintain six monks to pray for the souls of the king's ancestors and of Peter de Gaveston, earl of Cornwall.[8] Two years later the bishop granted that, as the abbey was loaded with debt, partly from bad seasons, partly from the duty of hospitality, partly from the murrain of sheep, partly from the heavy subventions imposed by those in power, it might appropriate the church, and he ordained a vicarage.[9] His arrangements, however, did not prove satisfactory, for in 1392 the pope wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the vicar of Chalgrove had sent a petition, saying that his vicarage was insufficient, that the monks of Thame had extorted an oath from him that he would not try to increase his portion, although their portion was worth £40 a year; 'He fears them greatly and with reason, and cannot meet them with safety in the city or the diocese;' the archbishop, therefore, was to summon the abbot of Thame, to release the vicar from his oath, and increase his vicarage if it be insufficient.[10]

The abbey obtained a second church in 1398, when the pope gave them permission to appropriate the church of Stoke Talmage.[11] There was also a chapel at Latchford, in Haseley, built in 1300 by the rector of Haseley;[12] when this afterwards came into the hands of the abbot of Thame with the obligation of supplying a monk to perform the service, the men of Latchford complained to Parliament that he embezzled the charters and allowed the chapel to fall to pieces.[13] During the course of the fourteenth century the abbey was allowed to acquire certain lands in mortmain, the chief of which was the neighbouring manor of Towersey.[14]

In 1525 Bishop Longland sent to the abbot of Waverley, who at the time held the post of visitor of the Cistercians in England, a list of articles against the abbot and monks of Thame.[15] It is evident that during a visit to his manor of Thame he had heard the common talk of the doings of the monks, and, as the founder or patron of the monastery, he could demand that a visitation should be made. The accusations were as follows: that the monastery was full of idle boys, who had no business there,

[1] Thame Chartul. fol. 56.
[2] *Cal. Anct. D.* iv, 69; iii, 114.
[3] Thame Cartul. fol. 44. [4] Ibid. fol. 58.
[5] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 14.
[6] Pat. 8 Hen. III, m. 5.
[7] Also in Wykes. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, p. 33.
[8] Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 3; Anct. Pet. 13911.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 170.
[10] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 430.
[11] Ibid. v, 164.
[12] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. 14.
[13] *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 184.
[14] Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9.
[15] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, Mem. fol. 34.

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to the infamy of the house; that the buildings were in ruins; that the debts were immense, but nevertheless much money was spent on feasts; that the abbot lived in great style; that he produced no accounts; that he and his monks were ignorant and did not know their rule; that the monks were allowed to engage in archery with lay people and to have elaborate feasts at taverns; that after visitations there were no corrections, so that the neighbours said that the visitations were of no use. The prior was charged with idleness; he gave no instruction in rules and ceremonies, and through his fault there was neither study, nor silence, nor seriousness. Two of the monks were accused of incontinence. In consequence, the abbot of Waverley held a visitation in February, 1525, and remitted to the bishop the answers that had been made to his accusations, and the injunctions which had been promulgated. He was evidently intent on shielding his own order, and implied that he was satisfied with the replies of the abbot of Thame. The bishop was far from satisfied, and in his letter, which was copied into his register, he pointed out that the abbot had contradicted himself in several of his answers; that he had admitted that he was guilty of vice (the *crimen pessimum* which figures largely in the reports of Cromwell's visitors); that his answers were, to say the least, insincere, and where he had to confess that the articles were true, there was no punishment awarded. The letter ends as follows:—

Though the abbot is ignorant and useless, he is not removed; though religion has been violated it is not restored. The possessions of the house, once so ample, will shortly be all dissipated, unless a remedy is quickly applied. . . . The crimes of the abbot and brethren are notorious, and cannot be concealed or obscured by any devices; yet they remain unpunished. Injunctions are made, but they are only commemorations of old rules, and much less perfect. Seeing, therefore, that I am the founder of the house, I cannot allow this monastery, famous of old for men of holiness, probity, and religion, endowed with adequate possessions, set up that sanctity of life, the monastic rule and the service of God should be for ever observed there, should totter to ruin under an evil shepherd, and with an irreligious flock. Therefore, holy Father, let it be your care, and that speedily and without subterfuge, that whatever is needful according to the rule and constitutions of the fathers for a worthy reformation be introduced; else of a surety without your aid we ourselves will think of a remedy, and if you are determined to break the rules of the holy fathers to such an extent that this monastery cannot be renovated with monks of the Cistercian rule, we shall apply its possessions to some use more acceptable to God.

The register also contains the list of jewels and furniture of the monastery that was shown to the visitor drawn up by John Warren, the abbot; the debts of the house he declared to be only £74; but, even without the testimony of the bishop, it would be clear from the abbot's bombastic and evasive answers to the articles of the visitor, that he was not a man of accuracy or truth.

In 1529, when the abbot died, the bishop, as patron of the abbey, wrote to Cardinal Wolsey that there was no one in the monastery fit for the office, and the house was greatly in debt; he asked that the abbot of Waverley, visitor of the Cistercians, should be urged to appoint Robert King, abbot of Bruern, otherwise the house would be undone.[1] This suggestion was accepted, and Dr. King, who was already suffragan of Lincoln, became abbot of Thame, and, in December, 1537, abbot commendatory of Oseney. In 1526 the gross income was £203, net £141;[2] in 1535 the more exact valuation raised the net income to £256. In November, 1539, the house was surrendered to the king by the abbot and twelve monks.[3]

Abbots of Thame

Everard, 1138[4]
Serlo, 1148
William of Ford, 1184[5]
Simon, 1205
Lawrence, 1225[6]
Robert de Tett[esworth], 1232
Hillary, 1243
Roger de Marcham, 1252
Richard Bartone, 1259[7]
Roger Houttone, 1283
William Strattone, 1302[8]
John de Thame, 1316[9]
William Steyning, 1349[10]
John de Esingdon, 1355[10]
Richard de Wath', 1361[10]
Henry Towersey,[11] occurs 1393,[12] and 1401[13]

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 5189.
[2] MS. at Lincoln.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 528.
[4] The names and dates of election of the first fifteen are taken from the Thame Chartul. fol. 86.
[5] Serlo resigned: William had been abbot of Kingswood. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 243.
[6] According to *Ann. Mon.* ii, 300, he was a monk of Thame, and appointed in 1224 on the death of Simon.
[7] He became abbot of Rewley; Assize R. 710, m. 42.
[8] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 64, gives Jan. 1303.
[9] Ibid. fol. 438 gives Dec. 1316.
[10] These dates, indistinct now in the chartulary, are taken from Cott. MS. Julius c. vii, 295, a sixteenth-century transcript of part of the chartulary.
[11] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 482.
[12] Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 11.
[13] Lipscombe, *Hist. of Bucks.* i, 413, finding that John Beek died in 1390 'seised of the manor of Shibdon-Grange,' a property of Thame, assumed that he was abbot; Lee (*Hist. of Thame*, 376) has followed him; but Beek was only farmer of the land (see Pat. Rolls, June, 1392).

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John, occurs May, 1407[1] and 1434[2]
John Blackthorn, died 1457[3]
Richard Syndesey, elected 1457[3]
William Hode, elected 1464[4]
Augustine, elected 1472,[5] occurs 1478[6]
John, occurs 1495[7] and 1507[8]
John Warren, occurs 1509[9] and 1525[10]
Robert King, elected 1529,[11] surrendered 1539

The British Museum has a cast from a poor impression of the thirteenth-century seal. Pointed oval: the Virgin, with crown, standing in a canopied niche, the Child on the right arm, in the left hand a sceptre. On each side a smaller canopied niche, containing a saint, full length. In base, a destroyed subject.[12] Legend:—

. . . MVNE : . . . MARIE : DE : TAME . . .

The private seal of the abbots of Thame in use by Abbot William in 1200,[13] and Abbot Robert in 1283,[14] is a small pointed oval with a half-length figure of an abbot, wearing a (?) cowl; a pastoral staff in the right hand, the left hand resting on the breast. Legend:—

SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE TAMA

There is also a small circular counter-seal[15] of this abbey, representing an arm vested coming from the right, and in the hand a pastoral staff. Legend:—

[CON]TRA SIGILL[VM ABBA]THIE DE THAME

12. THE COLLEGE OF ST. BERNARD, OXFORD

In 1437,[16] Archbishop Chicheley founded a college near Oxford for Cistercian monks in honour of St. Mary and St. Bernard. As the college of this order at Paris had long been known as the *Studium beati Bernardi*, the same title was naturally adopted in England. The founder probably gave little more than the site, part of which was acquired from Durham College.[17] The buildings, no doubt, were erected by the order, and were still unfinished in 1483.[18] In 1449 the abbot of Morimond, commissioned by the general chapter of the Cistercians to hold a visitation 'of the college of our order,' gave certain injunctions to 'the college of St. Bernard near Oxford,' which are preserved in a mutilated record;[19] none but Cistercians were to stay in the college; the seniors were not to have more than one servant apiece; there was to be reading at meal times; the gates of the college were to be shut early; in one place it is described as endowed (*dotatum*), but what the endowments were is unknown. In 1482 the chapter of the Cistercians decreed that in every monastery of twelve monks one was to be sent to the college of St. Bernard at Oxford; if there were twenty-six monks, then two were to be sent. Monasteries with two or three monks were to unite so as to make up the necessary allowance for one scholar,[20] and in 1490 the abbot of Cîteaux ordered the abbots of Fountain and Stratford, as his commissaries, to enforce this decree.[21]

In May, 1530, permission was given by the Bishop of Lincoln that Robert, bishop of Rheon, should consecrate the chapel in Bernard College.[22]

There is reason for thinking that Bernard College, like Durham College, survived the dissolution of the monasteries, at least for a few years. In a grant concerning Thedge Grange, made in the year 1542, it is stated that there was a rent due to St. Bernard's College, as though it were still in existence.[23] There is a survey of the buildings of Bernard College, preserved at the Record Office, evidently drawn up when it was in the hands of the crown, but it is undated.[24]

The head of the college was styled 'provisor.'

Heads of Bernard College[25]

John Staynbourne, occurs 1461
James Kepas, occurs 1498
Thomas Stoknay, occurs 1502
John Ford, occurs 1514
Arnold Gye, *alias* Buckfast, occurs 1528
Robert Cumbe, occurs 1532
Philip Acton, *c.* 1535

[1] Duchy of Lanc. Chart. 265 (quoted Furness Coucher Book, p. 4).
[2] Pat. 12 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 22.
[3] Willis, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 187.
[4] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chedworth, Mem. fol. 64.
[5] Ibid. Rotherham, Mem. fol. 13.
[6] Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. iii, ms. 3–1.
[7] Bodl. Lib. Oxon. Chart. 57.
[8] De Banc. R. Trin. 22 Hen. VII, 131.
[9] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 376; but he gives no authority.
[10] Ibid. 383.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 5189.
[12] B.M. lxxi, 3.
[13] On a charter at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[14] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 389.
[15] On a charter at Magdalen Coll. Oxford.
[16] The date is 1432 in Rashdale's *Hist. of Universities*, ii, 479; but the land of Durham College was acquired in 1437; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 61.
[17] *Collect.* iii, 61.
[18] Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. of the Univ. of Oxf.* 343.
[19] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. 180.
[20] Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* iv. 1638.
[21] Aug. Off. Cart. Misc. ix, 227.
[22] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, Mem. fol. 50.
[23] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 443 (39).
[24] Rentals and Surv. Roll 548.
[25] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clarke), ii, 308.

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HOUSES OF AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

13. THE ABBEY OF DORCHESTER

There is no record of the foundation of Dorchester Abbey, but by piecing together such evidence as we have, we can prove that about the year 1140 Bishop Alexander suppressed the secular canons that had survived from Saxon times, and gave their endowments to Austin canons. An anonymous writer of 1225[1] says that the bishop set up 'regular canons' during the reign of Stephen, and as the church of Benson was given to the abbey by the Empress Maud,[2] we can safely say that it was in existence by 1142. Furthermore, between 1139 and 1145 canons were procured from Dorchester, being of the Arrouasian or stricter form of the Austin rule, for the foundation of what ultimately became Lilleshall Abbey.[3] The main endowment of the abbey consisted of the churches of the hundred of Dorchester, viz. Toot Baldon, Drayton, Clifton Hampden, Chislehampton, Stadhampton, and Dorchester, with its chapelries of Overy and Burcot. These were the churches which in old days had been served by the prebendaries of Dorchester, and for this reason, even in 1291, were still called 'the chapels of the prebendaries;'[4] and in fact the abbey-church of Dorchester was known as the 'prebendal church' as late as the dissolution of the monasteries.[5] The bishop, of course, was patron, and his licence had to be obtained when an abbot was to be elected.

Other benefactions were the church of Benson with its chapels of Nettlebed and Warborough, given by the Empress Maud, no doubt between 1140 and 1142; the church of Pishill given before 1189,[6] also the churches of Shirburn, Bix Brand, and Warpsgrove. Other gifts were few; the abbey had little property in land, and its income from spiritualities was always twice as much as its income from temporalities.

Nothing is known of the history of the abbey until the thirteenth century, when we find that about 1223 its abbot (no doubt Abbot Roger), after wasting its goods, had retired to the monastery of St. Frideswide, taking with him 48 marks. In consequence there was a lawsuit between the two houses, which at Easter, 1225, had been in progress for some time.[7] Perhaps it was to divert the attention of the brethren to something nobler that a petition was sent to the pope in 1224 asking that they might move the bones of Birinus to a more worthy place. The pope, in reply, sent a mandate to the archbishop that he was to visit the abbey, and see whether the tomb was really that of Birinus; for that Bede narrated that his bones were taken to Winchester. What followed is described for us by one who was present. The archbishop, on his arrival, was informed that the tomb had been discovered, apparently about fifty years before, through a vision that appeared to one of the canons, telling him to look for the tomb before the altar of the Holy Cross; the tomb was found and opened, and the body of a bishop was discovered; miracles had followed: a leper had been cleansed, a dead man had been brought to life, and one had learned to speak French in three days. The bones which had been taken to Winchester were from a tomb in the corner behind a door, not a likely place to choose for the burial of such a saint as Birinus. Moreover an anchorite of Holywell near Oxford heard a voice saying: 'It is Bertinus behind the door, but Birinus under the pavement,' Bertinus being reputed a bishop of Dorchester, tenth in succession from Birinus. The tomb was thereupon opened again in the presence of the archbishop, the body of a bishop was found, and the conclusion was that Bede trusting to hearsay had make a mistake, and should have said that the bones of Bertinus were taken to Winchester. Unfortunately for this argument Bertinus would have lived after the days of Bede; but at all events there was supposed to be satisfactory evidence that this was the body of Birinus.[8] In the next century a costly marble shrine was made for the saint,[9] and in 1301 an indulgence of forty days was granted to those who should visit the bones of Birinus at Dorchester.[10] At the dissolution the offerings at the shrine were worth £5 a year.[11]

At the Taxation of 1291 the income of the abbey from churches was about £60, from land about £26; the church of Bix had been appropriated in 1275,[12] Pishill and Shirburn before 1220.[13] In 1301 licence was given by the bishop that the churches of Bix, Pishill, and Nettlebed, because of their poverty, should be

[1] Surius, vi, 688.
[2] *Cal. Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), 6 John (p. 142).
[3] Eyton, *Hist. of Shrops.* ii, 204. In 1518 'the statutes of the monastery of Dorchester' are mentioned as if they were the pattern for English Arrouasians; *Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Soc.), i, p. cxv.
[4] *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 30.
[5] Leland, quoted in the account of Dorchester in the *Monasticon*.
[6] *Cal. Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 150.
[7] Bracton's *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), i, 551; ii, 109.
[8] Surius, vi, 689.
[9] See Addington's *Hist. of Dorchester*, 63, 137.
[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 48.
[11] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 170.
[12] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend's Roll of Institution.
[13] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 11.

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served by chaplains instead of vicars;[1] and it is probable that the custom had been followed for some time; at all events in the rolls of Bishop Hugh (1216–36) Shirburn is the only church belonging to Dorchester to which there is an institution. At the visitation of 1445 it is mentioned that canons whose presence was not desired at Dorchester were sent to take charge of these neighbouring parishes. At Warpsgrove there continued to be rectors, and we learn[2] that in 1453, though there was still a rector of Warpsgrove, yet there were then (as now) no inhabitants. Shortly after (i.e. in 1458) the canons sold the advowson to Edmund Rede,[3] and the church must have been pulled down.

During the fourteenth century the abbey was from time to time allowed to acquire lands in mortmain,[4] especially in the year 1329 when they had permission to acquire lands to the value of 10 marks a year; whereby they acquired the neighbouring manor of Huntercombe.

In 1356 we find that the abbey was neglecting its duties to the parish of Pishill. As we have seen, it had obtained the appropriation of the church before 1220, and in 1301 the bishop had granted leave that instead of a vicar the parish should be served by one of the canons; but even this was not adhered to, and in 1356 the lord of Pishill and the inhabitants, 'parishioners of the church, chapel, or perpetual chantry of Pishill' were conducting a case against the abbot and convent of Dorchester to secure a resident chaplain at the expense of the canons, as was due.[5]

The record of a visitation, paid by Bishop Alnwick in 1441, gives the number of inmates as eleven, the abbot being John Clyfton. According to the evidence of the older canons everything was well, or nothing more serious amiss than that the prior did not keep the clock in order, in fact had used the clock-ropes for the bells; but at last one gave evidence, which showed that the house could not well be in a worse state. After dinner none of the canons stayed in the cloister, but all went hunting, hawking, or fishing. The house was in debt, not £60 as the abbot had admitted, but £200; the jewels were pawned, but by arrangement were returned to the monastery for the day of the visitation. One of the canons had a bird, '*anglice*, goshawk,' which had cost the abbey more than 50*s*. Another canon had a private room where the canons met after compline and played draughts and sent for good beer (*post bonam cervisiam*). Finally the abbot and four others were accused of inchastity, and the details given. No doubt at these visitations there was not a little of reckless accusation, but in the present instance there is much to show that the story was true. In the first place the bishop adjourned the visitation, instead of closing it, and when it was resumed three months later, two of those accused had fled and apostatised. Further, when the house was visited in 1445, we find that John Clyfton, though still living at Dorchester, had been deposed from his position of abbot.

Four years later, the condition of the house was unsatisfactory though no longer scandalous. The new abbot, Alan Bateson, elected apparently from outside (an unusual thing at Dorchester) complains of a young canon, Ralph Carnell: he stirred up the younger canons to disobey the abbot; he enticed them to escape from the abbey at night, to eat and drink in the town with women and lay folk; he broke doors and windows, so as to get out; when rebuked he burst into contumely; when imprisoned by the abbot, he brought over scholars from Oxford, so that from bodily fear he released the prisoner; he hit the elderly prior, John Hakeburne, on the ear with such violence that he had been deaf ever since; and he carried long knives under the plea of self-defence. The story of Carnell, on the other hand, was that the abbot hated him, because he had voted against him at his election to the abbacy; that the abbot had sent him against his will to Stadhampton to take charge of the parish; that he had hit him on the head in the second week in Lent, to the effusion of blood; that he had put him in chains for twenty days; that the abbot wished to drive him away; and therefore he petitions the bishop to be allowed to go to the university; he had already studied canon law for four years, and in two years more he could take his degree as bachelor.

The bishop, however, did not grant his request, but ordered that before Michaelmas he should transfer himself to some other house of the same, or a stricter, rule; if he did not, the bishop would. There were other small complaints. It was said that whenever a grant or lease was sealed with the abbey seal, it was the custom that half a mark should be divided between the canons, but that deeds were now sealed in secret and the canons received nothing. The annual allowance for clothing had been reduced from 20*s*. to 13*s*. 4*d*. The sum of 10*s*. a year, left by a former abbot to be distributed among the canons on the vigil of St. Mary Magdalen, was now withheld. The brethren did not use the refectory—sometimes not once in a quarter—but had their meals in the abbot's chamber, with secular people, and women, and idle talk; and they never had reading at the time of refection. As many as six canons were permanently absent serving churches and chapels appropriated to the monastery. There were

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 48.
[2] Ibid. Chedworth, Mem. fol. 16.
[3] Addington, *Hist. of Dorchester*, 87.
[4] A complete list is given in Addington's *Hist. of Dorchester*, 140–52.
[5] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Mem. fol. 64.

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Dorchester Abbey



Richard de Wurthe,
Abbot of Dorchester,
1236-59



Oseney Abbey



Oseney Abbey



Hugh, Abbot of Oseney,
1184–1205

Oxfordshire Monastic Seals: Plate II

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grave suspicions again about the late abbot, John Clyfton, but he produced four compurgators, who asserted their belief that he was innocent; but the door from Clyfton's room into the garden was to be closed. The examination into the charges raised by Carnell was postponed until the Wednesday after All Saints' Day, nearly six months later.[1]

In 1455 when the next abbot was elected, the number of canons was twelve.[2] Of the visitation held in June, 1517, by the bishop's commissary, our record[3] only mentions that the dormitory was out of repair; and the canons were forbidden to go into the town without leave of the prior.

At a visitation in September, 1530, conducted by the bishop in person, the house consisted of Roger Smith, abbot, William Goldyngton, prior, six canons, and two novices. The prior was negligent about rising for mattins, and the other canons as well; sometimes only two were present, and it was not often that all were there, except on double feasts. Thomas Wytney was excitable (*elate mentis*); three or four times he was ready to fight with the prior; every day he went abroad, hunting or fishing. Frequently there were opprobrious words between the canons. The teacher of grammar was usually drunk after midday; there was no instruction in grammar, nor had been for a long time. The dormitory, cloister, and other buildings were out of repair. There was a public thoroughfare through the cloister used by men and women by day and night. The gates of the cloister were never closed. At night the canons did not go to the dormitory all together, but some walked about the cloister, the church, and the abbot's chamber, and went to their cells late. John Willys, a secular priest of evil fame, had been admitted to the dormitory, to the discredit of the house; he was also suspected of felony, and various possessions of the monastery had been missing since his coming. Thomas Wytney had been to mattins only thrice since the feast of St. Lawrence, and to compline and collation only six times in three months. He would sit up late at night, till ten or eleven o'clock; and would rise at three or four in the morning. He was ignorant and full of words; he had stayed for a long time in his brother's house in Dorchester. No doors were shut at night, and anyone could go in and out at will. There was a strong suspicion (as the bishop phrased it) of the incontinence of the prior, and something more of a canon, named Wytney. The bishop gave injunctions that all doors should be provided with locks and keys—in particular the gates between the nave of the parochial church of Dorchester and the choir of the conventual church of the monastery; the keys were to be kept by the sacrist, and the doors were to be locked at five o'clock in the afternoon in winter, at six in summer, and were not to be opened until six in the morning. The public way through the cloister was to be stopped. The aged abbot—who was in bishop's orders, having been suffragan bishop of Lydda—for his open negligence, contumacy, and disobedience was suspended from the celebration of divine service; also Thomas Pyner, one of the canons, suspected of incontinence, was suspended in like manner until he had purged himself; and the prior, 'because of the strong suspicion of his incontinence,' was suspended from his office and from the celebration of divine service for a fortnight. Pyner and the prior were not to go outside the monastery until the bishop gave them leave; while Wytney was not to go outside for a year, and was to have the lowest place in the choir for at least a fortnight. The visitation ends with the revocation of the sentence against the abbot and his 'restitution to the celebration of divine offices.' It may be pointed out that this record is particularly interesting as showing that Dorchester was one of those churches where part belonged to the parish and part to the monastery. As the outer doors into the parish church would never be closed, nor the entrance from the monastery into the choir, it was necessary at night to lock the gates (*ostia*) between the nave (which belonged to the parish) and the choir (which belonged to the convent).

In 1526 the income of the abbey was returned as £123, of which £92 was in 'spirituals,' and £31 in temporals and demesnes.[4] In 1535 the spiritualities are put at £134, the temporalities and demesnes at £84, and the net income at £190.[5]

The abbey was under the patronage of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Birinus.

Abbots of Dorchester

Alvred, occurs in 1147[6] and after 1173[7]
Eustace, before 1185[8] and after 1213
Roger, occurs 1217,[9] probably fled about 1223
Richard, about 1223,[10] deposed 1236[11]

[1] The document suffices to show that it would be erroneous to think that all cases of gross scandal in the monasteries were entered in the bishop's memoranda, for they contain no word of this case.

[2] Willis, *Abbeys*, ii, 176, but he gives no authority.

[3] MS. at Lincoln.

[4] MS. at Lincoln.

[5] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 170.

[6] An Oseney deed.

[7] *Eynsham Cartul.* No. 58.

[8] i.e. in the time of Pope Lucius III (*Hist. of Croke Family*, i, 425).

[9] Oseney Chartul. 167 A.

[10] MS. Cole, vol. xxvii, fol. 82*b*, is said to give his election in 1225; but reason is given above for an earlier date.

[11] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 143.

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Richard de Wurthe, elected 1236,[1] died 1259
John Warewik, elected 1259,[2] resigned 1269
Walter de Burgo, elected 1270 [3]
Ralph de Dudcote, died 1293
William de Rofford, elected 1294,[5] died 1298
Alexander de Waltham, elected 1298,[4] deprived 1304
John de Caversham, elected 1304,[5] died 1333
John de Sutton, elected 1333,[6] died 1349
Robert de Wychingdon, elected 1349,[7] died 1380
Robert de Codesdone, elected 1380 [8]
. . . . . .
John Winchester,[9] late abbot in 1441
John Clyfton, occurs 1439,[10] and 1441, deposed before 1445
Alan Bateson, occurs 1445, resigned 1455
Thomas, elected 1455,[11] occurs 1458 [12]
. . . . . .
Roger Smith, before 1513,[13] resigned 1533
John March, elected 1533,[14] surrendered 1536

The twelfth-century seal of the abbey is a pointed oval; St. Peter, full-length, with episcopal vestments, in the right hand a double key, in the left hand a book.[15] Legend :—

+SIGILLVM · CONVENTVS · SANTI · PETRI · DORCES'

[1] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 83. In a charter at Christ Church (St. Michael N., No. 16), this abbot, about 1245, describes his predecessor as 'bone memorie Ricardus.'

[2] Roll of Bp. Gravesend. Abbot John joined the Friars Preachers.

[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 132.

[4] Ibid. fol. 138.

[5] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 147.

[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 268.

[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 196.

[8] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 372.

[9] Alnwick's Visitations; MS. Lincoln.

[10] Addington, *Hist. of Dorchester*, 86.

[11] Willis, *Abbeys*, ii, 175.

[12] Addington, *Hist. of Dorchester*, 87.

[13] He was consecrated bishop of Lydda in this year, as suffragan to the bishop of Salisbury; the inscription on his tomb says he was abbot of Dorchester before he became bishop (*Hist. of Dorchester*, 15). Bishop Stubbs is in error in saying that he died in 1518 (*Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 97); he ceased to be bishop of Lydda by 1520, but there is a lease at Shirburn Castle granted by him in April, 1533, as abbot of Dorchester.

[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Atwater, Inst. 173. There is a brass at Dorchester representing a bishop, and below it, but detached, are these words:—'Here lieth Sir Richard Bewforeste' (*Hist. of Dorchester*, 15). There might have been an abbot of this name, but as Sir Richard Bewforeste is known as a prominent layman, who bought the abbey church at the dissolution, it is more probable that the name on the inscription has no connexion with the figure of the abbot.

[15] B.M. lxx, 71.

The seal of Richard, abbot of Dorchester, attached to a deed at Magdalen College of the year 1248, is a pointed oval, representing the Virgin seated with Child, over her head a crescent and a star; two pinnacles rise on either side of her seat; below in adoration is the half-length figure of an abbot. Legend :—

SIGILL RICARDI ABBATIS DE DORCECESTRIA (? DORECCESTRIA).

14. THE ABBEY OF OSENEY

In 1129 Robert d'Oilly the younger, at the instigation of his wife Edith Forne, founded an Augustinian priory in the island of Oseney, lying immediately west of the castle of Oxford.[16] By his foundation charter he gave them the manor of Water Eaton, and all he had in the island of Oseney, namely the southern half, some rents in Oxford and other small possessions; but the chief endowment consisted of all the churches which were in his hands, Watlington, Kidlington, Hook Norton, Weston-on-the-Green, Chastleton, with Claydon in Buckinghamshire, and Shenstone in Staffordshire.[17] More valuable was the grant made in 1149 by Henry d'Oilly his son, and John de St. John, when they gave to Oseney the collegiate chapel of St. George's, of which they were the patrons.[18] Small donations followed in quick succession, so that ultimately the house had property in more than 120 localities, scattered over Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Northamptonshire, with small possessions in Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, and Bedfordshire. It also had two churches in Ireland, Kiltevenan and Balibrenan, with land in the neighbourhood, of the gift of Roger of Worcester, and Richard of Bristol.

During the twelfth century Oseney was much occupied with a dispute about the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, which was claimed by the priory of St. Frideswide. The struggle lasted from 1149 to 1200, and involved many appeals to the pope, all the decisions being in favour of Oseney. In the course of this, Oseney, about 1154, was raised by the pope to the rank of an abbey, having previously been, like most Augustinian houses, a priory.[19]

During the next century the growing importance of Oxford was not without influence on Oseney. With its extensive premises, close to Oxford, yet shut off by the river, it was

[16] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 19; see also Dugdale, *Mon.*

[17] Printed in *Mon.*

[18] See the account of this chapel. The deed in *Mon.* which attributes this grant to Robert d'Oilly II, is spurious and contains many impossibilities.

[19] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 25, 37, 50.

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found to be a convenient place for councils. In 1222 a general council was held there under Stephen Langton[1]; in 1238 the Cardinal Otho was staying there, when the scholars attacked his retinue;[2] in 1252 even the Benedictines had a council at Oseney.[3]

The chartulary[4] of Oseney shows that between the years 1220 and 1270 the abbey was doing a large banking business, receiving from residents in Oxford sums of money on deposit, sometimes over £100, to be repaid either on demand or with a week's or fortnight's notice. Trustees and guardians were glad of an institution, honest and financially sound, where money could safely be left until it was wanted. The abbey of course gave no interest, for that would be un-Christian usury, but it was able to obtain interest itself by investing the money in house property in Oxford.

It cannot of course be proved that the money was used in this way, but the charters of the abbey, of which over a thousand are still preserved at Christ Church, Oxford, and 400 in the Bodleian Library, show that it acquired many houses in Oxford in the thirteenth century, and that, though nominally by gift, they were often really by purchase. The Mortmain Act, which made it difficult for monastic houses to invest their savings profitably, put an end to this, and by removing this inducement to thrift, did much to bring about that indebtedness which was the permanent state of so many monasteries.

Oseney, the wealthiest of the houses of Oxfordshire, was also one of the best in discipline. On no occasion do we hear of scandal in connexion with it, and rarely of anything that is unsatisfactory. Certainly about the beginning of the thirteenth century its reputation stood high. When Waltham was founded in 1177, Oseney supplied six canons out of sixteen,[5] and in 1184 the abbot as well.[6] In 1213 when so many religious houses, which had been vacant during the interdict, were filled up, the heads of four houses were taken from Oseney.[7] In 1225, 1230, and 1247, the priories of Newenham, Chacombe and Ivychurch elected as their heads canons of Oseney,[8] and so did the abbeys of Dorchester and Owston in 1236:[9] and the step taken by the abbot of Oseney in 1235, when he joined the Friars Minors, would generally be reckoned a sign of religious earnestness, though Matthew Paris saw nothing in it but 'levity of mind.'[10]

Unlike some large monasteries, Oseney had no quarrels with neighbours about jurisdiction. It claimed no right to interfere with the city or university, and while these two were at bitter enmity, Oseney was able to live on good terms with both.

Some writers have assumed that Oseney was a place of learning with important schools, and the germ from which the university started. But this is to reverse the order of things; people did not come to Oxford to study at Oseney, but came to Oseney to study at Oxford. We hear of no schools at Oseney, nor of any canon that could claim to be a man of learning. It is true that there is a chronicle, extending to 1289, attributed by Bale to Thomas Wykes, one of the canons;[11] but he must have acquired his learning elsewhere; for among the deeds of Oseney, preserved at Christ Church, Oxford, is a grant of six cottages to Oseney by 'Thomas de Wyke, rector ecclesie de Castre sancti Edmundi,' and in 1270 the abbey made him a grant[12] of one mark a year 'as long as he lives in secular habit.' It was not until twelve years later that he was admitted a canon, as he tells us in his own chronicle.[13] Another record emanated from Oseney, called the Annals of Oseney. Of this the earliest form is found in Cott. MS. Vitell. E, xv, fol. 2–4, written by the earliest scribe (i.e. 1196–8), being brief entries for the years 1066 to about 1180.[14] These were afterwards slightly expanded from other writers and were continued in a much fuller form to 1293. Its authority therefore for the twelfth century is very much better than has hitherto been supposed.

The following were some of the privileges granted to Oseney by various popes. Their canons might receive orders from any catholic bishop:[15] the prior and sub-prior could not be compelled to act as judges-delegate in ecclesiastical cases:[16] the abbey might establish three or four of the canons in any of its rectories;[17] but this custom, if ever followed, was soon discarded, Bibury in Gloucestershire and Kiltevenan in Ireland being the only churches that were served by canons; finally in 1481 the abbot was granted leave to wear a mitre, and to confer minor orders

[1] Walter of Coventry, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 252.
[2] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 481.
[3] Ibid. vi, 217.
[4] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, the earliest part of which dates from 1196–8. Another chartulary, preserved at Ch. Ch. Oxf., was made 1280–2, but deals with none of the Oseney property in the town of Oxford.
[5] *Gesta Regis Henrici* (Rolls Ser.), i, 173.
[6] Ibid. i, 317.
[7] *Ann. Mon.* iii, 41.
[8] Ibid. iii, 93 and 125; Pat. Rolls for 1247.
[9] *Ann. Mon.* iv, 83.
[10] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.) iv, 164. Thomas de Eccleston speaks of him as one 'qui nobis omnis perfectionis exempla reliquit': *Mon. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 16.
[11] Printed in *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv.
[12] Cott. MS. Vitell. E, xv, fol. 255.
[13] *Ann. Mon.* iv, 291.
[14] As the MS. has been injured by fire it is impossible to say within a few years at what date the annals ended.
[15] Misc. Bks. Exch. K.R. No. 26, fol. 72.
[16] Ibid. fol. 99.
[17] Ibid. fol. 110.

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on the novices.[1] But one of the papal decisions given in 1399 was much to be deplored. The abbot had taken an oath to the canons to divulge to the older canons the names of all creditors of the monastery, never to borrow money without their consent, to reveal where the goods of the monastery had been pledged and what they were, and to appoint the four 'officiarii' with the counsel of the elder canons. These were certainly steps that would have conduced to good government. But when the canons, on the pretext of this oath, maintained that the abbot had no right to borrow money 'for the relief of the monastery and to remunerate his friends,' the pope, agreeing with the bishop of Lincoln, decided that he should be absolved from the oath, cunningly extorted, and once more he was free to borrow for the benefit of his friends.[2]

The honour of a seat in Parliament, unlike the honour of a mitre, was not coveted by the abbot. In 1341 he petitioned that as he held no lands of the king by barony, he might not be summoned to Parliament as had been the case since 1319.[3] In 1345 he obtained exemption;[4] but three years later we find him summoned once more.[5]

At the visitation held in 1445 the convent consisted of the abbot and twenty-six canons, two of whom were absent, at Bibury and in Ireland respectively. The state of the house was quite satisfactory, the chief complaint being that when the canons were ill in the infirmary they were not supplied with light food, but had the same as the hale.[6]

In February 1499 the bishop of Lincoln made a visitation of Oseney. The abbey was in debt and the buildings were out of repair; the abbot was ordered not to spend more than 40 marks a year on clothes, food, and fire, until the debts of the house were paid. He was to have but one cook and one butler, being allowed for each 4 marks a year for wages, and 10*d.* a week for maintenance. If he had other servants he must pay them himself. He was to have the manor of Medley for his residence. The prior and canons were to be allowed not more than 18*d.* a week for their diet and firing; and besides, every canon in priest's orders was to have 40*s.* a year, those in lower orders 26*s.* 8*d.* for stipend. No strangers were to be invited to feasts (*ad solacia*) at the expense of the abbey. No canon was to be allowed to go into Oxford except for study or reasonable cause. The prior was not to frequent taverns and disreputable places. The temporals of the abbey were to be administered by John Awdeleye, bachelor of law.[7]

The records of visitations in 1518 and 1520 tell us that besides the abbot and six novices there were nineteen canons, one of them being in Ireland. The canons complain that the bishop by excommunicating the abbot had brought discredit on the house. One of the canons, named Taunton, described as utterly irreligious and unwilling to rise to mattins more than once in a month, after he had been corrected many times, had been banished to the property of the monastery in Ireland; whereupon he fled to the bishop of Lincoln. For this the abbot excommunicated him, and the bishop apparently in return excommunicated the abbot. Another canon is described as utterly irreligious, a fomenter of strife, one who threatened with a dagger those with whom he disagreed. The debts of the house were estimated by one canon at £500, by another at £800, while the income was reckoned to be £730. In 1520 it is recorded that one of the canons had spoken contumelious words of the bishop, saying 'that he caryd not a teide for his malice.' Taunton, we find, was by that time at Oseney and incarcerated, but the bishop showed that he was not entirely satisfied with the state of things, by adjourning his visitation for nine months instead of dissolving or closing it.[8]

In 1524, when the abbot resigned, he was allowed a pension of £60, his successor being the prior of St. Frideswide's, which was at that time in process of suppression.[9] In 1526 the income of the abbey was only £586 gross, £345 net, from which £63 had to be deducted for the pension of the retired abbot; but in 1535 it is returned at £755, with a clear value of £654. It may be concluded that for the subsidy of 1526 certain properties were exempt, perhaps house property in Oxford.

Drs. Tregonwell and Layton visited Oseney in September, 1535, and gave injunctions that no canon should leave the precincts for any cause. Against these orders the abbot, John Burton, protested to Cromwell, pointing out that he could not receive his rents nor see to the repairs of his manors, and adding that Oseney stood very low and in a wet situation, 'and I was brought up in wholesome ground of the King's College, sometime called the monastery of St. Frideswide,' so that if he were obliged to remain continuously at Oseney his life would no doubt be shortened.[10]

In January, 1537, we find the abbots of Oseney and Eynsham accused of speaking 'obtrectuous' words against the king,[11] but it was only the wild invention of a crazy talebearer, John Parkyns.[12]

In November, 1539, the abbey was surrendered into the king's hand, the abbot being

[1] Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. No. 26, fol. 82.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 329–30.
[3] Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 5.
[4] Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.
[5] Close, 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7 *d.*
[6] MS. at Lincoln.
[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Smith, Mem. fol. 52.
[8] MS. at Lincoln.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, Inst. fol. 161.
[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 375.
[11] *Rec. of the City of Oxf.* 152.
[12] See above, page 66.

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Robert King, suffragan of Lincoln, and afterwards first bishop of Oxford. As he was a Cistercian monk, and abbot of Thame,[1] he must have been temporarily appointed, with his elevation to the bishopric in view.

ABBOTS OF OSENEY[2]

Ralf,[3] prior 1129, died 1138[4]
Wygod, prior until about 1154, then abbot; died 1168[5]
Edward, elected 1168; died 1184[6]
Hugh, elected 1184; died 1205[7]
Clement, elected 1205; died 1221[8]
Richard de Gray, elected 1221;[9] died 1229[10]
John de Reading, elected 1229; resigned 1235[11]
John de Leche, elected 1235; resigned 1249[12]
Adam de Berners, elected 1249; died 1254[13]
Richard de Appeltre, elected 1254; resigned about 31 December, 1267[14]
William de Suttone, elected January, 1268; died 1285[15]
Roger de Coventry, elected 1285;[16] died 1297
John de Bibury, elected 1297;[17] resigned 1317
John de Oseneye, elected 1317;[18] died 1330
Thomas de Cudelington, elected 1330;[19] died 1373
John Bokeland, elected 1373;[20] died 1404
William Wendover, elected 1404;[21] resigned 1430
Thomas Hooknorton, elected 1430;[22] died 1452
John Walton, elected 1452;[23] resigned 1472
Richard Leyceter, elected 1472[24]
Robert Oseney, elected 25 November, 1485;[25] resigned 1505
William Barton, elected 28 November, 1505;[26] resigned 1524
John Burton, elected 1524;[27] died 1537[28]
Robert King, elected 1537;[29] surrendered 1539

The twelfth-century seal is a pointed oval, the Virgin with crown and nimbus, half-length under the round-headed arch of a church, with central tower, and side aisles; in the hands a scroll inscribed :—

EGO MATER MI-E (Misericordie).[30]
+ SIGILLV̄ ECCLESIE SC̄E MARIE DE OSENEIA

There is a later seal, made in the time of Abbot Roger de Coventry (1285–97), when the Jews had counterfeited the old seal.[31] Pointed oval: the Virgin, with crown, seated in an elegant canopied niche, with trefoiled arch, crocketed, with buttresses and pinnacle at the sides; on the left knee the Child with cruciform nimbus, in her right hand a round object. (Along the plinth of the niche the inscription: DE OXONIA, nearly obliterated). In base, under a round-headed arch, with an arcade on each side, an ox passant guardant, in allusion to the city of Oxford, adjacent to the abbey.[32] Legend :—

SIGILLVM ABBATIS ET CONVENTUS ECCLESIE SANCTE MARIE DE OSENEYA

The seal of Abbot Hugh (1184–1205), found on a deed at New College, Oxford, is a pointed oval, the full-length figure of an abbot, a pastoral staff with the head turning inwards, in the right hand, an open book in the left. Legend :—

SIGILLVM HVGONIS DEI [GR]ACIA ABBATIS OSENEIE.

15. THE PRIORY OF BICESTER

Although there is no chartulary of the Austin priory of Bicester, yet more than fifty of the original charters are preserved at the British Museum and the Record Office, of which Bishop Kennett has printed the most important. Among them is what appears to be the founda-

[1] And also vicar of Charlbury, *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 182.
[2] The first twelve with their dates are given in Rawlinson MS. *C.* 939, fol. 164.
[3] Originally a canon of St. Frideswide's.
[4] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 19.
[5] Ibid. iv, 21.
[6] Ibid. iv, 39.
[7] Ibid. [8] Ibid.
[9] Pat. 5 Hen. III, m. 2.
[10] Rawlinson MS.; and *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 70.
[11] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 82. He joined the Friars Minors.
[12] Rawlinson MS.; *Mon. Franciscana*, i, 85. *Ann. Mon.* iv, 101, gives the date 1250, but only as a marginal entry, and in error.
[13] Rawlinson MS. [14] Ibid.
[15] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 302; Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 27.
[16] Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 27.
[17] Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 8.
[18] Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 26.
[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 262.
[20] Ibid. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 358.
[21] Pat. 5 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31.
[22] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 215.
[23] Ibid. He became archbishop of Dublin.
[24] Pat. 12 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 7.
[25] Bodl. Lib. Oseney Charter, 116.
[26] Ibid. No. 130.
[27] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, Inst. fol. 161.
[28] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 1120.
[29] Ibid. 1246.
[30] B.M. Add. Ch. 20463; lxx, 77.
[31] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 214.
[32] B.M. lxx, 78. A good photograph of this seal is in *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, plate 1.

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tion charter, in which Gilbert Basset grants to John, prior of Bicester, various messuages and crofts in Bicester (no doubt for the monastic buildings), land also in the open fields, the church of Bicester with the chapel of Stratton Audley, and the churches of Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire, Compton Bassett, Wiltshire, and Ardington, Berkshire.[1] The convent had the same patron saint as the parish church, which immediately adjoined, namely St. Edburga; and from it must have obtained her bones, which in later days were shown in the conventual church. The date of the foundation is between 1182 and 1185; Gilbert Basset had succeeded his father Thomas in 1180, and himself had no children except one daughter. It is stated, and no doubt correctly, that the number of inmates was to be a prior and eleven canons.[2]

Of the churches given by the founder, Bicester was appropriated before 1220; and Little Missenden about 1267.[3] In 1220–8 Bicester agreed to be content with a portion of the tithes of Compton;[4] and the church of Ardington had been appropriated before 1425.[5] The canons also had the church of Newton Purcell, granted them about 1200 by Ralf Purcell,[6] but it was so poor that it could have been of no advantage to them. Their temporal possessions lay in the parishes around Bicester, and were almost without exception given by relations of the founder.[7] One peculiar possession may be mentioned, namely a knight's fee at Betterton, Berkshire, but without land or rent. The only value of this was that when the holder of the property died (in this case the prior of Poughley), Bicester received the due relief of £5 for the knight's fee.[8] At the Taxation of 1291 the income was over £80, and early in the next century the priory, having obtained leave to acquire lands in mortmain to the value of £10 a year, obtained property at Letcombe Bassett, Berkshire.[9]

About the condition of the monastery in early times we only know that Robert, prior in 1212, must have been a man of importance, for we find that he was chosen more than once as a judge-delegate. In March, 1292, the high altar in the conventual church of Bicester was consecrated,[10] and twelve years later there must have been building operations, as an indulgence was granted to all those who should contribute to the fabric.[11] When the bishop visited the priory in 1300, there seems to have been a complaint of the severity of the prior;[12] but it may have been necessary, for in 1306 two canons fled, 'having proved themselves irreligious all our time' as the bishop says.[13]

At the visitation of Bishop Alnwick in 1445,[14] the inmates were the prior, seven canons, and two or more boys not yet professed. The income of the house was stated to be £140; but the jewels were pawned and the allowance of the canons for clothing had not been paid. There does not seem to have been much amiss, for the complaints answer each other, one complaining that discipline is lax and silence not duly observed; while the younger members complain of the strictness with which they were made to study, and not allowed exercise.

At the visitation of 1520,[15] the house consisted of the prior and eight canons, two of whom lived outside the monastery, serving the cures of Bicester and Stratton Audley; the bishop, however, ordered that they should reside in the monastery, unless a grant could be produced authorizing the arrangement. The income was stated to be £210. The bishop ordered that the younger canons should be instructed in grammar and in the rule of St. Augustine, about which they were somewhat ignorant, and named one of the elder canons as teacher.

There is also a short record of a visitation in 1530. Complaint was made that the number of canons was diminished through the sweating sickness, that whereas there used to be ten canons besides the prior, there were now only eight inmates, of whom two were novices. A novice asserted that one of the canons had counselled him to renounce the habit; that in consequence he had fled, but afterwards repented and returned; the canon denied that he gave such counsel.[16] When Dr. Tregonwell visited Bicester in 1535 he reported that the prior looked well after his house and his brethren and all were in good order except one, who being punished for incontinence had run away and was still apostate.[17]

In 1526 the income was £173 gross, £113 net; in 1534, the acknowledgement of the royal supremacy was signed by nine inmates;[18] and in 1535 the number (including no doubt novices) was twelve. The income was returned at £176 gross, £146 net. The house was suppressed in 1536, but the deed of surrender is not extant;[19] the prior received a pension of £24.[20]

[1] Printed in Kennett, *Par. Antiq.*
[2] Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 105.
[3] Lipscombe, *Bucks*, ii, 393.
[4] *Sarum Chart.* (Rolls Ser.), 105.
[5] Dunkin, *Hist. of Bicester*, 235.
[6] *Cal. Anct. D.* ii, 511.
[7] Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 125, gives a list of grants, but it is not complete.
[8] Ibid. 161; also Kennett, *Par. Antiq. sub anno* 1244.
[9] Pat. R. for 1317 and 1332.
[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fol. 97.
[11] Ibid. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 71.
[12] Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 123.
[13] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 94.
[14] MS. at Lincoln. [15] Ibid. [16] Ibid.
[17] *L. and P. Hen VIII*, ix, 457.
[18] Ibid. vii, 1121.
[19] Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 211.
[20] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1520 (40).

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PRIORS OF BICESTER

John, occurs 1182[1]
R[obert], occurs 1212 and 1217[2]
William, occurs 1227 and 1236[3]
Robert, died 1240[4]
Hervey, elected 1240,[4] occurs 1254[5]
Reginald, occurs 1261,[6] resigned 1269
Walter de Quenton, elected 1269,[7] occurs 1281[8]
William de Thornberg, elected 1289 or 1290,[9] resigned 1300
Roger de Cotesford, elected 1300,[10] died 1331
Robert de Curtlington, elected 1331,[11] resigned 1348
Roger Warde, appointed 1348,[12] died 1349
Nicholas de Shobyngdon, elected June, 1349,[13] died same year
Peter de Grete, elected 1350,[13] resigned 1354
Robert Blaket, elected 1354,[13] died 1383
Robert de Islep, elected 1383[14]
Geoffrey Chamburlayn, occurs 1392[15]
Richard Parentyn, elected 1397,[16] died 1434
John Wantyng, elected 1434,[17] resigned 1454
Edmund Wycombe, appointed 1454,[18] died between 1460 and 1467[19]
Robert Lawton, occurs 1460–7, and 1475[20]
Richard Hynbest, occurs 1481,[21] died 1483
John Tooker, admitted 1483[22]
Thomas Banbury, elected 1485,[23] resigned 1499
Richard Petyrton, elected 1499[24] resigned 1503
William Dadington, elected 1503,[25] died 1510
John Coventre, elected 1510,[26] died 1524
Robert Brice, appointed 1524,[27] resigned 1528
William Brown, appointed 1528,[28] surrendered 1536

An early thirteenth-century seal is pointed oval; a conventional design of interlaced stems and leaves.[29] Legend :—

[+ SI]GILLVM CAPITVLI ECCLESIE DE BERNECESTR[IA]

A later seal of this priory is a pointed oval; in two canopied niches, on the left the Virgin, with crown, holding on the left arm the Child, in the right hand a sceptre; on the right St. Edburga the queen, with crown, holding in the right hand a cup, in the left hand a book. In base, between two sprigs of foliage, a shield of arms; *Barry nebuly* (or *vair ?*)[30] Legend :—

S' • CO MUNE : PRIORIS : ET CONVENT' : PRIORATUS : DE : BURENCESTRE

A fourteenth-century seal doubtfully attributed to this house in the British Museum Catalogue is a pointed oval; the Virgin crowned, in a carved niche with triple-arched canopy, suckling the Child, between two angels, kneeling, and swinging censers aloft. In base under a trefoiled arch a bishop with mitre, kneeling to the right before an altar on which is a chalice. On the left a hand of blessing and vested arm issuing. The arch is inscribed : SAL . . . . . DE . . . .[31] Legend :—

VIRGO : TVVM : NATVM : LACTANS : FAC : ME : SIBI : GRATV̄

16. THE PRIORY OF COLD NORTON

The priory of Cold Norton was founded by 'Avelina domina de Norton,' in the days of Robert bishop of Lincoln.[32] Avelina is well known as the daughter of Ernulf de Hesding, lord of the manor of Norton in 1086. Her first husband was Alan Fitz-Flaald; her second, who was alive after 1135, was Robert Fitz-Walter; she outlived both and died before 1158.[33]

[1] Kennett, *Par. Antiq. sub anno* 1182.
[2] *Cartul. St. Frid.* ii, 50; Oseney Chartul. No. 415*c*. His name was *Robert*, according to Kennett, loc. cit. *sub anno* 1211.
[3] Oxon. Fines, File 4, No. 15; *Cal. Anct. D.* iii, 537.
[4] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste's R.: Kennett and Dunkin have turned *Hervicus* into *Henricus*.
[5] Dunkin, *Hist. of Bicester*, 65.
[6] Bucks. Fines, 46 Hen. III.
[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend's R.
[8] Oseney Chartul. No. 960.
[9] Dodsw. MSS. cvii, fol. 146.
[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 141.
[11] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 264.
[12] Ibid. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 195.
[13] Ibid. fol. 212.
[14] Ibid. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 296.
[15] Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, 115.
[16] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 338.
[17] Blomfield, 173.
[18] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chedworth, Mem. fol. 10.
[19] Blomfield, 191.
[20] Blomfield, 191; and *Cal. Anct. D.* i, 384.
[21] Ibid. 191.
[22] Willis, *Abbeys*, ii, App. 23; Madox, *Formulare*, 107, shows that Richard was alive 9 Oct. 1483.
[23] Leland, *Collectanea*, ii, 332.
[24] Willis, *Abbeys*, ii, 173; and *Cal. Anct. D.* iii, 465.
[25] Linc. Epis. Reg. Smith, Inst. fol. 325; Richard Petyrton had been promoted to the abbacy of Notley.
[26] Ibid. 338.
[27] Ibid. Longlands, Inst. fol. 161.
[28] Ibid. fol. 167; Blomfield, op. cit. 116; Robert Brice had been promoted to the abbacy of Notley.
[29] B.M. lxx, 68.
[30] Ibid. 67. Also on a charter of Feb. 1487 (Heyford No. 5) among the muniments of New Coll., Oxford.
[31] B.M. lxx, 70.
[32] Cold Norton Chart. No. 1, Brasenose Coll. Oxf.; the bursar of the college kindly allowed an examination of the MS. Catalogue of these charters. The statement that there is a chartulary of Cold Norton at Brasenose Coll. is not correct.
[33] *Cartul. of St. Peter's, Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 46; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vii, 222; Round, *Peerage and Family Hist.* 129.

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Bishop Robert de Chesney says that at the presentation of Avelina, the lady of Norton, he has 'canonically instituted the priory of the church of St. John the Evangelist, the hospital house of Cold Norton, and the church there built,' and that it was endowed with the tithes of her demesne and with lands. We can therefore fix the date of this foundation between 1148 and 1158. It seems that a priory with a church was built in the hamlet of Cold Norton, and also a hospital, the latter probably under the patronage of St. Giles; for several of the earliest grants are 'to God, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Giles.' Bishop Walter de Coutances (*c.* 1183) confirmed the possessions of the priory in general terms;[1] but its history is blank until we reach 1201, when Reginald, count of Boulogne and Ida his wife, who by some means had become lords of Norton, confirmed to the priory 348 acres in Norton.[2] Three years later the property returned to the family of Fitz-Alan, and William Fitz-Alan confirmed the lands of the priory, mentioning among them 'the manor of the house,'[3] i.e. the manor of Cold Norton; for the Domesday manor of Norton contained the *vills* of Chipping Norton, Over Norton, and Cold Norton.[4]

In 1229 we have a charter of confirmation[5] by Henry III, enumerating the scanty property of the canons, and in 1263 the bishop[6] admitted them to the tithes of the demesne of Adam de Brimton of Middle Aston, granted by him.

The possessions of the priory in 1291 were worth only £16 a year, all being in Oxfordshire with the exception of half the rectory of Thenford, Northamptonshire, which had been appropriated. The house was always afflicted with poverty. In July, 1304, the bishop granted an indulgence to all those who should contribute towards the maintenance of the canons of Cold Norton, and the archdeacons of Bucks, Oxon, and Northants were instructed that if representatives of the canons come to the faithful to ask for alms, they should welcome them, and by word and example forward their business.[7] No other monastery in Oxfordshire was ever reduced to this step. In 1363 the church of Steeple Aston, Oxon, was given to the canons,[8] and in 1377 they were allowed to appropriate it;[9] also in 1370 they were given a manor in Rollright to support two canons who should pray for the soul of the donor;[10] yet in 1399 the priory was so poor that the pope gave permission that the prior might hold a vicarage or rectory, and that the vicarage of Steeple Aston in addition to the rectory should be appropriated to the priory and the church be served by a canon;[11] and in 1401 their income was stated to be only 20 marks.[12] Among the charters of Brasenose College, Oxford, is a rental of about 1440, which gives the income as £44, of which the manor of Cold Norton produced £14, and the manor of Rollright £5; it does not mention what the necessary outgoings were.

For a subsidy,[13] collected about 1460, the priory was estimated to have an income in Oxfordshire of £22; but it is noticeable that the land at Cold Norton is not valued. It is a natural conjecture that this, having been set apart for the support of the hospital rather than the priory, was exempt from payment to a subsidy, as was all land that belonged to hospitals. If to this £22 we add a moiety of the church of Thenford, and the demesne land of Cold Norton, we reach a total of about £41.

We have no knowledge of the internal affairs of the house from any visitations, for it is not mentioned in the reports of Bishop Alnwick; but we have a letter from the bishop in 1396 describing what allowance was to be granted to Robert de Enstan, the prior who had just resigned. The bishop says that for his negligence and idleness, whereby the priory is burdened with debt, and short of vestments and books, he deserves punishment rather than honour; but having compassion on his old age, the bishop allows that he should eat at the prior's table, unless a worthier person be present, in which case he must sit among the brethren. He is to attend all the services, and shall be allowed one servant at the expense of the priory.[14]

About twenty years later Bishop Repingdon issued a commission to hold a visitation of the priory and inquire into the excesses and crimes, of which there is public talk, especially the wasting of goods by the present prior, and his contumacy; if it is necessary, he is to be deposed. No date is given, but it must be in Dec. 1415 or Jan. 1416.[15]

In 1507 the prior died, and as he was the only inmate, it was impossible to elect a successor. The house was surrendered by the patron, the lord of the manor, into the king's hands,[16] and by him given to the dean and canons of the chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster. Among the deeds at Brasenose College is a record that they were offered 1150 marks by Bishop Smith of Lincoln,

[1] Cold Norton Chart. No. 26, Brasenose Coll.
[2] Printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 420.
[3] Printed in Dugdale, wrongly entitled 'de fundatione.'
[4] See *Select Coroners R.* (Selden Soc.), 92.
[5] *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 86 (printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 421).
[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend Roll.
[7] Ibid. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 72.
[8] Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 16.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 168.
[10] Printed in Dugdale.
[11] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 198, 199.
[12] Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 16.
[13] From a roll in the Alnwick Tower at Lincoln.
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 431.
[15] Ibid. Repingdon, Mem. fol. 126.
[16] The deed is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.*

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the founder of Brasenose, for the priory and its possessions.[1] This would suggest that its income was about £50.

PRIORS OF COLD NORTON, OXFORD

S., occurs 1212[2]
Ralf, occurs 1235,[3] deposed 1236
Walter de Wilton, appointed 1236,[4] occurs 1241[5]
Adam, *c.* 1260[6]
Simon de Rollesham, elected 1264,[7] died 1284
Adam de Wodford, elected 1284[8]
Peter de Wadington, elected 1285[8]
Walter de Stratton, elected 1290,[8] resigned 1292
Robert of Ravenesdene, appointed 1292,[9] resigned 1297
William de Tywe, elected 1297,[10] resigned 1322
John de Wotton, elected 1322,[11] died 1330
John de Thenford, elected 1330,[12] resigned 1334[13]
William de Hokenorton, elected 1335,[14] deposed 1343
W. de Tewkesbury, elected 1343[15]
Robert de Enstan, elected 1357,[16] resigned 1396[17]
Thomas de Bradeley, occurs 1399[18]
William Dadington, occurs 1405,[19] resigned 1417
William Islep, elected 1417[20]
William, occurs 1429[21]
John Haseley, occurs 1452,[22] died 1469
John Stanton, elected 1469,[23] occurs 1481[24]
John Wotton, the last prior, died before February, 1507[25]

[1] Brasenose Coll. Cold Norton Chart. No. 38.
[2] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 50.
[3] Feet of F. Oxon, file 3, No. 114.
[4] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste, Inst. The election of William de Berton by the canons was annulled for irregularity.
[5] Feet of F. Oxon. file 5, No. 42.
[6] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 207.
[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend, Inst. The name is spelt 'Frollesham,' evidently in error.
[8] Dodsworth MSS. vol. 107, pp. 145, 146.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 130.
[10] Ibid. fol. 137.
[11] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 247. [12] Ibid. fol. 262.
[13] Ibid. Burghersh, Mem. fol. 282. He became a monk at Eynsham.
[14] Ibid. fol. 289. [15] Ibid. Beck, Inst. fol. 89.
[16] Ibid. Gynwell, Mem. fol. 100.
[17] Ibid. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 431.
[18] *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 199.
[19] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 420.
[20] Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, Mem. fol. 157.
[21] Cold Norton Chart. No. 30, Brasenose Coll., Oxf.
[22] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 420.
[23] Linc. Epis. Reg. Chedworth, Mem. fol. 94.
[24] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 487.
[25] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 420.

The twelfth-century seal of Cold Norton[26] is a pointed oval, representing a church, viewed from the east or west, with a central tower and transepts; there are slender turrets at the end of each transept, and the tower has a pointed roof; the nave and the tower are of the same width; no windows can be detected. Legend:—

[s]IGILL : ECLESIE · SANCTI · IOHANIS · ET · CONVENT · DE · NORT'.†

17. THE PRIORY OF ST. FRIDESWIDE, OXFORD

That there were secular canons of St. Frideswide in 1086 is proved by Domesday Book; nor is there any reason to disbelieve the story that is given in the chartulary[27] that in 1002 St. Frideswide's, at that time one of the parish churches of Oxford, was burnt down when the Danes were massacred,[28] that the king in recompense rebuilt it, established secular canons there, and endowed it with lands at Nether Winchendon in Bucks, Cutslow in Oxfordshire, and other places. But the regular canons were not instituted until 1122, in which year Gwymund, a royal chaplain, to whom Henry I had given the church with its endowments, established there an Augustinian priory.[29] Before 1130 it had the advowsons of seven of the churches of Oxford,[30] while Henry I gave the churches of Headington, Marston, Elsfield, and Binsey, and permission to hold a fair for a week, beginning on the vigil of the Translation of St. Benedict.[31] About 1150 it obtained the church of St. Edward and half the church of St. Aldate,[32] the latter by a discreditable manœuvre, according to the *Chronicle of Abingdon*.[33] It also made repeated efforts, first against the canons of St. George's and then against Oseney Abbey, to obtain the church of St. Mary Magdalen.[34] In 1160 Malcolm, king of Scotland, gave the manor of Piddington to maintain five canons[35]; but, on the whole, it was more from the residents in Oxford than from the nobility that the priory obtained its endowments, as may be seen in the chartulary. The churches of Fritwell, Oxon, and Worminghall, Bucks, were given before 1172;[36] Oakley, Bucks, in 1141;[37] Churchill, Oxon,

[26] Found on Bodl. Oseney Charter 245*, a deed of the year 1394.
[27] *Cartul.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 2.
[28] See Parker's *Early Hist. of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), pp. 142–4.
[29] *Cartul.* i, 9. [30] Ibid. 13.
[31] Ibid. 15. In 1228 the date was altered to St. Frideswide's Day. Ibid. i, 51.
[32] Ibid. i, 191.
[33] *Cartul. Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 174.
[34] See the account of Oseney Abbey.
[35] *Cartul.* ii, 92.
[36] Ibid. 95. [37] Ibid. 115.

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between 1172 and 1181.[1] Appropriations of the churches of Marston, Headington, Elsfield, Worminghall, Winchendon[2] and Oakley[3] were obtained by 1220; but Churchill not until 1340.[4]

The priory was never a distinguished place; it produced no remarkable men, and had more than its share of disorders and scandals. Standing within a busy and turbulent city, its situation was not favourable to quiet and discipline. It has sometimes been suggested that the origin of the University might be sought in the monastic schools of St. Frideswide; but there is not the least evidence that it was so; the Augustinians as a whole were not a literary order, and we hear of no schools of St. Frideswide. It could, however, boast of one distinguished scholar, Robert of Cricklade,[5] the second prior (*c.* 1141–75), who in his old age composed a book on the miracles of St. Thomas à Becket,[6] and had previously written other works, sacred and profane.[7] Also his successor, Prior Philip, was an author, in that he has left us an account of the translation of the bones of St. Frideswide, on 12 February, 1180, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexius the pope's legate, and the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Norwich, St. David's, and the elect of St. Andrew, and has narrated the miracles which preceded and followed the event.[8]

The fifth prior, Elyas, was deposed by Bishop Grosteste for incontinence; the prior appealed against the bishop's decision, and but for the action of the pope would have been successful.[9]

Early in the next century the troubles of the priory began. In November, 1318, Henry de Creton complained to the king that he had bought from the late prior of St. Frideswide's for £100 a corrody for himself and a groom, but that the present prior had broken into the chamber in the priory assigned him for his stay and had taken away the charter of the corrody.[10] In 1330 we hear[11] that the debts of the monastery were at least £400, and in 1340 it was allowed[12] a respite from the payment of a tenth 'as the state of the priory is much depressed by accidents in recent times.' In 1336 the prior complains that certain citizens of Oxford besieged the priory, took him and his nine canons and imprisoned them, until through fear of death they were forced to take an oath to observe the statutes of the town of Oxford,[13] renouncing no doubt the privilege of the priory to have special rights during the fair. In 1344 the prior again complains that the mayor and bailiffs have taken the toll and profits of the six days' fair beginning on St. Frideswide's day, thereby damaging him to the extent of £1,000[14] (!).

After the election of Nicholas of Hungerford in 1349 the troubles increased. In November, 1352, the bishop writes to the prior that he hears that through his negligence the canons wander about the town of Oxford, enter the houses of secular people, and do not observe regular discipline.[15] In 1354 he issued a commission to inquire concerning the excesses of the prior, who with diverse armed laymen, about the middle of the night on 1 July, assaulted the sub-prior and canons, while they were chanting mattins in the choir, broke the door of the church, dragged some of the canons from the choir and others from the dormitory, to the effusion of blood.[16] We next learn from the register of Archbishop Islip that the sub-prior and convent complained to him, the bishopric of Lincoln being vacant, that 'Nicholas of Hungerford, pretending he is prior, wastes the goods of the monastery, and religion is at a low ebb.' In consequence he ordered the chancellor of Oxford to hold a visitation of the monastery in January, 1363.[17] Two years later the Bishop of Lincoln heard that, in spite of the rebukes that he administered at his recent visitation, the canons went abroad without leave, absented themselves from the services both by night and day, drank heavily and came to blows; he therefore issued a commission to discover their names.[18] About the same time the prior made an effort to exchange his post. In December, 1365, the Prince of Wales writes to the pope that whereas his chaplain Nicholas of Hungerford, formerly prior of St. Frideswide's, after governing the priory sixteen years, had exchanged it with John de Dodford, Austin canon of Carlisle, for a certain vicarage, in which transaction the trickery of John and his own simplicity caused him unconsciously to be guilty of simony, and whereas when he laid the matter before the pope, the judge to whom the case was committed had deprived Nicholas of both vicarage and priory, the pope is petitioned to absolve Nicholas from the crime, which arose from his simplicity, and to replace him in the priory, or at least to recommit the matter to the judge who had previously dealt with it.[19] The pope adopted the latter course, and Nicholas must have been reinstated, for the death of Nicholas the prior is

[1] *Cartul.* ii, 258.
[2] See *Liber Hugonis.*
[3] *Cartul.* ii, 120. [4] Ibid. 285.
[5] 'Robertus magister de Criklade' was a witness to one of the early charters of Kenilworth priory, about 1125 (Harl. MS. 3650, fol. 2).
[6] *Thomas Saga* (Rolls Ser.), ii, p. xcii.
[7] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, p. 161.
[8] Digby MS. 177, p. 1.
[9] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 163.
[10] Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14 *d.*
[11] Close, 4 Edw. III, m. 27*d.*
[12] *Cal. of Close R.* (1339–41), p. 625.
[13] *Cal. of Pat. R.* (1334–8), p. 359.
[14] Ibid. (1343–5), p. 423.
[15] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Mem. fol. 27.
[16] Ibid. fol. 55. [17] *Cartul.* ii, 372.
[18] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 36.
[19] *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 509.

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recorded early in 1370. Meanwhile in 1368 the king took the monastery into his hands because of its large debts and granted the custody of it to two of his servants[1]; in 1377 the same post was granted for three years to John, king of Castile,[2] who was to allow the canons a maintenance and with the residue to pay the debts of the monastery.

John de Wallingford, who was elected in 1370, resigned three years later, whereupon the canons applied on 24 July for leave to elect a successor.[3] When there was some delay in granting it, John de Dodford, in March, 1374, thrust himself into the post, saying that he was prior.[4] This caused further delay, as the king seized all the possessions of the monastery; but ultimately licence was given in November,[5] and John de Dodford was lawfully elected. In 1375 the king for the sum of £20 pardoned the prior his past transgressions, and renounced all the profits of the long vacancy.[6] In February 1378 we hear that John de Dodford is to be brought to trial before the king about the felonies of which he is accused.[7] According to his own petition, he had done nothing, but the mayor, the chancellor of Oxford, and many scholars, through enmity towards him, had threatened to make a public thoroughfare through the gate in the city wall, which belonged to the priory.[8] Next we find that five months later the mayor of Oxford is commanded to aid the prior against John of Wallingford and three other rebellious canons, who,

'pretending that the said John is Prior, have with certain laymen wasted the goods of the house, and carried away its treasure, and hold the Priory by main force, like a castle, with armed men and archers, against John de Dodford and his men.'[9]

The mayor is to arrest them, imprison them, and deliver them to the prior for punishment. In 1380 the king issued a commission to Edmund de la Pole and others

'to examine what corrodies have been granted, what books, ornaments and jewels have been sold, as the king is informed that the house is fallen into such poverty that the dispersion of the canons is threatened;'[10]

and the temporalities seem to have been retained in the hands of the king for several years, as we find him in 1386 and 1389 appointing to churches in the gift of St. Frideswide.[11] In June 1382 certain canons of St. Frideswide, with the aid of laymen, made a plot to murder the prior, and so severely was he wounded that his life was despaired of.[12] We see from their names[13] that they were the canons who had rebelled against him four years before.

In November 1382 the prior and the university had a dispute about the assize of bread and beer during the six days of the fair,[14] which the king was called upon to settle. Finally, in 1389, John de Dodford was appointed supervisor of the works at Wallingford Castle,[15] and in 1391 he died.

A few years later a papal letter throws some light on the arrangements of the house. Richard Montagu, canon of St. Frideswide's, who had obtained from the late prior the chapel of St. Margaret at Binsey, to hold for life, which was accustomed to be served by canons appointed and removed at the pleasure of the prior, appealed to the pope for a confirmation of the grant, and obtained it.[16]

In January, 1423, the bishop issued injunctions after a visitation of the monastery. The excessive and 'voluptuous' expenses that had impoverished the house were to be discontinued. No corrodies were to be sold or granted, nor any serious business undertaken without the consent of the majority of the convent. The canon resident at the chapel of Margaretwell (i.e. Binsey) should have proper allowance for himself and his servant. The jewels were to be recovered from pawn. No sporting dogs were to be kept within the precincts of the monastery. The canons were not to take part in archery meetings with secular people, nor even to be present at them. There was to be no drinking and gossiping in private rooms after compline, but all were to go to the dormitory, and, except for mattins, not to leave it until the clock struck seven next morning.[17]

At the visitation of 1445 the prior and eleven canons appeared, and probably there were about six absent, serving the appropriated churches. The income of the house was stated to be £160, and no complaints were made except that the prior's relatives stayed too much in the monastery.[18]

At the visitation of 1520 the priory had nine inmates, while six more were absent, serving the churches of Fritwell, Marston cum Headington,

[1] *Cartul.* ii, 373.
[2] Ibid. 374.
[3] Ibid. i, 477.
[4] Ibid. 79.
[5] Ibid. 477.
[6] Ibid. 80.
[7] Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 6.
[8] *Cartul.* i, 80. Nearly a hundred years earlier, in 1285, a jury presented that the late prior had thrown down the battlements (*guernelles*) of the king's wall across the court of St. Frideswide, behind which men used to pass and to stand for defence of the town in time of war, had appropriated it for the monastery court, and had built instead a plain wall upon which no one could go for defence of the town. Assize R. 710, m. 55 *d.* Printed *Oxf. City Docs.* p. 205 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).
[9] Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 41 *d*; Anct. Pet. 10740, printed in *Collect.* iii, 143 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).
[10] Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 27 *d.*
[11] Pat. 9 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 16; 12 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.
[12] *Cartul.* i, 490.
[13] Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 37.
[14] *Cartul.* i, 88.
[15] *Cal. of Pat. R.* (1389–92), 145.
[16] *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 17.
[17] Linc. Epis Reg. Fleming, Mem. fol. 233.
[18] MS. at Lincoln.

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Churchill, Oakley, Worminghall, and Winchendon.[1] The income was returned at over £260, though in 1482 it was £302.[2] The prior was accused of retaining all the offices in his own hands, and of transacting the business without consulting the brethren;[3] but from the fact that when St. Frideswide's was suppressed he was made abbot of Oseney, we conclude that he was considered a good administrator. The suppression took place in April 1524, in accordance with Wolsey's scheme for the erection upon its site of a great college, of which the endowments were to be obtained by the suppression, authorised by Pope Clement IV and King Henry VIII, of a number of small monastic establishments, of which the Oxford nunnery of Littlemore was one.[4] For the subsidy of 1523 the income of the priory was stated to be gross £204, net £165, and in 1535 the possessions of the late monastery were reckoned to be worth £220.[5]

Priors of St. Frideswide, Oxford

Wymund, 1122–41[6]
Robert de Cricklade, 1141; occurs 1171[7]
Philip, before 1180;[8] occurs 1191[9]
Simon, before 27 November, 1195;[10] resigned 1228[11]
Elyas, elected 1228;[11] deposed 1235[12]
William de Gloucestria, appointed 1236;[13] occurs 1247[14]
Robert de Weston, elected 1248;[15] died 1260[16]
Robert de Olney, elected 1260;[17] died 1278[18]
John de Lewknor, elected 1278;[18] resigned 1283
John de Sandon, elected 1283,[19] but the election was not confirmed
Robert del Ewelm, elected 1284,[20] resigned 1294[21]
Alexander de Sutton, elected 1294,[22] died 1316
Robert de Torveston, elected 1316[23] resigned 1337[24]
John de Littlemore, elected 1337,[25] died 1349
Nicholas de Hungerford, elected 1349,[26] died 1370
John de Wallingford, elected 1370,[27] resigned 1373
John Dodeford, elected 1374,[28] died 1391
Thomas Bradwell, elected 1391[29]
Richard of Oxford, occurs 1402,[30] died 1434[31]
Edmund Andever, elected 1434[32]
Robert Downham, elected 1439,[33] occurs 1457[34]
John Westbury, occurs 1462,[35] died 1479
George Norton, elected 1479,[36] resigned 1484
Richard Walker, elected 1484,[37] died 1495
Thomas Ware, instituted 1496,[38] died 1501
William Chedhill, appointed 1501,[39] resigned 1513
John Burton, elected 1513,[40] surrendered 1524[41]

The twelfth-century seal of this priory is a pointed oval: St. Frideswida, seated on a carved throne, in the right hand a flower, in the left

[1] Pope Eugenius, in 1148, authorized the canons to serve parish churches in their own gift. St. Frideswide's seems to have done so much more than Oseney.
[2] *Cartul.* i, 91. [3] MS. at Lincoln.
[4] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, iv (1), 1137.
[5] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 251.
[6] *Cartul.* i, 10.
[7] Ibid. ii, 96. For his life see *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 161.
[8] MS. Digby, A 177, which describes the translation of the bones of St. Frideswide in Feb. 1180, mentions that Philip the prior had been aiming at it for some time.
[9] MS. Cott. Vitel. E. xv, fol. 89. The name 'Philippum' in this charter is written 'Iohannem' in *Cartul. S. Frid.* i, 38, where the same charter occurs; hence comes the Prior 'John' given by Anthony Wood. There can be no doubt however that John is a mistake.
[10] *Feet of F.* (Pipe R. Soc.), 71.
[11] Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 3.
[12] Pat. 19 Hen. III, m. 4. We learn that on his deposition the canons elected Walter de Crokesby (m. 4) before 19 Sept., and Gilbert the sub-prior (m. 3) before 17 Oct., but apparently both elections were disallowed.
[13] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste, Inst. The name of the late prior is there given as E. Scotus.
[14] *Cartul.* i, 166. [15] Ibid. ii, 240.
[16] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 127.
[17] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend, Inst. where the name is '*John* de Olneta,' evidently an error. It is Robert in *Ann. Mon.*
[18] Gravesend's Roll, where the name is '*Robert* de Olneya.'
[19] Pat. 12 Edw. I, m. 20.
[20] Ibid. m. 18.
[21] 'Through ill health,' Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Mem. fol. 98.
[22] *Cal. of Pat. R.* (1292–1301), p. 69.
[23] Ibid. (1313–17), p. 521.
[24] In Feb. 1337, Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Mem. fol. 354.
[25] Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 41.
[26] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 196.
[27] Ibid. Buckingham, Mem. fol. 88.
[28] *Cartul.* i, 478, and see above.
[29] Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 24.
[30] *Cartul.* i, 88; ii, 114.
[31] Pat. 12 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 8.
[32] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grey, Inst. fol. 62.
[33] Pat. 17 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 7.
[34] *Cartul.* i, 415. [35] Ibid. 492.
[36] Pat. 19 Edw. IV, m. 20.
[37] Pat. 2 Ric. III, pt. i, m. 9; he was a canon of St. Augustine's, Bristol.
[38] Linc. Epis. Reg. Smith, Inst. fol. 306. The date is 'nostre translacionis primo anno.'
[39] Ibid. fol. 317. The bishop makes the appointment as the priory had been vacant three months.
[40] Ibid. fol. 341.
[41] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (1), 1137.

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CHRIST CHURCH (*Obverse*)



CHRIST CHURCH (*Reverse*)



ST. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY, OXFORD



SIMON, PRIOR OF ST. FRIDESWIDE'S, OXFORD
1195–1228

OXFORDSHIRE MONASTIC SEALS: PLATE III

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hand an open book. Overhead a round-arched canopy with central tower and two side turrets.[1] Legend :—

+ SIGILLVM : ECCLESIE : SANCTE : FRIDESWIDE OXENEFORDIE :

The seal of Prior Simon (1195–1228) is an oval gem, with the figures of a bird and a snake facing each other, with the inscription round it ESTO VTRVMQVE CAVE VTRVMQVE. Outside, in a pointed oval, was added the legend :—

SIGILL' SIMONIS PRIORIS DE SCA FRIDESWIDA

This seal must also have been used by his predecessor, as it is found attached to a deed of 1180–90, but the outer legend is in this case a round oval, not pointed. The only legible words are . . . NON EXCEDAS . . . The inner legend and the figures are the same.

The seal of Prior Robert of Olney is a pointed oval, a figure with both hands raised as if in blessing ; two spires rise on either side, a crescent above that on the right, a star above that on the left. Legend :—

S' ROBERTI [PRIORIS DE SCA FRID]ESWID' OXON'

18. THE PRIORY OF WROXTON

The priory of Wroxton was founded in honour of St. Mary[2] about 1217 by Magister Michael Belet. His father was Michael Belet, butler to Henry II, who in 1166 held four knights' fees ; when Hervey the elder son died, Michael, who was a clerk and rector of Wroxton, succeeded to the inheritance.[3] In a deed preserved at Lincoln cathedral,[4] of 1216 or 1217, as we can tell by the witnesses, he promises the Bishop of Lincoln that without delay he will present to him a canon to be instituted prior of Wroxton ; that this prior shall be permitted to choose at least twelve fit men, and admit them as canons ; that they shall have free administration of all that has been granted to Wroxton; that if on this occasion he nominates the prior, on all subsequent occasions the canons shall be allowed liberty of election. On 9 January, 1218, the bishop confirmed to the canons of Wroxton the manor-house and grounds, and the advowson of the church ;[5] and in September, 1219, he gave a wider confirmation to the prior and canons, and allowed them to appropriate the church, Michael Belet, the rector, retaining for life 'the possession in it which he holds.'[6] But we have evidence that the heirs of Michael Belet disapproved of his charity ; for in March 1221 the Pope writes that—

> A certain clerk M. has founded a religious house on his property with the consent of his brother, the next heir ; but Walter de Verdun, who hoped to succeed to the property, disturbs the canons, who are at present only six.[7]

When we find that the patroness of Wroxton after the death of Michael Belet was Annora de Verdun, we can identify the unnamed house, which had recently been founded in 1221, with Wroxton.

The original endowments granted by the founder were the manors of Wroxton (Oxon.) and Thorpe Belet (Northamptonshire), the church of Wroxton with the chapel of Balscott, and the advowsons of Syston (Lincolnshire), and Ounesby (Aunsby, Lincolnshire).[8] Some twenty-five years later he added land in Syston to the value of £10 a year, from which, however, Godstow Abbey was to receive £2.[9] The income from these sources in 1291 reached about £54. In 1317 the canons obtained leave to acquire lands in mortmain up to £5,[10] and soon acquired the church of Syston, worth 66*s.* 8*d.*, and a carucate of land in Syston worth 13*s.* 4*d.*[11] They had possessed the advowson of this church by the gift of their founder, but in 1270 it had been settled that they should have only every alternate presentation.[12] On 4 November, 1345, they petitioned the bishop to be allowed to appropriate the church of Syston, for so poor were they through the claims of hospitality that, unless some help were given them, they would be unable to maintain the original number of canons.[13] On 11 February, 1346 the licence of the king was given for this appropriation ;[14] but the bishops' registers do not record that it was accomplished until 1390.[15] In 1340 John de Broughton gave the canons a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* a year on condition that all the canons, when they said mass, should pray for the life and prosperity of himself and Margaret his wife, and after their death pray for their souls 'as is customary in the case of a brother or a sister of the said house.' This was confirmed in 1356 by Thomas his son, who bargained that every year, on 2 June, a canon should be sent to the church of Broughton to celebrate for the souls of his father, himself and Joan his wife. This was confirmed in 1457 by Joan widow of William Wykeham, William Fenys (Fiennes), lord 'de Say de Seele,' and Margaret his wife,

[1] B. M. lxx, 79.
[2] Beesley's *Hist. of Banbury*, 81.
[3] Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii, 66.
[4] Among the charters of Banbury.
[5] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 90.
[6] Ibid. 98–9.
[7] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 85.
[8] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 485.
[9] *Godstow Cartul.* (E. E. Text Soc.), 183.
[10] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 27.
[11] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 12.
[12] *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 295.
[13] Linc. Epis. Reg. Beck, Mem. 76.
[14] Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32.
[15] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Mem. 373.

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heiress of William Wykeham.[1] At the bishop's visitation in 1445 the house contained a prior and eleven canons; and all was well.[2] In 1526 the gross income was £104; deductions, including £15 for repairs, £43; leaving a net income of £61.[3] In September, 1530, a visitation[4] was held by the chancellor of the diocese. The house contained eight canons, including the prior, and also three novices; and the answer of each was that all was well. In 1534 Thomas Smith and eight others subscribed to the supremacy.[5] In 1535 the net income, allowing nothing for repairs, was £79, and the next year the house was dissolved. Tregonwell reported in 1535 that 'the prior was a good husband but rude and unlearned, *et qualis pater tales filii*.'[6]

To judge from the silence of the bishop's registers, discipline was good at Wroxton, and the original number of canons was nearly retained to the very end.

Priors of Wroxton

Roger the first prior[7]
Geoffrey[8]
Richard, elected in 1232[9]
Hugh, elected in 1243,[10] died 1263
William de Caldewelle, elected 1263,[11] deposed 1271
Nicholas de Cerney, elected 1271,[11] died 1272
William de Dayleford, elected 1272,[11]
(? Robert de Waufre, occurs 1280[12])
Richard de Deen, died 1305[13]
Robert Faningho, elected 1305, died 1340
William de Abberbury, elected 1340,[14] died 1349
Thomas de la Grove, elected 1349[15]
Richard, occurs 1410[16]
John Abberbury, occurs 1445[17]
William Braddenham, occurs 1490[18]
Richard, occurs 1504[19]
Richard, Randall, resigned 1510[20]
Thomas Smith, elected 1510,[20] surrendered 1536

The seal of this priory is a pointed oval: the prior, seated, holding a book between three canons seated on each side. In a small niche overhead, with trefoiled arch, the Virgin seated, the Child on the left knee. In base, under a cusped arch with an arcade on each side (?) Michael Belet, the founder, three-quarters length, lifting up the right hand, in the left hand an uncertain object.[21] Legend:—

SIGILL' PRIORIS ET CONVENT[VS] ECCL' (?) SCE MARIE DE WROCSTĀ

19. ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

Although the canons of Oseney attended lectures at the university, and other Augustinian canons were occasionally allowed to reside at Oseney for that purpose, yet this was by favour, not by right, and such lodgers were under no regular discipline. Therefore, in 1421, at a meeting of the Augustinian order at Leicester, a petition was made to the king that he would found a college for the order in Oxford, and a site was found at the east end of the modern front of Balliol College:[22] the king was to give the land and the canons would erect the buildings. This scheme came to nothing, owing to the death of the king. But in 1435 Thomas Holden and Elizabeth his wife founded St. Mary's College, giving land in the parishes of St. Michael's North, and St. Peter le Bailey, and building a chapel.[23] The rules, which were drawn up in 1448 by the abbot of Oseney and are still extant[24] show that secular clerks might be admitted as well as regulars, but would have to pay for their rooms. It is mentioned that some canons might be compelled to live in halls because of their poverty, life in college being apparently more expensive. At the head of the college was the *prior studentium*; according to the rules of Pope Benedict XII[25] he was to hold office for only one year. In 1452 building was still in progress, for in that year the prior of Bicester contributed 6*s*. 8*d*. to the work.[26]

[1] Exchequer Transcript of Charters, III, No. 26.
[2] MS. at Lincoln. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.
[5] Willis, *Hist. of Abbeys*, ii, 188; Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 83, says '9 others.'
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 457.
[7] *Placita de quo warranto*, (Rec. Com.), 533.
[8] There is a grant by him among the Swalcliffe charters at New Coll.: Catalogue of Muniments, ii, 142. It is uncertain whether he came before Richard or after.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Hugh Wells.
[10] Ibid. Grosteste. Licence to elect was obtained from Michael Belet.
[11] Ibid. Gravesend. Licence obtained from Annora de Verdun.
[12] Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i, 523. But there can be little doubt that this is a mistake. If we compare *Inq. post mort.* vol. i, p. 263, with vol. ii, p. 208, it is patent that Robert de Waufre was a layman and distinct from the prior of Wroxton.
[13] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 147. 'No licence being asked of the patron, because it is said it need not be asked.'
[14] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 284.
[15] Ibid. Gynwell, fol. 196.
[16] Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope*, 371.
[17] MS. of Alnwick's Visitation.
[18] Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope*, 371. [19] Ibid.
[20] Linc. Epis. Reg. Smith, Inst. 338.
[21] B.M. lxxi, 4. See Pedrick, *Monastic Seals*, Plate xxxvi.
[22] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 153.
[23] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 230.
[24] Rawlinson, MS. Statutes, 34.
[25] Ibid.
[26] *Hist. of Bicester* (ed. Blomfield), 187.

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PRIORS OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OXFORD[1]

William Westakarre, S.T.P., occurs 1448[2]
Richard Leycester, occurs 1466
— Ceme, or Came, occurs 1467
John Hackborn, S.T.B., occurs 1501
Thomas Beel, S.T.B., occurs 1509
Hugh Whitwick, occurs 1518[8]
John Rasey, occurs *c.* 1528
Thomas Massey, occurs 1532
Jarvis Markham, last prior, 1541

HOUSE OF AUSTIN NUNS

20. THE PRIORY OF GORING

The priory of Goring for women was of the Austin rule.[3] Though no chartulary exists, yet we have some knowledge of its early history from a confirmation charter[4] issued about 1181 by Henry II to 'the church of St. Mary at Goring and the nuns of that place.' It tells us that the priory was founded in the reign of Henry I by Thomas de Druval, who granted the church a carucate of land at Goring.[5] Walter de Bolebech had given the churches of Crowmarsh and Nuffield, and a hide of land at the latter place; Alan, son of Renbert, had given a hide of land at Foxcott, Oxon., and the church of Nettlestead, Kent;[6] two hides in Stoke had been given by Thomas Basset and Adelis his wife; the mill of Streatley by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex; the church of Hampstead (Norris), Berkshire, by William de Siffrewast; the church of Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire, by William and Ralf Barre, brothers; the church of Moulsoe, Buckinghamshire, by Geoffrey, son of William, and Emma de Langetot; Roger of Whitchurch had given a hide of land in Sulham, Berkshire, and there were other small gifts of land and rent. The list of possessions is unexpectedly long, and it seems as if Goring was richer at the end of the twelfth century than at any subsequent period. By the time of Bishop Hugh de Wells the priory had been allowed to appropriate the churches of Goring, Crowmarsh, Nuffield, and Stantonbury, the last of these in the year 1220;[7] and in 1291 it also had a portion in the church of Moulsoe, Buckinghamshire, and somewhat from the chapel of Theale, Berkshire. But these churches were poor, and the whole income in 1291 was only £44.

At first the patronage of the priory must have belonged to the family of Druval, who held two knights' fees in Goring belonging to the honour of Wallingford. But at the election of the prioress in 1268 the patron was Richard, king of the Romans, who held that honour. When his son Edmund died in 1300, the honour, and with it the patronage of Goring, came into the hands of the king.

With means so small, we are surprised to hear that the house at one time contained thirty-six inmates. It would have been impossible to maintain one-half of this number on £44 a year, but nunneries were often able to supplement their income by the payments that a relation would make for the support of a nun. This was especially the case in the earlier centuries, when there was more competition to be allowed to enter religious houses. We actually have the record of this practice at Goring, when in 1339 two nuns of Burnham, Buckinghamshire, Margery de Louches and Eleanor de Medham, for the peace of their house were removed to Goring Priory, and it was enjoined that £5 a year should be paid for the support of each, the payment in the one case being made by a relative, in the other case by the house of Burnham.[9]

It was in February, 1301, that the number of nuns was thirty-six. The prioress, Agatha of Oxford, had resigned, and there was a disputed election; fourteen voted for Margery Neal, the cellarer, thirteen for Agnes of Ludgershall, five for Isabel of Westwell, one for Petronilla of Hadesaghe. Without any election being made (we quote the record in the bishop's register), the supporters of the first two conducted their candidates from the chapter-house to the high altar, each party singing 'Te Deum,' causing no little disorder; yet neither of them could have been elected, as neither had secured a majority of the votes of the house, there being thirty-six members.[10] The bishop, of course, declared the election null and void, took the matter into his own hands and nominated Margery Neal. It is noticeable how frequently nuns were unable to effect a canonical election; the rules to be observed were intricate, and by some bishops were interpreted with strictness; and the bishop's secretary speaks with little respect for the business capacity of nuns. In one place he remarks that the nuns kept no rules at all (*nullum jus*) in one of their elections; in

[1] From Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 232.
[2] Rawlinson, MS. Statutes, 34, fol. 22.
[3] Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 8.
[4] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. D. 1. (1); acquired in 1894.
[5] Cp. also *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 778.
[6] This church was lost early in the next century, see Bracton's *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), ii, 584.
[7] *Liber Hugonis Wells*, 10, 11, 103.
[8] *Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Soc.), i, p. cxvii.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Mem. fol. 368.
[10] Ibid. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 132.

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another place he says that they began quarrelling as usual (*suo modo in discordiam*). If, as was often the case, monks failed to keep the rules for an election, it is not surprising that nuns were even more unsuccessful.

In February, 1301, the bishop granted an indulgence of twenty days to all who gave to the fabric of the conventual church of Goring.[1] Three years later he issued an excommunication of those who had assaulted Henry, chaplain of Goring, and John le Waleys, lay brother, to the effusion of blood, and had entered the conventual church with their horses as far as the high altar, and had abducted Isabel of Kent, found in the belfry of the church.[2] In December, 1309, no doubt owing to the mismanagement of affairs, the bishop appointed Nicholas, rector of Checkendon, to be master or manager of the priory,[3] and about the same time issued orders for the arrest of an apostate nun of Goring, who had remained obdurate for half a year, despising the powers of the church.[4] In 1358 we hear of another case where a nun of Goring had apparently fled with some one who was also under a vow of celibacy, as her sin is called 'incest'; on repentance she was absolved.[5]

At the visitation in May, 1445, the inmates were the prioress and seven others, and there was no complaint.[6] In June, 1517, another visitation was held; the number of nuns is not given, and nothing is said but that the house, owing to law-suits, was too poor to keep the buildings in repair, and that nuns were in the habit of going out without leave.[7] We have a fuller record of a visitation, held in September 1530, by Henry Morgan, commissary of the bishop. At that time Alice Colshill was prioress, ruling over three professed and four unprofessed sisters; of the latter one had been in the priory for nineteen years. On all sides there was agreement on two points, that the buildings were utterly out of repair, in particular the choir, cloister, and dormitory; also that Sister Margaret Woodhall was useful to the monastery, especially in singing, and that when she was absent from the choir there was no one to take the lead. The prioress complained that one of the sisters persisted in sending messages to her friends and paid no heed to rebukes, but the sister replied that the prioress was unfairly severe with her. The debts of the house were stated to be £8 or £10. In 1526 the gross income was £69, and the convent was assessed at the special rate allowed for the poorest houses—namely, one twenty-fifth.[8] In 1535 the gross income was £63, net £60.[9] We learn that by this time the priory had been allowed to appropriate the church of Hampstead Norris, but that the appropriations of Nuffield, Crowmarsh, and Goring had proved almost valueless.

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 42.
[2] Ibid. fol. 65.
[3] Ibid. fol. 138.
[4] Ibid. fol. 152.
[5] Ibid. Gynwell, Mem. fol. 124.
[6] MS. at Lincoln.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Prioresses of Goring

Margaret, occurs 1200 and 1203[10]
Matilda, occurs 1229[11]
Eularia, resigned 1268
Christina de Marisco, elected 1268,[12] resigned 1271
Eularia, elected 1271, resigned 1277[12]
Christina de Walingford, elected 1277[12]
Sarah de Exeter, elected 1283,[13] died 1298
Agatha de Oxford, elected 1298,[14] resigned 1301
Margery Neel, appointed 1301,[15] resigned 1305
Agnes de Lutgareshalle, elected 1305,[16] resigned 1313
Clarice de Morton, elected 1313,[17] died 1345
Margaret de Rale, elected 1345,[18] occurs 1355[19]
Alice, occurs 1390[20]
Lucy, occurs 1393,[21] died 1394
Alice Resford, elected 1394[22]
Nichola Inglefeld, died 1440
Matilda James, elected March, 1440,[23] occurs 1445[24]
Lucy Colshill, occurs 1497[25]
Alice Colshill, resigned 1530[26]
Margaret Woodhall, elected 1530[26]

The twelfth-century seal is a large pointed oval; the Virgin seated with the Child under a round arch supported by pillars; overhead a central tower with two side turrets. Legend[27]:—

[s]IGILLVM : ECCLES[IE : SCE : MARI]E : DE : GARINGIA

[9] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 205.
[10] *Bucks. Feet of F.* (ed. Hunter), 193, 202.
[11] Oxon. Feet of F. 13 Hen. III.
[12] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gravesend Inst.
[13] Dodsw. MSS. vol. 107, fol. 145.
[14] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 138.
[15] Ibid. Dalderby, fol. 142.
[16] Ibid. fol. 147.
[17] Ibid. fol. 162.
[18] Ibid. Beck, fol. 92.
[19] Bodl. Chart. Oxon. D. (4), 21.
[20] Ibid. Oseney, 91.
[21] Ibid. 94.
[22] Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 324.
[23] Pat. Roll, 18 Hen. VI.
[24] Visitation of Bp. Alnwick MS.
[25] Bodl. Chart. Oseney, 95.
[26] Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, Inst. fol. 169.
[27] From a comparison of two seals, one on a deed of 1203 among the New Coll. muniments, the other on Bodl. Lib. Oxon. Charter D. (4), 21.

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RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF THE GILBERTINE ORDER

21. THE PRIORY OF CLATTERCOTE

At Clattercote, six miles north of Banbury, there was a house of the Gilbertine Order, originally a hospital for lepers. A deed preserved at Lincoln Cathedral throws some light on its foundation and history. By this deed, William, master of the order of Sempringham, gives notice that 'as the house of Clattercote has so prospered in worldly possessions by the gifts of the faithful, that its own resources are sufficient to support the brethren who live there; and in place of the infirm, whose maintenance was of necessity more expensive, by a wiser plan, the healthy are elected, at our suggestion and request: we therefore quitclaim to Richard, bishop of Lincoln (1258–79), £4 from an annual payment of £6 10*s*., which was granted by Bishop Robert de Chesney, in place of certain tithes, for the more liberal maintenance of the infirm of the house of Clattercote.'[1] The house therefore existed in the time of Robert de Chesney (1148–66) and was possibly founded by him, Clattercote being a hamlet on the episcopal manor of Cropredy.[2]

A confirmation of Pope Innocent, 5 March, 1216,[3] gives the possessions of the 'house of St. Leonard for lepers' as 2½ hides in Clattercote (apparently the whole hamlet), 9 houses in Banbury, a virgate in Little Burton near Banbury, 2 virgates in Appeltree, Northants; in Warwickshire, 18 acres in Ratley, a virgate in Wormleighton, and 200 acres in Fenney Compton, with pasturage for 500 sheep, 8 oxen, and 4 horses. Four years later Pope Honorius granted a general confirmation[4] 'to the prior and brethren of the hospital of lepers at Clattercote,' with an exemption from the payment of certain small tithes.

In 1246, Robert, prior of Clattercote, having obtained from Robert, prior of Laund, a property in the adjoining hamlet of Claydon, to be held in fee-farm,[5] agreed to pay to the bishop of Lincoln 1 mark a year 'for the said manor' in lieu of reliefs.[6] Soon after, as we have already seen, Clattercote ceased to be a hospital of lepers, and became an ordinary Gilbertine priory. In 1291 the possessions of the priory, that are enumerated, are all in the immediate neighbourhood, the land in Fenney Compton being three carucates[7] and the land in Clattercote and Claydon reckoned at over £22; the total income was about £33, to which must be added the annual payment of £2 10*s*. by the bishop of Lincoln, a payment which was continued until the dissolution of the monasteries.

In 1343 Thomas earl of Warwick granted the canons of Clattercote the rectory of Ratley, Warwickshire, and five years later the bishop ordained a vicarage there.[8] We see from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* that after payments to the vicar of Ratley, the archdeacon, the bishop, and the cathedral of Lichfield, this gift was worth £10 a year, yet in 1535[9] the income is still about £35, the properties being much the same as before, but the rents from Clattercote and Claydon being less, and in 1526 the net income is stated to be only £12. In 1536, at the dissolution of monasteries, the house consisted of John Grene, prior, and only three canons.[10] The college of Christ Church, Oxford, obtained part of the property of the priory, but possesses few of the old deeds.

PRIORS OF CLATTERCOTE

Adam, about 1180[11]
Robert, 1246
John, 1344[12]
John Greene, 1535

The seal represents a figure with a pastoral staff in the right hand, perhaps St. Leonard, with the legend:—

SIGILL' SANCTI L[EONARDI] DE CLATRECOT

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

22. THE PRECEPTORY OF CLANFIELD

The Hospitallers had a preceptory at Clanfield with an income of £60, according to the valuation of 1338,[13] but of this sum about £15 seems to come from lands which originally belonged to the Templars. As there is no chartulary

[1] This would amount to 2*s*. 6*d*. a week to be divided among the infirm, if their number was twelve.

[2] The Pipe Rolls of 1167 and 1168 record that while the bishopric of Lincoln was in the hands of the king, an annual payment was made to the infirm of Clattercote, amounting in 1168 to £10 9*s*. 8*d*.

[3] Oxf. Chart. No. 146, Bodl. Lib.

[4] Ibid. No. 147.

[5] It was a quarter of a knight's fee; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 707.

[6] From a deed at Lincoln Cathedral.

[7] And reckoned at a quarter of a knight's fee; *Cal. Inq. Hen. III.* 213.

[8] Dugdale, *Warwick*, 419.

[9] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 197.

[10] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 608.

[11] From a manuscript note in the copy of Dugdale's *Monasticon* in the Bodleian Library. The authority for this name is not mentioned.

[12] Catalogue Add. MSS. B.M. 1894–8.

[13] *The Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 26; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 793.

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for the possessions of the Hospitallers in this county, we can do little more than give the record of 1279 in the Hundred Rolls. They owned at that time 2 hides in Clanfield, 1 in Brize Norton, 1½ in Westwell, a meadow in Grafton, a tenement in Woodstock, and another in Oxford.[1] But their chief property was the manor of Gosford in Kidlington, containing 2 carucates,[2] now 250 acres,[3] where they had their own manorial courts, and a chapel for their own tenants, erected shortly before 1235.[12] This property was given by Robert d'Oilly,[13] and therefore before 1142. In 1547 it is described as 'the House of the sisters of the order of St. John at Gosford,' as though sisters of that order had not only owned it but resided there.[14] They held also the advowson of Westwell as early as 1230.[15] A small property in Kencott was attached to the neighbouring preceptory of Quenington, Gloucestershire.[16]

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

23. THE PRECEPTORY OF SANDFORD

The beginning of the rich possessions of the Templars in Oxfordshire was in 1136, when Queen Matilda granted them a manor in Cowley, where they built a church and established a preceptory.[4] Some twenty years later Simon, earl of Northampton, gave them Merton, or at least 7 hides of it, and there, too, there appears to have been temporarily a preceptory.[5] About the year 1153 they had obtained the whole manor of Sibford Ferris, and the chapel of Sibford Gower,[6] and as early as 1142 a manor in Hensington of 2½ hides.[7] Before 1185 they were granted by Alan de Limesy 5 hides in Bradwell in Oxfordshire, and also the church, as well as many smaller gifts.[8] Early in the next century the manors of Littlemore and Warpsgrove came to them;[9] and in 1225 the two manors of Horsepath were obtained on a perpetual lease,[10] while in 1239 or 1240 they were given the important manor of Sandford-on-Thames. Here they established tbeir head preceptory, and, to judge from the chartulary,[11] they managed from this centre their properties in Hants and Berkshire as well as most of their possessions in Oxfordshire. Their lands, however, at Bradwell seem to have been under some other preceptory, perhaps that of Temple Guiting, Gloucestershire. After this Cowley and Merton appear to have been reduced to the status of *camerae* or granges, but though the preceptor resided at Sandford he was often called 'preceptor de Couele,' as well as 'preceptor de Sandford,' even as late as 1279. By obtaining the manor of Sandford the Templars became the patrons of the priory of Littlemore, and another curious prerogative which they had was the right to a bed in the Hospital of St. John at Oxford, granted them by Drogo de Barentin.

In 1338, though their former possessions in Oxfordshire—then in the hands of the Hospitallers—had been somewhat reduced by that time, they were still worth over £170 per annum.[17]

When the order was suppressed in 1308 William Sautre, preceptor of Sandford, was amongst the knights seized and brought up for trial, as were William de Warrewyk, priest, an inmate of the same house for three years, and Richard de Colingham, who had been one of the brethren there for the past six years.[18] Sautre was one of the principal witnesses examined by the commissioners for the trial of the Templars, as he had been present at the annual chapter every year save once for the previous twenty years, and was acquainted with a very large number of the knights, of whom he mentioned Robert de Waus, Michael de Baskevile, William de Chalesey, Walter de Rokele, Richard de Colingham and William de Warrewyk, as known to him at Sandford. He gave important evidence on the alleged granting of absolution by the president of the chapter[19]; Richard de Colingham spoke on the subject of the mystic girdles which the brethren were said to wear, saying that they used certain belts called 'girdles of chastity';[20] William de Chalesey described his admission at Sandford five years earlier, when he took an oath to live in chastity and poverty, to serve the Holy Land to the best of his power, and to maintain the good customs of the order;[21] and similar evidence was given by Ralph de Malton, who had been admitted twenty-six years before in the chapel at Cowley in the presence

[1] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 691–2, 697, 700, 793, 842.
[2] *The Hospitallers in Engl.* 26.
[3] *Three Oxfordshire Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 129.
[4] Wood, MS. 10, fol. 14. [5] Ibid. fol. 102.
[6] Ibid. fol. 90. [7] Ibid. fol. 99.
[8] Misc. Books, Exch. K. R. 16, fol. 29.
[9] Wood, MS. fols. 9 and 42.
[10] Ibid. fol. 33. [11] Ibid. (empt.), 10.
[12] Oseney Chartul. No. 108.
[13] Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 545.
[14] Lee, *Hist. of Thame*, 420; but it had been ordained that sisters of this order should live at Buckland only; see *Chart. R. John* (Rec. Com.), 16*a*.
[15] *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Wells*, ii, 32.
[16] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 699.
[17] *The Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 193.
[18] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 347. [19] Ibid. 356.
[20] Ibid. 343. [21] Ibid. 341.

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of John de Dokesworke, then 'claviger' of Cowley.[1] A foreign knight, Robert de Sancto Justo of Beauvais diocese, declared that when he was admitted at Sandford by Imbert, 'called Iderand,' the grand master, he was ordered to spit upon the cross and to deny the Christ; evidently wishing to damage his order with the least risk to himself, he said that he did deny Christ, but only with his mouth and not with his heart, and spat upon the ground near the cross.[10] Another brother, Thomas de Walkington, who had been admitted in the same house boldly stood up for his order, and said that he did not believe the alleged confessions of his brethren were ever made, or if they were it was only through fear of torture.[11]

FRIARIES

24. THE HOUSE OF BLACK FRIARS[2]

The Friars Preachers in their second general chapter held at Bologna, May, 1221, determined to establish in England the eighth province of their order. For this purpose thirteen friars were sent with Gilbert de Fresnoy at their head. Joining the retinue of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, they reached London 10 August, and thence travelled to Oxford, where they arrived 15 August, 1221.[3]

Their first habitation was in the Little Jewry, partly in St. Edward's, partly in St. Aldate's parish,[4] behind the present town hall. The donors of the site are unknown,[5] but the land, or some of the land, on which the first houses of the friars were built, belonged to the prior and canons of St. Frideswide. In the parish of St. Edward the friars held of St. Frideswide's an area next the house of Hugh the Cordwainer,[6] and in the parish of St. Aldate the plots and tenements of Isward, Sweynechild and Eylwyne Cusse;[7] these latter seem to be identical with the land granted to the priory by Robert Kepeharm about 1180.[8] Further, the friars possessed a plot of ground, 'measuring in length from the king's way to the parish of St. Edward 14 perches, and in breadth 8 perches,' which contained four messuages and the great school.[9] They also purchased from Thomas son of Thomas son of Edwin, for 100 shillings of silver, the land with its appurtenances in the parish of St. Edward lying between the lands of Robert Wyth, and that formerly of John of Navarre; for this land an annual rent of 13*d.* was due to the Hospital of St. John without the East Gate.[12] Peter son of Torald also sold them an annual rent of 5*s.* 10*d.* in the parish of St. Edward; the sale was confirmed 25 December, 1242, by his granddaughter, Celena, daughter of Henry son of Thomas.[13]

The friars built an oratory in honour of the Virgin Mary, and began to teach in the schools afterwards known as the schools of St. Edward.[14] For the building of these and their houses the abbot of Westminster gave them forty rafters in 1223,[15] and from 1229 Henry III gave them wood for building or fuel nearly every year. Thus, in 1229, he gave them timber for building their house; in 1233 thirty oaks in Pauncehal Forest for the work of their school; in 1237 two oaks in Windsor Forest for building a barge; in 1240, ten oaks and 40*s.*[16]

The oratory stood within the parish of St. Aldate on land in the fee of St. Frideswide, and a dispute arose between the friars and the canons of St. Frideswide, to whom a moiety of the parish church of St. Aldate belonged, and without whose consent the oratory could not lawfully be erected. The canons carried the

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 344.

[2] See *The Black Friars of Oxford*, by the Rev. W. G. Dimock Fletcher, Oxford, 1882; 'The Friar Preachers or Black Friars of Oxford,' by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, in the *Reliquary*, xxiii. The latter gives no references.

[3] *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica* (ed. Reichert), i, 325; iii, 2; Trivet, *Annales*, 209.

[4] See e.g. *Cartul. of St. Frideswide* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 142.

[5] Wood says the king gave the site; *City*, ii, 326.

[6] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 142; the date assigned to this deed is wrong; perhaps 1278–84.

[7] Ibid. 204–5. [8] Ibid. 138, 200. [9] Ibid. 250.

[10] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 359. [11] Ibid. 366.

[12] Balliol Coll. Archives, A. 13 (1). Cf. *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 202–9; Pat. 2 Hen. III, m. 5.

[13] Deed among the Oseney Charters at Christ Church, Oxford. [14] Trivet, *Ann.* 209.

[15] Close, 8 Hen. III, m. 17.

[16] Close, 13 Hen. III, m. 7 (building); 15 Hen. III, m. 18 (fuel); m. 12 (fuel); m. 2 (fuel); 17 Hen. III, m. 15, 10 (fuel); Liberate, 17 Hen. III, m. 6 (fuel); Close, 17 Hen. III, m. 10 (school); 18 Hen. III, m. 18 (fuel); m. 10 (fuel); 19 Hen. III, m. 9 (fuel); 20 Hen. III, m. 14 (oaks); m. 8 (fuel); 21 Hen. III, m. 10 (barge); Liberate, 21 Hen. III, m. 6 (13 oaks); Close, 22 Hen. III, m. 11 (fuel); 24 Hen. III. 12 (fuel); Liberate, 24 Hen. III, m. 13 (oaks 40*s.*); Close, 25 Hen. III, m. 13 (fuel); m. 10 (15 marks); m. 19*d.* (oaks); Liberate, 25 Hen. III, m. 15 (14 oaks); 26 Hen. III, m. 5 (15 oaks); Close, 26 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 4 (15 oaks); Liberate, 28 Hen. III, m. 14 (oaks); 29 Hen. III, m. 7 (oaks); Liberate, 30 Hen. III, m. 4 (fuel); Close, 30 Hen. III, m. 2 (fuel); Close, 31 Hen. III, m. 5 (fuel); Liberate, 31 Hen. III, m. 4 (oaks); 32 Hen. III, m. 11 (32*s.* 4*d.*); m. 13 (10 oaks); Close, 32 Hen. III, m. 15 (fuel), &c.

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matter before the pope, who constituted Alexander de Stavenby, bishop of Coventry, his delegate; and the abbot of Oseney, William archdeacon of Worcester, and Master Silurus, rector of St. Michael's, Oxford, were appointed provisors. On 16 August, 1228, these three decreed [1] that the friars should give 40*s.* to the canons for the escheat of the land; but if they left, nothing should be done with the lands prejudicial to the canons; that they should not knowingly admit any parishioner of St. Aldate to the offertory, and if any such voluntarily offered a gift at the altar of the oratory, the same should be reserved for the church of St. Aldate; that they should have only two middle-sized bells for their oratory; and if anyone desired to give land for enlarging the oratory or cemetery, the Bishop of Coventry should decide what indemnity was due to the canons: on these conditions the canons granted a chantry and cemetery to the friars, pursuant to the tenor of the apostolic mandate. All this Gregory IX confirmed.

In 1233 the friars had a controversy with the abbot of Oseney, concerning a gutter to be made on the wall of the abbey sollar which joined the friars' school, whereupon Peter son of Thorald, mayor of Oxford, Robert Oen, Henry son of Henry son of Simeon, and Philip Miller, bound themselves and their heirs that, if the friars failed to preserve the indemnity of the canons of Oseney as to the gutter and the building attached to the sollar, they would provide and preserve it at their own expense.[2]

In 1224 the Friars Preachers entertained the first Franciscans who came to Oxford.[3] In 1229–30, during the disturbances at Paris, Jordan of Saxony, the second master general of the order, visited Oxford; here he wrote to the sisters of St. Agnes' monastery at Bologna, 'the Lord has given us large hopes of a good capture.'[4] The first Englishman of distinction to enter the order was John of St. Giles, a famous physician and friend of Grosteste; he took the vows in 1222, probably in Paris, and seems to have taught later at Oxford.[5] Robert Bacon was admitted to the order without going through the year's novitiate, while he was regent in theology at Oxford and *socius* to Edmund Riche in the school, perhaps about 1230.[6] Robert Bacon was prominent in university matters,[7] and took an active part in obtaining the canonization of his old friend and teacher St. Edmund of Canterbury.[8] The first friar to incept under him was Richard Fishacre. Both of these friars continued to lecture in the new schools after the removal of the friary from the parish of St. Edward,[9] and both died in 1248, leaving, Matthew Paris thought, none equal to them in theology and other sciences.[10] In 1230 the first provincial chapter of the Dominicans in England was held at Oxford,[11] and the organization of the province was probably now completed. In 1241 another chapter was held here, for which the king gave 100*s.* out of the revenues of the see of Canterbury to Friar Robert Bacon.[12]

In 1233 the king gave 26*s.* 8*d.* to pay for food for the Friars Preachers and Friars Minors at Oxford on the Friday after the feast of St. Michael,[13] and food was likewise provided for them and for the poor of Oxford on the anniversary of the death of the empress, the king's sister, and at the obsequies of the queen his mother.[14]

The friars doubtless from the first aimed at converting the Jews and checking Judaizing tendencies. It was perhaps not a mere coincidence that within a year of their settlement in the Jewry a deacon who had long ago apostatized for love of a Jewess, was brought before a church council at Oseney, convicted, degraded, then condemned by the secular court, and burnt.[15] Henry III, about 1234,[16] built a 'house of Converts' for Jews, which was probably under the direction of the Dominicans. The sheriff was ordered, 2 January, 1241–2, to pay 40*s.* to two converts in the charge of Friar Robert Bacon, and 1 mark for their clothing.[17] A converted Jew, aspiring to the Christian priesthood, was promoted to the order of acolyte, but then relapsed; the sheriff was ordered, 6 April, 1245, to ascertain his name from Friar Robert Bacon, and keep him in custody till the diocesan should determine what ought to be done in the matter.[18] The names of several converts occur in the records of the thirteenth century,[19] but there are few direct traces of Dominican influence.[20]

[1] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 204–7.

[2] Cot. MS. Vitell, E. xv, fol. 104; Twyne, MS. xxiii, 86.

[3] *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 9.

[4] *Lettres de B. Jourdain de Saxe* (Paris, 1865), 126.

[5] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxix, 446, and authorities there quoted.

[6] *Mon. Franc.* i, 56; Trivet, *Ann.* 229; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ii, xvi.

[7] See e.g. Pat. 28 Hen. III, m. 17 *d.*

[8] Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anec.* iii 1839; Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, ii, 188–9.

[9] Trivet, *Ann.* 229.

[10] Ibid. Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 16.

[11] Trivet, *Ann.* 217.

[12] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 148.

[13] Liberate R. 17 Hen. III, m. 2.

[14] Ibid. 29 Hen. III, m. 14; 30 Hen. III, m. 5.

[15] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 62–3.

[16] Wood, *City*, i, 153. The date is uncertain.

[17] Liberate R. 26 Hen. III, m. 13.

[18] Close, 29 Hen. III, m. 12.

[19] See e.g. *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, Nicholas, William and Eva, converts; Wood, *City*, i, 529.

[20] In 1258 pieces of a Bible belonging to Friar John de Balsham were found in the Jewry, pledged to a Jew, and were restored to the owner. Close, 42, Hen. III, m. 9.

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The place in the Jewry soon proved too small, and as it was impossible to expand there, the friars obtained a site outside the walls in the parish of St. Ebbe.[1] Henry III was said to have granted the land, but the real donors were Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle, and Isabel de Bolbec, widow of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford. The bishop gave them 12 acres of meadow and two mills, without the little gate, which he purchased from Henry son of Peter.[2] Henry the son of this Henry subsequently confirmed the gift and released the friars from the payment of a rent of 17*s.* 9*d.*,[3] and Ranulph the tailor and Agnes his wife (probably the daughter of Henry) in 1269 formally recognized the right of the friars to the property, while in return the prior made them and the heirs of Agnes partakers in all benefits and prayers in his church for ever.[4] The countess gave them a plot of land which she bought from Stephen son of Simeon.[5]

On this land the friars began to erect their new buildings about 1237, for the grant of two oaks from the king for making a barge would have been of no use to them in the Jewry.[6] In 1241 the king directed the justices itinerant to pay the fifteen marks, in which they had amerced the Countess of Oxford, to the Friars Preachers for the building of their church.[7] The public records also contain other grants of money and many of wood during these years from the king.[8] In 1241 the prior was charged with obstructing or closing a road in the suburb of Oxford, and a few years later the friars had to justify themselves for enclosing part of the Thames and making dykes and walls there.[9]

The chief benefactor was the Countess of Oxford, who was considered the foundress of the new church.[10] She died 3 February, 1244–5; her body was temporarily deposited in a narrow vault in the church of the Jewry, whence it was soon carried into the new church which her munificence had raised, and there buried with great ceremony and a splendid monument erected over her remains.[11] On the feast of All Saints (1 November), 1245, the friars left their 'little dwelling' in the Jewry and entered their new habitation near the great bridge, and on the feast of the Assumption, 1246, the twenty-fifth anniversary of their arrival in Oxford, they celebrated mass in their new church.[12]

Walter Mauclerc, who also helped the new buildings, resigned his bishopric 29 June, 1246, and entered the order at Oxford. He died here 28 October, 1248, in which year the convent lost also Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre; the latter was buried under the west wall of the church.[13]

The friars about this time sold their old site in the Jewry. The land which they bought of Thomas son of Thomas son of Edwin was purchased by Randulph de Chiltun, chaplain, for seven marks of silver; he immediately (1246) resold it to Alice Haket of Lamburne for fifteen marks.[14] The four messuages 'from the king's way to the parish of St. Edward' with the great school they sold to Richard Hamond for forty marks; on his death it devolved on his brother, Master John Hamond, who in his last testament about 1266 conferred the property on the priory of St. Frideswide in return for twenty marks. The school was at this time let for a term of years to Alan Mey.[15]

In February, 1250–1, Henry III gave the friars £10 towards making a cloister,[16] and continued till the end of his reign to make them frequent grants of wood. Thus in 1269 he gave seven good oaks in Shotover Forest 'to repair their studies.'[17] In 1256 he confirmed a donation which William de Bruere made them of a plot of land in Oxford,[18] and in 1257 licensed the abbot of Oseney to remove a weir in the Thames which was an annoyance to the friars.[19]

In 1258 the 'Mad Parliament' sat in this friary,[20] and John of Darlington, a Friar Preacher, confessor to Henry III, and afterwards archbishop of Dublin, was one of those chosen to represent the king's side in drawing up the Provisions of Oxford.[21] While the king was in Oxford in March, 1264, the friars obtained pardon for two outlaws, Walter Esendon and John de Preston.[22]

[1] Trivet, *Annales*, 209.

[2] Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, iv, 8.

[3] Confirmation by Edw. III; Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 34; reconfirmed, Pat. 15 Hen. VI, m. 21.

[4] Feet of F. (P.R.O.) 53 Hen. III, No. 155 (now File 9, No. 37). Friar John of Balsham represented the prior on this occasion; see above, p. 108, note 20.

[5] Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, iv, 8.

[6] Close, 21 Hen. III, m. 10 (24 June).

[7] Close, 25 Hen. III, m. 10.

[8] e.g. Liberate R. 30 Hen. III, m. 17 (3 marks for church), cf. p. 107, note 16, above.

[9] Placita Corone Oxon. 25 and 31 Hen. III (P.R.O.).

[10] Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 406.

[11] Fletcher, 15; *Reliquary*, xxiii, 149.

[12] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 94, 95.

[13] Trivet, *Ann.* 213; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 564; v, 16; Leland, *Collectanea* (ed. Hearne), iv, 59. See also Oriel Coll. MS. 43.

[14] Balliol College Archives, A. 13 (1), (2), (3). The college acquired land from the executors of William Burnel, provost of Wells, after 1300; ibid. A, 13 (8).

[15] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 223 seq.

[16] Liberate R. 35 Hen. III, m. 13.

[17] Close, 53 Hen. III, m. 6. In 1251–2 he paid them 18*s.* 'for a silk cloth which we gave them when we were last in Oxford.' In 1267 a cask of wine. Lib. 36 Hen. III, m. 5.

[18] Pat. 40 Hen. III, m. 4.

[19] Pat. 42 Hen. III, m. 16.

[20] Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 697.

[21] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[22] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 152. Cf. *Oxf. City Doc.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 202; church used as sanctuary 1285.

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Prince Edward stayed here in 1264, and he and Richard, king of the Romans, held a royalist assembly within the friary church.[1]

In 1262 the new church was consecrated on the feast of SS. Vitus and Modestus by Richard of Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln,[2] whose successors had a house at the Black Friars where they lodged when staying in Oxford.[3] One of the first persons buried in the church after the consecration was William, son of William of Fors, earl of Albemarle,[4] who perhaps was a benefactor of the house. Soon after this Richard the miller gave the friars some meadow land in St. Aldate's parish adjoining their area, freed from rent to the superior lord, the abbot of Abingdon, and also 4*s.* a year to sustain a light 'before the altar of the Virgin Mary in their church of St. Nicholas.'[5] In a final concord of the year 1269–70 the church is referred to as 'the church of St. Mary without the South Gate.'[6] It would appear that the friary precincts were enclosed with a wall about this time, for in 1279 William le Deweneys held a tenement worth half a mark a year from the Friars Preachers for life for the service 'of shutting and opening the gate.'[7]

The general chapter held in Paris 1246 decreed that the provinces of Provence, Lombardy, Germany, and England should each provide for the establishment of a *generale studium et solemne* in a suitable convent, to which every provincial prior should have the right of sending two friars to study.[8] This decree was confirmed by the general chapter in 1247 and 1248, but the provincial prior and chapter of England failed to carry it out. The general chapter at Barcelona in 1261[9] fixed the general study at Oxford, deposed Simon the provincial prior, sent him to lecture in Germany, and enjoined on him the penance of seven days on bread and water, seven disciplines and seven masses; the *diffinitores* of the provincial chapter, who did not consent to students of other provinces being sent to Oxford, were suspended from acting in this capacity for seven years, deposed if they were priors, and sentenced to penances; while the prior and friars of Oxford were ordered to receive the foreign friars kindly and not willingly cause them annoyance.[10] Robert Kilwardby, who had succeeded Robert Bacon and Fishacre as master of the schools, was now elected provincial.[11] By subsequent decrees of general chapters (1289, 1298, 1300, 1301) certain provinces which had been recently divided were allowed to send only one friar each to Oxford.[12]

It is clear from the pages of Thomas of Eccleston and Matthew Paris[13] that there was much rivalry between the learned men of the two great Mendicant Orders in the middle of the thirteenth century. A curious record has survived of a controversy between the two houses at Oxford on the subject of evangelical poverty in 1269.[14] A Dominican, Solomon of Ingham, began the quarrel by accusing the Franciscans of receiving money contrary to their profession and rule. A number of the Dominicans took part in the dispute,—Robert of Newmarket, afterwards prior of the Friars Preachers of London, Vincent le Sauvage, William de Stargil, Adam de Lakeor, and his *socius*, William of Hotham, then 'cursor of the sentences,' and afterwards famous as a theologian, and man of affairs,[15] Ralph of Ewelme, formerly prior of the house, John de Meslay visitor of Oxford, and the provincial prior Robert of Kilwardby. Though Friar Solomon eventually withdrew his words, it must be admitted that the Dominicans had the best of the argument.[16]

A few years later the quarrel between the orders was revived in the sphere of philosophy. The doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, which placed the principle of individuation in matter, was condemned even by the Dominican Archbishop Kilwardby at Oxford in 1277. The general chapter of the Dominicans, in 1278, ordered the Friars Preachers to maintain the Thomist doctrine; and when Peckham repeated Kilwardby's condemnation in 1284, he was accused by the provincial prior of the Dominicans, in a congregation at Oxford, of being moved thereto by a desire to injure the rival order. The condemned doctrines were evidently being maintained by the Friars Preachers.[17]

[1] *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 61.
[2] MS. Bodley, 712, fol. 364.
[3] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), 725.
[4] Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 64.
[5] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 221.
[6] Feet of F. Oxf. (P.R.O.), 53 Hen. III, File 9, No. 37.
[7] *Rot. Hund.* ii, 789; Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, iv, 46. One of this name was burgess for Oxford in the Parliament of 1307; Wood, *City*, iii, 42.
[8] *Mon. Ord. Praedicat.* iii, 34–5 (Acta Capit. Gen.).
[9] Ibid. 110–1; cf. 117.
[10] Students were soon afterwards being sent from Provence; see Douais, *Acta Capit. Provinc.* 175; Chapter of Provence, at Cahors 1273; 'Assignamus studentes . . . studio Anglicano fratrem Jacobum Alamanni et fratrem Hugonem de Asio.'
[11] *Engl. Hist. Rev.* viii, 521; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[12] See Capitular decrees *sub annis*, in *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iii.
[13] *Mon. Franc.* i, 56; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 279.
[14] Printed in *The Grey Friars in Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 320.
[15] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxvii, 414.
[16] See account of the Grey Friars in this volume.
[17] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* (Reichert), iii, 199; Peckham, *Reg. Epis.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 854, 856; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii, pt. ii, 527. See account of the Grey Friars.

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In 1280 Peckham, on the accusation of Robert de Cruce, provincial of the Minorites, forbade an Oxford Dominican to act as confessor or chaplain 'in a certain college of women' on account of grave suspicion. The prior of the convent thought that the archbishop was unduly influenced in coming to this decision.[1]

Henry III granted the convent fifty marks a year, and this was continued by all the kings (except Edward V) down to the dissolution.[2] Edward I was also a considerable benefactor. He bestowed on the friars many gifts of fuel and timber[3] (further buildings being necessary to provide accommodation for the foreign students). He gave them 20*s.* for food on 21 December, 1276; 70*s.* 4½*d.* for three days' food in 1277; £4 16*s.* for three days' food in November, 1305.[4] The number of friars in these years would probably be sixty, seventy, and ninety-six respectively. The executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile gave these friars twenty marks out of her legacies in 1291.[5]

Edward I allowed the friars to make a conduit through the king's meadows from a spring at Hinksey to their house, and in 1285 gave them permission to repair it when necessary.[6] In the same year a charge made against the friars in 1275[7] was renewed, namely that they had obstructed the king's mills and flooded his meadows owing to a stone bridge, with a stone column beneath it, which they had lately constructed near their house. After an inquiry before the justices in eyre the king gave them licence to retain the bridge.[8] In 1304 he gave them leave to quarry 100 ft. of stone at Charlegrave by Wheatley in Shotover Forest, for repairing their buildings, which sometimes suffered from floods,[9] and Edward II authorized them to use the same quarry in 1323.[10]

The general chapter of the whole order was held here on Pentecost (9 June), 1280, and Edward I honoured the assembly with his presence.[11] The master general on this occasion admitted Queen Eleanor and her children to a spiritual participation in all the good works of the order, and prescribed prayers for her in life and after death.[12] Thomas de Jorz, prior of Oxford, was one of the representatives of the province in the general chapter at Strassburg, 1295; but the chapter was put off till the following year, and in the meantime the provincial prior being made archbishop of Dublin, Thomas de Jorz, as prior of the convent where the next provincial chapter was to be held, took over the government of the province.[13]

Provincial chapters were celebrated here in 1288, in 1297—when Thomas Jorz, prior of Oxford, was elected provincial—and in 1305; in aid of these the king gave, in 1288,[14] £6 13*s.* 4*d.* through Friar Robert of Newmarket for food on one of the days; in 1297 £12 by the hands of Friar Nicholas Trivet;[15] and £10 for the chapter to be held on 8 September, 1305.[16] Edward II gave £15 for the chapter held here 28 August, 1318, and a like sum for that held here in 1326.[17] The king's confessor, Friar Robert de Duffield, probably attended the latter, as he received, 28 September, 42*s.* 7⅜*d.* for the expenses of himself, his companion, horses and grooms, going on secret affairs of the king to 'the parts of Oxford.'[18]

In April, 1292, Bishop Sutton addressed a letter to the rectors and vicars in the archdeaconries of Oxford and Buckingham, instructing them to assist Friar Walter of Langley, O.P., in preaching the crusade, Friar Walter having come to England with thirty-five friars for that purpose.[19] On 2 August, 1300, six friars of the Oxford convent were licensed to hear confessions in the archdeaconry of Oxford,[20] and three days later these six, together with eight other friars, were licensed as confessors throughout the diocese.[21] In November of the same year Thomas Jorz, the provincial prior, requested Bishop Dalderby to license twenty-four friars in the convent of Oxford as confessors throughout the diocese. The bishop protested against the large numbers presented, and refused to allow more than fifty to be licensed for the whole diocese.[22] Among those licensed on this

[1] Peckham, *Reg.* 117–8.

[2] The first notice of this grant yet found occurs in Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 352, No. 18 (1289); Henry III is mentioned as the originator in *Cal. Pat.* Edw. IV, i, 286. Other references: Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 13; Pat. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17; Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27, &c.

[3] e.g. Close, 20 Edw. I, m. 12, six oaks for the repair of their stalls. *Cal. Close*, 1277 (p. 372), six oaks for fuel and a good oak to make tables for their use.

[4] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 153.

[5] Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), 352 (27).

[6] Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 20. Confirmed in 1318; Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 13; and in 1437; Pat. 15 Hen. VI, m. 21.

[7] Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, iv, 8.

[8] *Oxf. City Doc.* 205 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), Placita de quo warranto Oxon. 13 Edw. I, m. 55 *d.* (P.R.O.).

[9] Inq. a.q.d. 41 (1); Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 12.

[10] Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21.

[11] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iii, 205, v. 117; *Ann. Mon.* iv, 284.

[12] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 154, note.

[13] Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 16; Close, 23 Edw. I, m. 11 *d.*; *Reliquary*, xxiii, 154–5.

[14] Exch. Accts. 352 (18); cf. Peckham, *Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 958. The friars also received 8 marks from the executors of Nicholas of Croyland for this chapter; see below, p. 119.

[15] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 154. [16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid. 156; cf. Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii, 641.

[18] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 156.

[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, fol. 55.

[20] Ibid. Dalderby (Memo.), fol. 13*b*; their names were the prior (William de Brithampton ?), Henry de Wavre, Philip de Stratton, Peter of Uxbridge, John de Englesham, John de Wyth.

[21] Ibid. fol. 14*b*–15.

[22] Ibid. fol. 19*d*; the numbers were not quite so large as the bishop estimated; he evidently counted some of the friars twice over.

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last occasion was Friar Walter Jorz, afterwards archbishop of Armagh. His more famous brother, Thomas Jorz, the cardinal, who had been prior of the Oxford convent in 1295, was afterwards buried in the choir of the church.[1]

The Oxford convent, besides being the seat of the *studium generale*, was head of one of the four 'visitations' into which the English province was divided in the thirteenth century. The visitation of Oxford, called also the March, included Wales and the western part of central England.[2] The visitation formed a unit for certain educational purposes; thus the visitors were bound to make diligent inquiry every year in each convent to find out promising students and to report to the provincial chapter; they had also to report on the efficiency and conduct of the lecturers, and punish any neglect of duty, but after 1314 this function devolved on the 'Master of the students.' It is possible also that each visitation contained a school of natural philosophy and an advanced school of theology, but the whole subject of the organization of the Dominican schools in England is very obscure.[3]

The friars, in 1307, established at King's Langley, Hertfordshire, a school in which the elementary branches of science were taught preparatory to the higher studies at the universities.[4] Edward II endowed it with revenues for the support of 100 friars in honour of his favourite, Piers Gaveston, who was beheaded near Warwick, 19 June, 1312. Some Black Friars carried the corpse to Oxford, where it was deposited in their church till 30 December, 1314, when it was removed to King's Langley. At Oxford the body was guarded by two custodians, who lodged in the guest house of the convent and kept at the king's expense a very hospitable table; their bill for twenty-eight days in December, 1314, amounted to £15 0*s.* 6½*d.* The prior and Nicholas Trivet, then regent master, partook of their good cheer, 24 December, 1314. Further, the city supplied the Friars Preachers at this time with food and wine to the value of 10*s.* 4*d.*[5]

The end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries witnessed everywhere a violent outbreak of hostility against the Mendicant Orders, and the quarrel between the Dominicans and the university of Oxford, which culminated in the years 1311–13, is an incident in the European struggle. The quarrel was partly a revival of the controversy which arose over the inception of the Franciscan Thomas of York in 1253.[6] It had then been decreed that no one who had not ruled in arts should incept in theology unless he had obtained a special grace from the chancellor and regent masters of all faculties; and Hugh de Musterton, then regent master of the Friars Preachers, had given his consent to the statute.[7] It was held that the vote of the regent masters must be unanimous, a single dissentient could prevent the granting of the grace.[8] However, the grace had become almost a matter of course,[9] and the friars would not have raised the question had not other causes of complaint occurred. In 1302–3 a revolutionary statute was made enacting that a statute carried by the regents in two faculties, together with a majority of the non-regents, should bind the whole university.[10] This statute was certainly directed against the Mendicants, and under the new constitution which it set up, a statute (passed in 1303) ordained that the 'examinatory sermons' required of bachelors before inception in theology should be transferred from the Dominican and Minorite convents to St. Mary's,[11] and another statute in 1310 required that theological vespers—the disputation on the eve of inception—should be held in St. Mary's; hitherto they had been held in the schools of the different masters, or often at the mendicant friaries.[12] About the same time a more important change was made. It was decreed that no one should lecture on the Bible *biblice*, i.e. textually and exegetically, until he had lectured as B.D. on the Sentences of Peter Lombard.[13] Friars had hitherto been allowed to lecture on the Bible on the recommendation of their superiors without formal admission to the

[1] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxx, 203–4; Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 59.

[2] See e.g. B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 3. Worc. Cath. Lib. MS. Q. 93 (fly leaf). A 'visitor' of Oxford is mentioned in 1269 (see p. 110 above). The convents included in the visitation were Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Brecon, Cardiff, Haverfordwest, Bangor, Rhuddlan, Chester, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Northampton, and perhaps Leicester and Derby.

[3] See 'Educational Organization of the Mendicant Friars in England,' by A. G. Little, *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (new ser.), viii, 49, seq.

[4] *Reliquary*, xix, 37, and authorities there cited. The friary of Langley as a school was common to all four visitations; its government was declared by the general chapter of 1423 and by Martin V in 1427 to belong to the Oxford convent. The friars of the Visitation of Cambridge petitioned the pope in their favour, and the provincial chapter supported them in 1427. In the fifteenth century it was included in the Visitation of Cambridge. Worc. Cath. Lib. MS. Q. 93.

[5] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 156. Adam of Murimuth, *Chron.* 17; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* i, 133–43, &c.

[6] See account of the Grey Friars.

[7] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 232; *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.) i, 347.

[8] *Collectanea*, (Oxf. Hist. Soc.) ii, 225; cf. *Mon. Franc.* i, 347; *Mun. Academica*, i, 25.

[9] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 225, 231, 256.

[10] Ibid. 218, 226. [11] Ibid. 217, 225, 258.

[12] Ibid. 217, 222, 225, 232, 257. The Dominican church was often used for public ceremonies: e.g. the publication of the sixth book of the Decretals in 1298. Wood, *City*, ii, 321.

[13] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 218, 226, &c.

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degree of B.D.[1] The Dominicans urged that many of their order were fitted to lecture on the Bible who were not qualified for the more difficult task of lecturing on the Sentences, and prayed that the course of lecturing on the Sentences should be put after the lecture on the Bible, as at Paris.[2] The university replied that errors had arisen from the incompetence of Bible lecturers.[3] The masters having obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury a sentence of excommunication against all who denied the validity of the new statutes,[4] the friars complained to the king (who wrote in their favour to the university 9 December, 1311)[5] and then appealed to the pope. They prayed for the repeal of the obnoxious statutes and the substitution for them of the statutes and customs of the university of Paris; according to these the consent of the masters was not necessary to the conferment of degrees on the friars.[6] When attempting to serve notice of the appeal on congregation assembled at St. Mary's (November, 1311), the proctor of the friars, Brother Lawrence of Warwick, was turned out of the church, but mounted a tombstone and shouted his message through an open window; after which he retired amid the curses of the scholars' servants, who declared it would be a good thing to block up the doors of the friary and burn the friars within.[7] Brother Lawrence being prevented from going into the chancellor's school to serve the notice, waited for him to come out and threw the document into his robes; the chancellor flung it into the mud with indignant words.[8] The appeal was also published before great multitudes of people in the Franciscan church.[9] The regent master of the Dominicans, Hugh of Sutton, having refused to take an oath to observe the new statutes, was excluded from congregation.[10] Grace to incept was refused to Friar Roger de Baketon, who had been nominated as regent master for the coming year, and Friar Richard of Huntley was prevented from taking the degree of B.D.[11] While the statutes required every candidate for the theological degrees to respond and oppose in the school of every master of theology, the masters refused to admit the friars, especially Friar Henry Croy, to their schools, and the latter were thus hindered from performing the necessary academic exercises.[12] The masters also by intimidation prevented scholars from attending the friars' schools, and both scholars and laity were deterred from confessing to the friars or being buried in their churches.[13]

> They are further [the friars complained] stirring up the clergy and laity throughout the whole province against the friars, so that the necessary means of livelihood, good name and affection are withdrawn from them, and thus students from foreign provinces afflicted with hunger, worn out by insults and deprived of their accustomed teaching, have entirely left the convent.[14]

The university, pleading poverty, was eager to have the cause tried in England; the friars declared that they would not get justice except in the papal curia.[15] Clement V, 1 May, 1312, addressed a letter to the Bishops of London, Worcester, and Llandaff, papal commissioners, ordering them to admit Friars Roger de Baketon and Richard de Huntley to the degrees of D.D. and B.D. respectively, and after an exhaustive statement of the points in dispute, announced that if the parties would not agree they were to be cited to appear before the pope within six months.[16] Accordingly, at the beginning of 1313, the case was before Cardinal Richard Petronus of Siena at Avignon, but a few months later it was being heard before the papal commissioners in England.[17] The litigants, represented on the one side by Edmund de Mepham and Anthony Bek, on the other by Friars Luke of Woodford and Ralph of Seton, appeared several times before these papal commissioners, and at length (November, 1313), agreed to submit the case to arbitration, each side depositing £200 with the prior of St. Frideswide, to be forfeited if they refused to accept the award. The arbitrators were John, bishop of Llandaff, Gilbert of Middleton, canon of Lincoln, Friar Peter de Kenyngton, O.P., and Friar Thomas Everard, O.P.[18] The award was to be confirmed by the king's court, and the courts of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln. The royal confirmation was given, 7 April, 1314.[19] The award was mainly in favour of the university, but certain concessions were made to the friars:—(1) Every B.D. was to preach one sermon in the Black Friars' church, but the preacher was not to pay anything to the friars—a stipulation inserted at the request of the friars themselves. (2) The grace to incept in theology could not be refused to a

[1] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 238.
[2] Ibid. 226. [3] Ibid. 223.
[4] Ibid. 220, 260; the date is not certain—it was probably before the appeal was lodged.
[5] Close, 5 Edw. II, m. 20*d*; Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii, 152.
[6] *Collectanea*, ii, 220–2. [7] Ibid. 244, et seq.
[8] Ibid. 243–4. [9] Ibid. 242.
[10] Ibid. 219, 235, 239–41, 265.
[11] Ibid 219, 228, 241, 265. [12] Ibid. 219, 241.
[13] Ibid. 220. [14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid. 223, 236, 260–1; cf. 228; the friars could not find any lawyer to help them except one poor scholar, who had been so persecuted that he dared not help them any more.
[16] *Cal. of Papal L.* ii, 111–2.
[17] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 224. Worc. Epis. Reg. Reynolds, fol. 85*b*; the bishop appoints Ric. de Newport, archdeacon of Middlesex, to act as his vicar in the case, 25 June, 1313.
[18] Ibid. ii, 266–9. Peter de Kenyngton, lector, S.T.P., was one of the friars appointed to hear the case against the Knights Templars in London, 1309. Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 336 et seq.
[19] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. ii), 264, 272.

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friar, who had not ruled in arts, by the vote of a single master, but only by the judgement of the majority of masters of theology. (3) A statute must be passed by a majority of masters in three faculties, not of two, together with a majority of the non-regents. (4) The Friars Preachers were to have the schools in their house free and under their own control as to lectures, disputations, and determinations. This agreement was accepted by the university. The Friars Preachers were allowed to resume their lectures, their regent master (1314–5) being the famous Nicholas Trivet.[1]

It was, however, more than six years before the friars desisted from litigation. Perhaps the general chapter of the order, which was held in London in June, 1314, objected to the agreement. The friars sought help from Edward II, who in 1312 and again in 1313 ordered the university to submit the new statutes to him and his council, and meanwhile to revoke any statutes they may have attempted to make to the injury of the friars.[2] Early in 1318 the king took the friars under his special protection,[3] and ordered the chancellor of the university to desist from aggrieving them and from attempting to exercise jurisdiction over them.[4] However, in November of the same year, in the Parliament of York, the royal power was thrown wholly on the side of the university, and the papal privileges which the friars claimed were repudiated.[5] On the death of Winchelsey, a supporter of the university, Walter Reynolds became archbishop of Canterbury. As bishop of Worcester he had been conservator of the privileges of the Friars Preachers, and had rebuked the chancellor of the university in 1312 for presuming to punish a friar, John de Merston;[6] as archbishop he wrote to the cardinal bishop of Ostia in 1316 urging him to support the friars against the university, and commending to him their proctor Thomas Everard.[7] This renewed appeal to Rome may have delayed the papal confirmation of the award of 1314 till 16 October, 1317,[8] and may have led to the issue of two letters of John XXII on 25 October, 1317, declaring that mendicant friars may be made masters in theology without having ruled in arts.[9] The provincial chapter—perhaps that held at Oxford in 1318[10]—discussed and revised the articles of peace, and sent Friars Nicholas de Stratton and John de Wrotham to bring the matter again before the pope.[11] John XXII referred the case once more to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Bishop-elect of Winchester (August, 1320).[12] The latest document we have on the controversy—dated 11 December, 1320—merely authorizes Friars Peter de Kenyngton, Luke de Wodeford and William de Ebrynton to act as proctors on behalf of Thomas of Westwell, prior, and the Oxford convent in making peace and concord with the university.[13]

Some apostate Friars Preachers took advantage of the quarrel to publish appeals in the university against their prelates, who had, they alleged, subjected them to inhuman treatment. The archbishop forbade the chancellor to pay attention to such appeals, and the sheriff of Oxford was ordered to arrest any friars publishing these scurrilous writings, especially Stephen de Sydolvesmere, their proctor.[14]

Among the more distinguished inmates of the friary about this time we may mention (besides Nicholas Trivet) Thomas Waleys or Wallensis and Robert Holcot. Thomas Waleys, S.T.B., went to the papal court with the king's recommendation in 1318 or 1319 on business of the order,[15] perhaps in connexion with the controversy just described. He was imprisoned by the pope for heretical views on the Beatific Vision: his writings, however, remained popular throughout the Middle Ages. Robert Holcot lived later under the patronage of Richard of Bury, and is probably the real author of the *Philobiblon*.[16]

In 1329 the Friars Preachers of Oxford wrote to the pope in support of Ralph of Shrewsbury, chancellor of the university, who had been elected bishop of Bath and Wells in defiance of a papal provision of the see.[17] A provincial chapter was at Oxford in August, 1330.[18] It met in troublous times, for the provincial prior, Simon de Burniston or Boraston, had been implicated in the recent rebellion of

[1] *Mun. Acad.* 101.
[2] Close, 5 Edw. II, m. 8*d*; 6 Edw. II, m. 13*d*.
[3] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 39 and 28; cf. Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21.
[4] Close, 11 Edw. II, m. 8.
[5] Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 22.
[6] Worc. Epis. Reg. Reynolds, fol. 53.
[7] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 458. Cf. *Somers. Rec. Soc.* i, 130; Friars Preachers of Oxford appeal to Bishop John de Drokensford for protection 1317.
[8] *Cal. Papal L.* ii, 167. [9] Ibid.
[10] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Ed.), ii, 641.
[11] *Cal. Papal L.* ii, 199. Nicholas de Stratton, D.D. of Oxford, was Provincial Prior 1306–12 (*Engl. Hist. Rev.* viii, 522). John de Wrotham was prior of London 1309, &c. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 336); see Roman R. 14 Edw. II, m. 4 (P.R.O.)—a request that he be made papal penitentiary, 'quod idem frater . . . in idiomate gallico hibernico Wallensi et Scotico sit instructus.'
[12] Ibid. [13] *Collectanea*, ii, 272.
[14] Lamb. Archiep. Reg. Reynolds, fol. 58*b*; Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v, 107 et seq. It may be noted that one of the recalcitrant friars was Walter de Walpole, for whom Archbishop Reynolds had asked special privileges from the university of Oxford in 1313. Reg. fol. 44; *Collectanea*, ii, 262 (the document must be wrongly dated). Cf. Adam of Murimuth, 22.
[15] Roman R. 12 Edw. II, m. 9 (28 Nov. 1318).
[16] On both these see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[17] *Somers. Rec. Soc.* ix, 39.
[18] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 157.

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the Earl of Kent, and banished.[1] The fall of Mortimer enabled Simon to return, and he was still in office in 1333.[2] The last years of his life he seems to have spent in composing works on theology and law at Oxford.[3] To the chapter of 1330 Edward III contributed £15, and he gave ten marks to the Oxford convent in March, 1354–5.[4]

Durandus de Bugwell in 1352 bequeathed to the friars after the death of his wife Alice a messuage in Grandpont, through which was the access to their house.[5] When the attack on the friars led by Richard Fitzralph was at its height, Richard White, a citizen of Oxford, left by will in 1358 the reversion of his tenement in the parish of St. Michael in the South Gate to the Friars Preachers, after the death of his wife.[6] The floods of the Thames having damaged much on the south side of their dwelling, the friars in 1367 obtained from the king a piece of ground along the river bank 20 ft. in breadth to enable them to protect their property. The town authorities opposed the concession on the ground that the stream would be obstructed, but without success; they continued to dispute the point till they were ordered by the king in 1376 to desist from molesting the friars any longer.[7]

In the controversies with Richard FitzRalph and his supporters the Oxford Dominicans do not seem to have taken a prominent part. They joined with the other orders in instituting proceedings both before the king in council and at the court of Rome to obtain the repeal of the statute of 1358 which forbade the mendicants to receive novices under the age of eighteen.[8]

In 1358 a Friar Preacher, who had in a sermon attacked the 'Sophists' as persons who want to appear wise but never attain true wisdom, was supposed to be aiming at the Faculty of Arts (whose students were known by that name), and was compelled publicly to retract his 'foolish, indiscreet, and ignorant' words.[9] A member of the convent, William Jordan, wrote a treatise against Utred Boldon in defence of mendicancy.[10] Several of the Oxford Dominicans took part in condemning the Wicliffite heresies;[11] but the only two who call for special mention are Roger Dymock, who addressed to Richard II a treatise against twelve errors and heresies of the Lollards—probably the Lollard conclusions which were produced in the Parliament of 1395,[12] and Thomas Palmer, who wrote on the adoration of images.[13] Throughout this period the Dominicans are less prominent than the Carmelites or the Franciscans. The internal affairs of the convent were perhaps of more absorbing interest.

In 1355, the year after the riot on St. Scholastica's Day, there were troubles about the students from the province of Ireland, which was authorized to have two students at Oxford.[14] The general chapter ordered the provincial of England to make inquiries as to the refusal to admit Irish students to the universities, while the master general was to see that their exhibitions were paid and the arrangements made concerning them were carried out generally, especially with reference to Friar John Tropt, lecturing on the Sentences at Oxford, and Friar Walter Sorel, lecturing on the Sentences at Cambridge.[15] In 1357 the general chapter ordered the Irish friars to send their contribution to the Oxford convent by the hands of the definitor of the general chapter.[16]

In 1370 there broke out among the students of the convent a rebellion caused by some actions of the provincial prior in his visitation. The provincial, William de Bodekisham, appealed to the secular power; and a royal mandate of 4 May charged Master Robert de Sustede, LL.D., parson of Willingham, and John de Watlyngton, his serjeant-at-arms, to aid the provincial or his vicar in reducing the rebels to order, to secure him a peaceable entry into the convent, and to place it at his full and free disposal; and prohibited any armed assistance to be rendered to the insurgents from without, under pain of the loss of the arms and incarceration for any who abetted them.[17] The rebellious friars were John de Chesham, Adam de Styvele, John Banastre, Henry of Saxony, Henry of Gloucester, John Wycombe, John Cherdyslee, Thomas

[1] Galf. de Baker *Chron.* (ed. Thompson), 44; see Randolph, *Exeter Epis. Reg.* Grandison, 169–70; the bishop asks Simon to appoint Nicholas de la Lee lector at Oxford, 1328.

[2] *Reg. Rad. de Salopia* (Somers. Rec. Soc.), 5–6, 155.

[3] Camb. Univ. Bib. MS. ii, iv, 5; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vii, 391.

[4] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 157.

[5] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 158 (from Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 54.)

[6] Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 56*a*.

[7] Wood, *City*, ii, 316; Pat. 50 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 1; Ancient Petitions (P.R.O.), No. 11056; Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, iii, 141–2; Twyne MS. xxiii, 216. Grant confirmed, Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 21; Pat. 15 Hen. VI, m. 21.

[8] *Mun. Acad.* i, 204; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 290; cf. *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 536 (see below).

[9] *Mun. Acad.* i, 211.

[10] Tanner, *Bibl.* 444.

[11] Their names are William Syward, John Langley, William Brushcombe, and John Chesham, doctors; Robert Humbleton, John Pykworth, John Lyndelow bachelors. *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 113, 286–7, 291; cf. 348. John Bromyard is described as D.D. of Cambridge, 289; he was afterwards visitor of Oxford. On John Chesham see below.

[12] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xvi, 293.

[13] Preserved in Merton Coll. MS. 68.

[14] *Cal. Papal L.* v, 323; decree of general chapter at London, 1314, confirmed by pope at the petition of the Irish in 1400.

[15] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iv, 370. [16] Ibid. 380.

[17] Pat. 44 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14 *d.*

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Fairford, Nicholas Maidenhead, John Staundon, Lupus of Spain, Facinus of Genoa, Fortanerius de Candareru, Richard Lowe, Egbert of Dacia, Thomas Sharpmor, and John Lynlowe. Five or six[1] out of the seventeen were foreigners. Henry Alberti of Saxony was appointed by the general chapter this year to lecture on the Sentences at Oxford.[2]

The master of the order, Elias, visited England in 1372 or 1373, made ordinances for the reformation of the religion, and deposed the provincial prior, Thomas Vichor or Russhock.[3] The master's decrees relating to promotions in the universities and to the treatment of foreign students met with opposition in the English province. The royal council, 18 October, 1373, ordered the prior of Oxford to remove from the convent many foreigners who under the pretence of being friars and students were said to be spying out the country and giving information to the enemy.[4] This measure was suggested by some of the English friars, and the general master appointed a vicar to investigate the matter and punish those who had denounced their brethren.[5] The council replied by a writ, 28 August, 1374, warning Friar Stephen Coulyngs that he or any other who should punish an English friar openly or secretly would be treated as a rebel and made an enduring example to all other friars: and of this he was to inform the master general as soon as possible.[6] The vicar of the master and many friars were said to have been imprisoned at the instance of the rebellious party in the English province. The general chapter of 1378 renewed the master's sentence of deposition on Thomas Vichor or Thomas Russhock the provincial, appointed John of Paris vicar in England, deposed twelve priors, summoned Friars G. de Benchiniquis, S.T.P., Thomas Boquerelli, S.T.P., and G. de Bencanor to answer accusations in the Roman curia, annulled the licences previously given to friars to proceed to the master's degree in Oxford, and forbade John de Bruscore, William Boconde, William Dambasus, and John Cellers to perform any scholastic act within or without the university, until they had answered certain grave charges.[7] Meanwhile the provincial, who was about this time appointed confessor to Richard II, appealed to Rome, and the parliament of Gloucester (10 November, 1378) warned the Dominican Friars, though in ambiguous terms, to disregard the sentences of the general master and chapter.[8] Some of the enemies of the Mendicant Friars at Oxford took advantage of the schism within the order to refuse degrees to certain Friars Preachers, and were ordered by the king to desist (22 May, 1379).[9] The decision of the curia (25 August, 1379) was wholly in favour of the provincial prior.[10]

The quarrel between the English province on the one side and the general chapter and master on the other continued for many years. It was really a struggle for the control of promotions in the university. Each of the four visitations into which the province was divided, Oxford, Cambridge, London, and York, presented friars for degrees in turn, with the sanction of the provincial chapter; sometimes a visitation seems to have presented several friars (one result of this practice being a glut of candidates), and the general chapter tried to limit the right to a single nomination.[11] Further, every third year or every third vacancy was reserved for foreign students. The appointments of foreigners were usually made by the general chapter; thus in 1376[12] the chapter appointed Vincent of Lisbon to read the Sentences at Oxford; 'for the second turn due to foreigners, we appoint John de Belverano of the province of Aragon; for the two intermediate years we commit appointments to the provincial prior and chapter of England.'[13] But the general chapter of this year expressly claimed for itself the right of nominating the English friars for promotion at Oxford as well as foreign friars.[14] In 1378 the general chapter at Carcassonne appointed Friar John de Gesta as regent and Friar Thomas de Bascho to incept under him: for the degree of B.D., in the present year, Friars Robert Biton and John Valreijraij: for the next year Friar Stephen Almi or Friar Nicholas Chioful; 'and, so far as in us is, for the first year due to foreigners Friar Dominic Januarii of Provence.'[15] In 1380 the general chapter at Lausanne committed the appointment of foreigners at Oxford and Cambridge to the master general, the appointment of native students to his vicar.[16] The province resisted these measures, and the provincial chapter went on nominating candidates for degrees.[17] The nominees of the master seem to have sought degrees elsewhere, by petitions to the pope and others; it was probably against them that the

[1] Perhaps Adam de Styvele was a foreigner; Friar Bartholomew Stivil of the province of Aragon was appointed *lector sententiarum* at Cambridge this year. *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iv, 417.

[2] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iv, 417.

[3] Ibid. iv, 450. Tho. de Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 52–8. The provincial is called Thomas de Vichor in the acts of the general chapter, Thomas Russhock in the English records.

[4] Close, 47 Edw. III, m. 13.

[5] Close, 48 Edw. III, m. 13; *Reliquary*, xxiii, 158.

[6] Close, 48 Edw. III, m. 13.

[7] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iv, 450–4.

[8] Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17 *d.*; Close, 2 Ric. II, m. 4.

[9] Close, *ut supra*.

[10] *Cal. Papal L.* v, 145. On Russhock's subsequent history, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlix, 417–8.

[11] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* iv, 434 (A.D. 1376).

[12] Ibid. [13] Ibid. iv, 433. [14] Ibid. 434.

[15] Ibid. iv, 447 et seq.; cf. Th. de Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 52–7. [16] Ibid. viii, 3.

[17] Cf. ibid. viii, 39–40; B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 5.

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Friars Preachers in England induced Richard II to issue the writ, 1 December, 1390, declaring that

> 'whereas some friars of their order, notoriously vicious, apostate, and for their crimes condemned to prison, cross the seas and by fraud obtain degrees, though Oxford and Cambridge are the places in which doctors of the said order have hitherto been examined and promoted to degrees, no such friar shall be admitted to the privileges pertaining to doctors in theology.'[1]

In 1393 the general master appointed as his visitors in the visitations of London and Oxford ('Marchia'), Friar Thomas Palmer, and in those of Cambridge and York, Friar William Bakthorp, to deal with those who opposed the graces and ordinations of the master:[2] at the same time he appointed candidates for the B.D. for each visitation; among them Thomas Feknam, of the visitation of Oxford, was appointed to read the Sentences at Cambridge, William Sawnisford of the visitation of Cambridge, John Cawd of the visitation of York, and William Scorbinus, probably of the visitation of London, were appointed to read the Sentences at Oxford.[3] Thomas Palmer was about this time elected provincial,[4] and to him the general master committed the government of the convent of Oxford.[5] But in 1395 the master instituted an inquiry into Palmer's conduct—especially as to 'whether he had vexed the foreign students at Oxford contrary to the privileges conceded by us and the general chapter at Venice'; in February, 1395–6, he confirmed these privileges and deposed Palmer.[6] The privileges included exoneration from the 'obedience' as well as the use of private chambers and exemption from the choir services. Once more the secular power intervened; a royal writ 12 July, 1396, commanded the prior of the Oxford friary to remove from the convent with all speed, and under pain of forfeiture of life and limbs, all students who were not living according to the accustomed 'obedience' of the community.[7]

In 1397 Raymond of Capua, the master general, assigned William Snayth for the degree of doctor, and Friars John Parm, Philip Raymundi, and John Leek of Yarm, for other scholastic acts in the university of Oxford.[8] He also appointed a vicar for each of the visitations—John Bromyard, D.D., being the vicar for the Oxford visitation—and made Friar John Chesham (who had been one of the rebels in 1370 and afterwards as S.T.M. joined in condemning Wiclif's teaching) vicar in the Oxford convent.[9] He also annulled the punishment inflicted by the last provincial chapter on the native friars of this house, because they had refused to admit to an election certain friars sent to the convent by the 'pretended' chapter held under Thomas Palmer.[10] In January, 1398–9, Friar Thomas Stanley had licence from the master to go to the Roman curia to expedite certain matters for the convent of Oxford, on condition that he attempted no other business.[11]

The names of several Oxford friars who sought degrees abroad during this period are preserved; Hugh of Stamford, assigned by the provincial chapter for the degree of master, petitioned the pope for the degree in 1363, 'because by reason of the multitude of candidates he would have to wait too long' at Oxford.[12] John Gilberti, B.D., of Oxford, a foreigner, obtained leave from the pope in 1366 to continue his course at Paris because he had incurred the enmity of the chancellor and master of Oxford by supporting his Order in a dispute with the university in the Roman court and elsewhere.[13] In 1397 the master of the schools of the sacred palace was ordered to confer the master's degree on Friar Dominic de Fighino, who had studied at Oxford and elsewhere.[14] The university occasionally rejected candidates for degrees in theology on the ground that they had not ruled in arts, as in 1387, when the king ordered the chancellor to deal favourably with the religious.[15]

Though some Friars Preachers were implicated in plots against the Lancastrian dynasty (among them being Friar John Ketylby of the Oxford convent), Henry IV supported the English province in its struggle against the general chapter and master, and issued a mandate 1 May, 1402, to the prior of Oxford that all students, in spite of the master general's exemptions, should live conformably with the rest of the students in obedience to the prior on pain of immediate removal.[16] In 1405 he forbade all priors and brethren of the order to send contributions to the master general.[17]

The general chapter at Erfurt in 1403 decreed that no one should be promoted S.T.P. in any university except by the general chapter; and if the candidate were an Englishman he must have studied at Oxford and must be presented by

[1] Close, 14 Ric. II, m. 32; Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 6; Rymer, *Foedera*, vii, 690 (orig. ed.).
[2] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 2.
[3] Ibid. fols. 2, 3.
[4] *Engl. Hist. Rev.* viii, 523.
[5] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 3.
[6] Ibid. fol. 3*b*–4*b*.
[7] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 159; Close, 20 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 32; cf. m. 6.
[8] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 5, 7.
[9] Ibid. fol. 7*b*.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid. fol. 9.
[12] *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 398.
[13] Ibid. 536; see above p. 115.
[14] *Cal. Papal L.* v, 11. Cf. ibid. vii, 515: conferment of the master's degree by papal mandate on Friar James Blacdon, B.D., lecturer in theology at Oxford, 1427.
[15] Close, 11 Ric. II, m. 15; 12 Ric. II, m. 45.
[16] Close, 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 18. Wylie, *Hist. of Engl.* i, 274, has misunderstood this document.
[17] Close, 6 Hen. IV, m. 14.

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his provincial chapter.[1] Difficulties about the Irish students seem to have arisen again at the end of the fourteenth century.[2] The expulsion of the 'wild Irish men' from the English universities by Act of Parliament in 1423 was probably not unwelcome to the Dominican authorities.[3] In 1426 the general chapter declared that friars from Ireland should not in future be received in any English convent, but should be compelled to return to their province, unless they were willing to take their share in the common expenses in England, and especially that in the convents of Oxford and Cambridge no Irish friar, except the two sent for purposes of study, in accordance with the statutes of the order, should be received under pain of grievous fault.[4] At the same time Friar Jacob Buti of Siena was assigned to read the Sentences at Oxford 'for the first place due to foreigners.'[5] Various appointments were made in the general chapters of 1431 and 1434, friars from Aragon, Sicily, Portugal, France, and Rome being nominated to lecture or study at Oxford.[6] In 1442 the general chapter at Avignon decreed that

> whereas the English province has omitted to send to general chapters for many years, and neither the provincial prior nor the brethren have paid attention to the acts of the chapters nor sent any excuse, we will that those responsible be punished by the Master or his Vicar.[7]

In the general chapter at Siena in 1462 all the friars appointed to Oxford were English—namely, for the first and second year, Nicholas Suton as regent, John Valiton as B.D., John Eye as master of the students, John Mores as *biblicus;* for the third year, John Eye as B.D., Thomas de Bectris as master of the students.[8] In 1476 John Hille of Bishop's Lynn was appointed to read the Sentences at Oxford.[9] Appointments at Oxford were committed in 1478 to the master general,[10] in 1481 (with the exception of Peter Alue appointed B.D. by the general chapter) to the provincial prior.[11] The general chapter in 1484 approved Hermand Nighemberch as lecturer,[12] and in 1491 appointed Michael of Genoa and Raynald of Sicily as regents, leaving the other appointments to the provincial prior;[13] but in this year the master assigned John Bunelli of Caen as lector at Oxford, ordering him on pain of excommunication to go there within nine days.[14] In 1505 the master assigned Sebastian de Vigtore (?) as 'student of arts' in the convent of Oxford.[15] The provincial was authorized in 1512 to promote two bachelors, about whom he had written to the master, in the university of Oxford, 'according to the custom of the province,'[16] and in 1526 Robert Miles the provincial received from the master licence[17] to promote three persons to the degree of master and twenty to the degree of bachelor in some university after rigorous examination and with the consent of the province. In this year the master general issued an important decree to the provincial and to the priors of Oxford, Cambridge, London, York, Salisbury, and Exeter to the effect that every convent of the province was to send one student to Oxford or Cambridge, the numbers being divided equally between the two universities as the provincial prior should decide, and each convent was to supply its student every year with two angelots or three ducats at least.[18] This reform came too late to be carried out.

Among Dominicans who attained some prominence in the affairs of the university in the fifteenth century was Dr. Wilnale the prior, one of the commissioners appointed to regulate the bequest of Cardinal Beaufort in 1447,[19] and Dr. John Wattys who was *cancellarius natus* in 1463.[20] The conventual priors of London and Oxford were commissioned by the master of the order to confirm or cancel the election of the provincial prior in 1474 and 1484.[21]

In the reign of Henry VI and Edward IV the friars were several times in danger of losing the annual grant of 50 marks owing to acts of resumption in 1450, 1464, 1467–8, 1473,[22] but on each occasion—sometimes after considerable delay—the grant was exempted. The friars, however, often had to sue for the payment, as the sum was generally charged on the revenues due from a sheriff or other royal official. Thus in 1464 the bailiff of the abbot of Westminster and the sheriff of Staffordshire, in 1469 the sheriff of Northamptonshire, in 1491, 1495, 1498, 1507, 1515 the sheriff of Devon, were sued either for the whole or for part of the 50 marks.[23]

Among other sources of livelihood were small annual or weekly grants in money or kind from Durham College, the nunnery of Godstow and Oseney Abbey.[24]

The friars received many bequests: among their benefactors may be mentioned—John of

[1] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* viii, 111.
[2] *Cal. Papal L.* v, 323. [3] *Rot. Parl.* iv, 190.
[4] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* viii, 184.
[5] Ibid. 188. [6] Ibid. 213–14, 232.
[7] Ibid. 250. Representatives of the English province appeared at the general chapters of 1426 and 1434.
[8] Ibid. 284; on Mores cf. *Epis. Acad.* (A.D. 1442, Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 211.
[9] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 10*b*.
[10] *Mon. Ord. Praed.* viii, 345.
[11] Ibid. 363. [12] Ibid. 385. [13] Ibid. 402.
[14] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 12*b*.
[15] Ibid. fol. 14*b*. This seems to be the only direct evidence of the existence of a *Studium Artium* in the Oxford convent. [16] Ibid. fol. 15.
[17] Ibid. fol. 15*b*, 16. [18] Ibid.
[19] *Mun. Acad.* 568. [20] Boase, *Reg.* 34.
[21] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 9*b*, 11*b*.
[22] Pat. 31 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 32; *Rot. Parl.* v, 520, 597; vi, 90.
[23] Exch. of Pleas, Plea R. *sub annis.*
[24] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 191, 223; v, 306.

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St. John, clerk (*c.* 1230);[1] Nicholas de Weston, 1271;[2] Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester, 1277;[3] Nicholas of Croyland, canon of Chichester, 1287;[4] Thomas Waldere of High Wycombe, 1291;[5] Sir Hugh Plesset, knt., lord of Cudlington, 1292;[6] John de Doclington, 1335;[7] Edmund de Bereford, 1350;[8] Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare, 1360;[9] Henry of Malmesbury, citizen of Oxford, 1361;[10] Walter de Berneye, 1377;[11] Thomas Golafrey, 1378;[12] Robert Wathington, 1387;[13] John Okele, skinner of Oxford, 1390;[14] John de Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, 1395;[15] John Maldon, provost of Oriel, 1401;[16] John Bannebury of Oxford, 1401.[17] Elizabeth de Bohun countess of Northampton, bequeathed to them in 1356, 100 marks, two vestments with two old copes, two cloths of gold of one suit, and a chalice.[18] Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, left them £10 in 1361.[19] Richard de Garaford, 1395, was buried in their churchyard and left them money and goods.[20] Sir Amalric, third Baron de S. Amando, K.B., directed his body to be buried in the choir, beside Lady Ida, his first wife, and bequeathed 20 marks to Friar John Chesham of this house, his confessor, in 1403.[21] Lady Eleanor de S. Amando, his second wife, was buried next her husband before the high altar, and left 20*s.* to the church and £2 to the convent.[22] John Thomas, priest, was buried here 'before the image of St. Peter of Milan,' 1413.[23]

The knightly family of Bessels, of Bessels Leigh, near Abingdon, was closely connected with this house. Sir Peter Bessels, knt., by will dated 20 December, 1424, and proved 7 March following, directed his body to be buried in the church next his father.[24] Sir Peter Bessels, knt., by will dated 23 October, 1424, and proved 25 October, 1426, directed that '£120 be paid to the Friars Preachers of Oxford to make six windows in their church, in the north aisle, as has been begun.'[25]

Other benefactors were Robert James, esq., lord of Borstall, *c.* 1428;[26] Reginald Mertherderwa, LL.D., 1447;[27] William Skelton, rector of St. Vedast, London, 1447;[28] Walter Morlayse de alta Sebyndon, co. Wilts, 1451;[29] William More, master, who was buried here 1452;[30] John Russel of Holawnton, co. Wilts., 1469;[31] William Chestur, merchant of the Staple of Calais and citizen and skinner of London, 1474;[32] Richard Abdy, master of Balliol College, 1483;[33] William Bishop of Burford, 1485;[34] Alice Dobbis, wife of John Dobbis, alderman of Oxford, 1488;[35] James Blacwode of Oxford, 1490;[36] Thomas Banke, rector of Lincoln College, 1503;[37] William Hasard (proctor in 1495), 1509;[38] Richard Fettiplace of East Shefford and Bessels Leigh, esq., 1510;[39] Dame Elizabeth Elmys of Henley on Thames, 1510;[40] Sebyll Danvers of Waterstoke, widow, 1511;[41] Thomas Davys of St. Edwardstowe, dioc. Worcester, 1511;[42] William Perot of Lambourn, dioc. Sarum, 1511;[43] Richard Harcourt of Abingdon, esq., 1513.[44] John Kyrkeby, citizen and merchant tailor of London, 1511, bequeathed to the friars 1*d.* a day for ten years, to be paid to them once a year 'for the amending of their fare'; for this 'they shall daily after their dinner done say de profundis for my soul, the souls of Walter Stalworth and Edith his wife and all Christian souls.'[45]

William Hope who was buried in St. Frideswide's, 1511, bequeathed to the Friars Preachers two houses which he recently bought from Thomas Low of Witney, and 13*s.* 4*d.*, in money; to Friar W. Dyngyll he left 26*s.* 8*d.*, to celebrate thrice a week in the church of St. Clement for one year; the residue of his goods was to be divided equally between his children and the Friars Preachers, according to the discretion of his executors, Thomas Andrews of Islip and William Howse. The witnesses were Dr. Howden (prior of the Black Friars), Friar W. Dyngyll (who appears at the dissolution as an anchoret), and W., rector of the church of St. Clement.[46] John de Vere, earl of Oxford,

[1] Twyne, MS. xxiii, 89; *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xx, 291.
[2] Oseney Charters, 14, in Bodl. Lib.
[3] Hobhouse, *Life of W. de Merton* (1859).
[4] See the inventory of his goods in Merton Coll. Archives, No. 3032, dated 13 Oct. 1287: 106*s.* 8*d.* was assigned to the Friars Preachers of Oxf. 'at the next chapter general.'
[5] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 560.
[6] *Worc. Epis. Reg. Giffard*, 423.
[7] Wood MS. D. 2, p. 61.
[8] Reg. Islip, fol. 105. [9] Ibid. fols. 164–6.
[10] Twyne MS. xxiii, 68.
[11] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, ii, 205; *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* i, 400.
[12] Wood, *City*, ii, 323.
[13] Hurst, *Oxf. Topog.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 103.
[14] Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 71.
[15] P. C. C. Rous, fol. 32.
[16] Reg. Arundel, i, fol. 198.
[17] *Early Linc. Wills*, 94. [18] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.*
[19] Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*, 47.
[20] Wood, *City*, ii, 478.
[21] P. C. C. Marche, fol. 15; Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii, 21.
[22] Reg. Chichele, i, 392*b.*
[23] Reg. Arundel, ii, fol. 164*b.*
[24] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 210.
[25] Reg. Chichele, i, 393. [26] Ibid. fol. 425*b.*
[27] *Mun. Acad.* 557. [28] Reg. Stafford, fol. 162.
[29] P. C. C. Rous, fol. 129. [30] Wood, *City*, ii, 340.
[31] Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol 125*b.*
[32] P. C. C. Wattys, fol. 174.
[33] *Test. Ebor.* iii, 284. [34] P. C. C. Logge, fol. 101*b.*
[35] Oxf. City. Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 135.
[36] Ibid. fol. 136.
[37] Acta Cur. Canc. C. 209. [38] Ibid. H. fol. 96.
[39] P. C. C. Fetiplace, qu. 1. [40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid. 2. [42] Ibid. 3.
[43] P. C. C. Fetiplace, qu. 7.
[44] P. C. C. Holder, qu. 2. [45] Ibid. qu. 3.
[46] Ibid. qu. 6.

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by will proved 1513, ordered 2,000 masses of requiem to be sung by every friar, being priest, in the house of the Black Friars at Cambridge, Oxford, and elsewhere, and left to the Black Friars of Oxford his 'image of St. Bartholomew silver and gilt.'[1] William Dewre, an Irishman, principal of Bull Hall, was buried here, 1514, before the image of St. Patrick.[2] William Bessels, esq., 1515, directed his body to be buried in this church; bequeathed to Dr. Howden, prior, 20*s.*; to the house 10 marks. He also charged his lands in Longworth with the payment of £4 yearly for four years to be paid to some honest priest of the house to say mass daily for the souls of himself, his wife, ancestors, and friends.[3] His widow, Alice, desired to be buried here if she died near Bessels Leigh (1526).[4] Among the latest bequests are those from Sir Robert Throckmorton, knt., 1518–20 (?)[5]; Sir Richard Elyot, knt., justice of the Common Pleas, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Bessels, and widow of Richard Fetiplace, esq., 1522;[6] Richard Leke, brewer of Oxford, 1526;[7] Walter Curson of Waterperry, esq., 1526;[8] John Seman of Oxford, 1529;[9] John Burton of Abberbury, 1530;[10] William Furborne of Salford, 1531;[11] Elizabeth Johnson of Oxford, widow, 1537;[12] William Clare of Holywell, Oxford, 1532;[13] Jane Foxe of Burford, 1535;[14] John Claymond, president of Corpus Christi College, 1536–7.[15]

John Hyde, sometime bailiff of Oxford, in 1447 let to Walter Wynhale, prior of the Friars Preachers, for five years a quarter of Aylriches Eyte and the island called Spitels Eyte near Grandpont, for the nominal rent of a rose.[16]

In 1505 Richard Hastings Lord Willoughby and Joan his wife gave David Huys or Hewes, D.D., prior, 200 marks of gold for making and building the 'queer and dorter.' In return the friars made the donors partakers in their prayers for ever; they also covenanted to find two priests to say two masses daily at the altar of St. Mary Magdalen in their church for the family and friends of the donors. Every succeeding prior before confirmation in his office was bound to swear to observe these covenants; in default of fulfilment £20 yearly was to be paid to the president and scholars of Magdalen College, who should have power to make scrutiny.[17]

The granting of 'letters of fraternity' was also a source of income to the friars; but the value of them had sunk low by 1534, when Sir Adrian Fortescue obtained the privileges of fraternity for 12*d.*[18]

Of the library of the friary very little is known. Leland[19] notices two books—a treatise called *Scutum* falsely ascribed to Bede,[20] and William Rowel's commentary on the Sentences. From notes by Thomas Gascoign we learn that the library possessed parts of the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales, and a *tabula* of Richard Fishacre's commentary on the Sentences.[21] The MS. of Simon of Burniston's compilation *De ordine judiciario*, &c., was finished in this friary.[22]

Some indications may be given of the moral condition of the order and convent before the dissolution. Some of the friars had before 1520 contracted debts in Oxford and departed without paying; among them being the prior, John Capel, who this year died at Rome.[23] The general master in 1525 ordered the next provincial chapter to inquire whether Robert Miles, provincial prior and D.D. of Cambridge and Oxford, 'keeps a concubine, has sons, sells prelacies and other offices, gets drunk, and is useless and incompetent to exercise the duties of provincial.'[24] He ceased to be provincial in 1526 or 1527.[25] In 1536 Christopher Tredar was denounced to Cromwell by the Bishop of Lincoln for 'deceiving the people by conjuration and invocation of spirits for goods lost and finding goods in the ground. Divers crosses have lately been cast down to dig for money.'[26] The friar was arrested, but was soon afterwards at liberty in Oxford, and accused of having committed adultery with the wife of one Peter the Irishman. The woman admitted the charge; the friar denied it, but on the day appointed for trial the judge was absent and nothing was done.[27]

On questions connected with the Reformation the Dominicans did not take a very decided line. Dr. John de Coloribus, a foreigner, was employed by Wolsey to write against Luther.[28] John Hopton, the prior of the Oxford house, was recommended by Cromwell for the divinity lectureship resigned by Dr. Nicholas de Burgo (1535), but the university preferred a secular.[29] Hopton was thereupon promoted (1525–6) to an office 'of equal or greater value,' that of provincial

[1] P. C. C. Holder, qu. 11; Nicholas, *Test. Vet.*
[2] Acta Cur. Canc. F. fol. 230.
[3] P. C. C. Holder, fol. 6.
[4] Fletcher, *Black Friars in Oxf.* (P. C. C. Porch), 13.
[5] P. C. C. Maynwaring, qu. 2. [6] Ibid. 24.
[7] P. C. C. Porch, fol. 9. [8] Ibid. 19.
[9] Oxf. Wills and Admons. (Ser. 1) (Somers. Ho.), i, fol. 2.
[10] Ibid. fol. 36*b*. [11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. fol. 65. [13] Ibid. fol. 68*b*.
[14] Ibid. fol. 103. [15] Wood MS. D. 2 p. 613.
[16] Twyne MS. xxiii, 392; Wood, *City*, i, 452, 462.
[17] Magd. Coll. Chart. Misc. 282.
[18] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 243.
[19] *Collectanea*, iv, 59.
[20] Cf. Bodl. MS. 630 (sec. xv).
[21] Oriel Coll. MSS. 30, 31.
[22] Camb. Univ. Lib. Ii. iv, 5.
[23] Add. MS. (B.M.) 32446, fol. 15*b*.
[24] Ibid. fol. 16. [25] Ibid.
[26] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 804; ibid. 850, 891.
[27] Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fol. 368*b*; cf. ibid. fol. 23*b*, charge against Richard Walton, O.P. (1507).
[28] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xi, 399.
[29] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 1120.

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prior.[1] It is clear that he had not at this time adopted the strongly anti-protestant line which distinguished him later. In 1535 John Hilsey, then provincial, begged Cromwell to confer a cell of Châlons called Portkellerd (Beddgelert) in North Wales, on Maurice Griffith, B.D., a poor friar, a scholar of Oxford, 'who in the last chapter answered *de primatu Romani pontificis*, but for lack of an exhibition is like to abandon his study.'[2]

After the preliminary visitation by Layton in 1535,[3] the house surrendered to Dr. John London, Mr. Banaster, Mr. Pye, and Mr. Fryer in July 1538.[4] Dr. London writing to Cromwell, 8 July, thus describes the priory :—[5]

> The Black Friars hath in their backside likewise divers islands well wooded and containeth in length a ground. Their choir was lately newly builded and great covered with lead. It is likewise a big house, and all covered with slate saving the choir. They have a pretty store of plate and jewels, and specially there is a good chalice of gold set with stones, and is better than 100 marks : and there is also a good cross, with other things contained in the bill. The ornaments be old and of small value. They have a very fair conduit, and runneth freshly. There be but ten friars being priests, besides the 'anker,' which is a well-disposed man, and have 50 marks yearly of the king's coffers.

The jewels and plate pertaining to the Black Friars consisted of—

> a chalice of gold and the paten set with stones weighing 36½ oz. : a cross of silver and gilt, 120 oz. : the foot of the same cross, 72 oz. : a chalice with beryl in the middle all gilt, 19 oz. : a chalice all gilt with a paten, 13 oz. : another chalice all gilt, 17 oz. : a pax silver and gilt, 7 oz. : two censers silver and gilt, 73 oz. : a ship of silver parcel gilt, 8 oz. : a pax with silver and ivory : two basons of silver parcel gilt, 101 oz. : and the little pyxe on the altar wherein the sacrament is contained.[6]

About 14 August Dr. London sent to Thomas Thacker, Cromwell's servant, 204 score 1 oz. of white plate from the four Oxford friaries; this was deposited, 23 November, in the royal jewel house.[7]

All the friars expressed their willingness to become secular priests. The names of those desiring 'capacities,' sent to Cromwell 31 August, were William Waterman, B.D., Thomas Borrell, Peter Fletcher, Richard Prikilbanke, Hugh Cordowen, James Norys, Guido Welsch, William Glanton, Henry Mathew, Edward Bampton, William Dingle, anchoret; Davy Jones and Henry Benet, not in orders; John Low, subdeacon.[8]

Dr. London urged that the town should have the Black and Grey Friars to set up cloth-making there, as on the friars' waters were fit places for fulling mills.[9] This was not carried out. The dismantling of the house seems to have begun at once. London proposed to sell all the stuff at once, 'as the people make waste in the friars' houses.'[10] In the accounts of St. Giles' parish are the following entries in 1539, probably for labour in taking away materials : 'Item for ale fetched to the Black Friars, 2*d.* : Item for the house at the Black Friars, 20*s.* 4*d.*'[11] In the accounts of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, 1540, is the entry : 'Paid for taking down of a rood at the Black Friars with Mary and John and the carriage of them from the said Friars to our church, 20*s.*'[12]

On 10 August, 1540, the site was leased to William Frewers (or Freer) and John Pye for twenty-one years.[13] The property consisted of the site of the priory with houses, gardens, &c., a close or wood on the east of the church and priory containing three acres; a little grove at the back containing 6 acres—rented at 40*s.*; a tenement with garden at the Blackfriars Gate late in the occupation of Robert Syers, 5*s.*; total 45*s.* The land and houses of the Black Friars, with many other monastic possessions, were sold to Richard Andrews of Hailes, Gloucestershire, July, 1544.[14] Andrews sold the whole of the Black Friars in August, 1544, to William Freer and Agnes his wife.[15] Freer pulled down the church and most of the house and sold the materials.[16] Sir Thomas Pope, when he founded Trinity College, purchased stones from this priory, with which he erected the wall which enclosed the college gardens in Park Street.[17]

Though there was no revival of the friary in the reign of Mary, a Spanish Dominican from Valladolid, John de Villa Garcia, lectured at

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 1120, 598 ; Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fol. 379.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 472 ; cf. Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fols. 364, 343. He became bishop of Rochester, 1554.

[3] Wright, *Suppression*, 71.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1335.

[5] Ibid. xiii (1), 1342 ; Cromwell Correspondence (P.R.O.), ser. 2, xxiii, fol. 704.

[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 236. Quoted in full in Fletcher, p. 20 ; *Reliquary*, xxiii, 215.

[7] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 94 ; *Acct. of Mon. Treas.* (Abbotsford Club), 14.

[8] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 235.

[9] Ibid. (1) 1342 ; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 121.

[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 3.

[11] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 216.

[12] Wood, *City*, ii, 342 *n.*

[13] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1500 (195).

[14] Particulars for grants, file 19 ; Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. iii, m. 37 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 1035 (107).

[15] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 166 (82).

[16] Wood, *City*, ii. 325. His son Edward granted 40 loads to Christ Church : Wood, *City*, i, 156.

[17] Ibid. ii ; cf. Warton, *Life of Sir T. Pope*, 125. On the site of the Friars and its subsequent history see Fletcher, *Black Friars in Oxf.* 5, 14, 23–4 ; Wood, *City*, i, 302, 309, 404 ; ii, 311 seq. 342 ; Clark, *Wood's Life and Times*, 1, 112, 255.

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Magdalen College and was admitted to the degree of B.D. and D.D. in 1555 and 1558.[1]

PRIORS

Gilbert de Fresnoy first provincial, is said to have been also prior of this house.[2]
Jocius,[3] 1233
Richard of Dunstable,[4] *c.* 1245
William de Tyford,[5] *c.* 1245
Ralph of Ewelme,[6] before 1269
Thomas,[7] 1269
Oliver de Encourt,[8] 1274
Thomas de Jorz,[9] 1295
William de Brithampton (?),[10] 1300
Thomas Everard,[11] 1311
Thomas of Westwell,[12] 1320
Thomas Lucas,[13] 1392
(John Chesham,[14] vicar 1397)
John Blackwell or Brakwell,[15] 1407–18
Walter de Wynhale or Wilnale,[16] 1437, 1447, 1455
Owen Commode,[17] 1464, 1470
Peter,[18] 1474
Morgan Arnold,[19] 1491
David Huys or Hewes,[20] 1495, 1499, 1505
Roger Vaughan,[21] 1507
John Hadcum,[22] (?) 1507–8
John Howden,[23] 1510, 1514
John Capel,[24] 1520
William Arden,[25] 1520 (prior elect 1520)
John Hopton, 1528,[26] 1530, 1535, 1536

[1] Boase, *Reg.* 229.
[2] There seems to be no authority for this statement.
[3] Twyne MS. xxiii, 86. (Oseney Chart. in Christ Church.)
[4] Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anec.* iii, 1839; (Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*), ii, 189.
[5] Balliol Coll. Archives, A. 13 (2).
[6] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 334.
[7] Feet of F. 53 Hen. III, file 9, No. 37.
[8] Wood, *City*, ii, 337; cf. Close, 3 Edw. I, m. 18 *d.*
[9] Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 16; Close, 23 Edw. I, m. 11 *d.*
[10] Cf. Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem., fols. 13*b*, 14*b*; *Collectanea*, Oxf. Hist. Soc. ii, 243.
[11] Ibid. 234, 246, &c. [12] Ibid. 272.
[13] Wood, *City*, ii, 337 (from Archbishop Courtenay's Reg.) [14] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 7*b*.
[15] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 209.
[16] Twyne MS. xxiii, 392; xxiv, 395; *Mun. Acad.* 570; Boase, *Reg.* 25.
[17] Exch. of Pleas, Plea R. 3 Edw. IV, m. 59, 74 *d.* (P.R.O.) [18] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 9*b*.
[19] Exch. of Pleas, Plea R. 7 Hen. VII, m. 16.
[20] Ibid. 10 Hen. VII, m. 27; 14 Hen. VII, m. 7; Magd. Coll. Chart. Misc. 282.
[21] Exch. of Pleas, Plea R. 22 Hen. VII, m. 11; Wood, *Fasti*, 15; Boase, *Reg.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 48; Univ. Archives Reg. ℸ. fols. 18*b*, 19*a*. [22] Ibid fol. 49.
[23] Exch. of Pleas, Plea R. 6 Hen. VIII, m. 21; Reg. ℸ. fols. 123*b*, 242.
[24] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 15*b*; cf. Boase, *Reg.* 123; cf. ibid. 134.
[25] *Reliquary*, xxiii, 211; Boase, *Reg.* 66; *Fasti*, 52.
[26] Univ. Archives, EEE, fols. 364*b*, 378*b*, 379; he was also provincial in 1536 (ibid.); Boase, *Reg.* 157.

VISITORS

John de Meslay,[27] 1269
Thomas Palmer,[28] 1393
John Bromyard,[29] 1397

An impression of the seal of the friary is appended to letters from the university of Oxford, the friars and others to Innocent IV, about the year 1244, petitioning for the canonization of Edmund Rich, and now or lately preserved in the abbey of Pontigny. It bears the Blessed Virgin seated on a throne, with the Infant Jesus in her arms, and a kneeling figure at her feet; under the lower arcade a suppliant friar. Legend :—

+ SIGILL' CAPITVLI FRAT. PREDICATORU' OXON.[30]

25. THE HOUSE OF GREY FRIARS[31]

A company of nine Franciscans arrived in England on 10 September, 1224, at the head of them being Agnellus of Pisa, the provincial minister. After staying two days at Canterbury, four of them proceeded to London, and at the end of the month two of these, Richard of Ingeworth and Richard of Devon, set out for Oxford.[32] Here they were kindly received by the Dominicans and 'ate in their refectory and slept in their dormitory, like conventuals, for eight days.'[33] They then hired a house in the parish of St. Ebbe from Robert le Mercer;[34] though they only occupied this house till the following summer, they were there joined by 'many honest bachelors and many eminent men.' In 1225 they hired a house and ground from Richard the Miller, who 'within a year conferred the land and house on the community of the town for the use of the Friars Minors.'[35] In the mayoralty of John Pady (1227–9) the citizens of Oxford subscribed 43 marks to buy from William son of Richard de Wileford his house in St. Ebbe's for the use of the Friars Minors; the property was vested in the mayor and good men of Oxford, who agreed to pay William yearly one pound of cummin in lieu of all services.[36] In or before 1236 Robert, son of Robert Oen, gave them a house adjoining their land on condition that he 'having been a free tenant of the prior and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem in the aforesaid place,' should have the same privilege attaching to his

[27] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 334.
[28] B.M. Add. MS. 32446, fol. 2.
[29] Ibid. fol. 7*b*.
[30] There is also an imperfect impression in Magd. Coll. Chart. Misc. 282 (A.D. 1505).
[31] See A. G. Little, *Grey Friars in Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).
[32] *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 5.
[33] Ibid. 9. [34] Ibid. 17. [35] Ibid.
[36] Oxf. City Archives, No. 17; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 13, 295.

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new house in the parish of St. Michael in the North Gate. This house of Robert Oen's in St. Ebbe's was one of the 'mural mansions,' on the occupiers of which the duty of repairing the city wall fell. This duty was now undertaken by the city.[1] All the houses acquired hitherto were within the city wall, lying between it and Freren Street (now Church Street).

Here the friars erected their first buildings. The infirmary was so low that a man could hardly stand upright in it.[2] After they had been nearly a year in Oxford they built a small chapel:[3] this seems to have been enlarged later; in 1232 the king granted the friars beams from Savernake Forest for the fabric of their chapel 'which they are having built at Oxford,' and encouraged others to do the same.[4] According to later tradition, which however contains chronological difficulties, the brethren worked at the building with their own hands, and a bishop and an abbot, who had assumed the Franciscan habit, 'carried water and sand and stones for the building of the place.'[5] In this chapel, which was pulled down after the erection of the new church, Agnellus was buried (1235).[6]

The royal benefactions in these early years consisted of several grants of fuel and timber,[7] a feast to the Friars Preachers and Minors, 30 September, 1233, which cost 26*s.* 8*d.*,[8] a cask of Gascon wine in 1240 'to celebrate masses.'[9] The bailiffs of Oxford were ordered to give of the firm of their town 10 marks to feed a thousand poor men and the Friars Preachers and Minors of Oxford, 14 December, 1244, in memory of the Empress Isabella.[10] The only money grant before 1245 is a gift of 10 marks for the support of a provincial chapter in 1238.[11]

Albert of Pisa held his first chapter at Oxford on 2 February, 1237.[12] In 1238 two chapters were held here—a visitatorial chapter under the presidency of Friar Wygmund, a German, the emissary of the famous general minister Brother Elias, and a provincial chapter to protest against the tyranny of Elias and to appeal to Rome against him.[13]

In these years the Oxford Franciscans were distinguished by zeal for poverty no less than by zeal for learning. In the custody of Oxford pillows were not allowed, and the wearing of shoes or sandals was permitted only to the old and infirm.[14] When in 1241 a revision of the rule was under consideration, Adam Marsh, Peter of Tewkesbury, custodian of Oxford, and others were elected to draw up the report of the English province:—

> Having marked some articles, they sent them to the general, in a schedule, without a seal, beseeching him by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, to let the rule stand, as it was handed down by St. Francis, at the dictation of the Holy Spirit.[15]

A bag of money sent to the Oxford friars was returned intact to the donor by Adam Marsh with a letter of expostulation.[16] For the management of their worldly affairs the brethren had a proctor, in accordance with the instructions of Gregory IX; one William le Cutler de Hoiland, merchant of Oxford, was proctor in 1232, when at the request of Friar Haymo of Faversham the king exempted him from all tallages for the rest of his life.[17]

Excessive austerity was discountenanced by the authorities in the Oxford convent. Friar Albert of Pisa, who was himself 'always cheerful and merry in the society of the brethren,' compelled the warden, Eustace de Merc, contrary to custom, to eat fish, saying that the order lost many good men through their indiscretion.[18] Grosteste's saying was remembered: 'Three things are necessary to temporal health—to eat, sleep and be merry.'[19] 'The brethren' says Eccleston, 'were so full of fun amongst themselves that when they looked at each other, they could hardly help laughing. So when the young friars of Oxford laughed too frequently, it was enjoined on one of them that as often as he laughed he should receive corporal punishment. Now it happened that, when he had received eleven punishments in one day, and yet could not restrain himself from laughing, he had a vision one night that the whole convent was standing in the choir as usual and the friars were beginning to laugh as usual, when behold, the crucifix which stood at the door of the choir turned towards them as though alive, and said "They are the sons of Corah who in the hour of chanting laugh and sleep." . . . On hearing this dream the friars were frightened, and kept their laughter within bounds.'[20]

Among the first masters who assumed the habit at Oxford was Adam of Oxford, who joined the order with the object of increasing

[1] Close, 20 Hen. III, m. 9; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 296.
[2] *Mon. Franc.* i, 34. [3] Ibid. 9.
[4] Close, 16 Hen. III, m. 9.
[5] Barth. of Pisa, *Liber Conformitatum*, fol. 79*b*. The prelates were Ralph of Maidstone, bishop of Hereford, and John of Reading, abbot of Oseney. *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 180, 182.
[6] *Mon. Franc.* i, 54.
[7] Close, 15 Hen. III, m. 18, 12, 11, 2; 17 Hen. III, m. 15, 10; 18 Hen. III, m. 28, 18, 10; 20 Hen. III, m. 11, 6; 21 Hen. III, m. 1.
[8] Liberate R. 17 Hen. III, m. 2.
[9] Close, 32 Hen. III, m. 9.
[10] Liberate R. 29 Hen. III, m. 14.
[11] Ibid. 22 Hen. III, m. 15.
[12] *Mon. Franc.* i, 55. [13] Ibid. 29, 30.
[14] *Mon. Franc.* i, 28.
[15] Ibid. 48. The report of the province of France is the 'Declaratio regulae per iv magistros'; see *Firmamentum Trium Ordinum* (Paris 1512), pt. iv, fol. 17*b*.
[16] *Mon. Franc.* i, 195. [17] Pat. 16 Hen. III, m. 7.
[18] *Mon. Franc.* i, 56, 58. [19] Ibid. i, 64.
[20] Ibid. 20. (Brewer's text is inaccurate.)

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his influence as a missionary, and who in 1233–4 was at his own prayer sent by Gregory IX to preach to the Mohammedans.[1]

In 1233 Walter, a canon of Dunstable, and John, a novice of the same priory, escaped from their house through a broken window and joined the Franciscans at Oxford.[2] John of Reading, formerly abbot of Oseney, and Ralph of Maidstone, formerly bishop of Hereford, were inmates of this friary about 1240.[3] William of Nottingham, the fourth provincial minister, and Friar Thomas the historian of the English province, generally called Thomas of Eccleston, were both students at Oxford, and the former, at any rate, seems to have attended Grosteste's lectures there.[4] Another attendant at Grosteste's lectures was Roger Bacon, who entered the order, probably at Oxford, between 1233 and 1245.[5]

The space within the wall was too narrow for the growing requirements of the friary, and in February, 1244–5, Thomas de Valeynes secured a large extension of the area on the south side of the wall.[6]

From Simon son of Benedict and Letitia his wife he obtained two messuages, granting them in exchange a messuage and building without the north gate; one messuage was acquired from John Costard and Margery his wife, two from Warin of Dorchester and Juliana his wife, one from William the Barber and Alice his wife, one from Henry 'le Teler' and Alice his wife, and a little later one curtilage in the parish of St. Budoc from John Aylmer and Christiana his wife. These eight tenements Thomas de Valeynes, 'at the petition' of the former owners, assigned to the increase of the area in which the Friars Minors dwelling in Oxford were lodged, in frankalmoin. They occupied the space from the city wall on the north to Trill Mill Stream on the south, and from Littlegate Street or Watergate on the east to a line drawn from the fee of the abbot of Bec in the parish of St. Budoc to the west gate or postern near the castle on the west.[7] As early as December, 1244, the king had authorized the friars to pull down part of the city wall between the Watergate and the postern near the castle, on condition that a crenellated wall like the rest of the city wall were built round their new area.[8] This however was not carried out, and in 1248 the king gave orders that the old wall should be restored, save that a small postern should be made to connect the new area with the old, and that 'the north side of the chapel built and to be built in the street under the wall may so far as it extends supply the breach in the wall.'[9] Henry III had already in 1245 granted to the friars the island in the Thames which he bought for 25 marks from Henry, son of Henry Simeon, with permission to make a bridge over the branch of the river, i.e. Trill Mill Stream, which divided it from their houses.[10]

Lawrence Wyth or Wych, mayor of Oxford, in 1246 gave a messuage to the king for the use of the Friars Minors;[11] and before 1278 they had acquired a place by grant from Agnes, late wife of Master Guido, for which they paid yearly one pound of cummin to Walter Goldsmith, and another plot from Master Richard de Mepham, who was archdeacon of Oxford in 1263.[12] The position of these lands is not known.

At the petition of the friars and the earnest prayers of John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, the pope conferred on them the place of the Friars of the Sack, which adjoined their lands on the west, in 1309.[13] The king assigned the same area to them 28 March, 1310,[14] and on the same day confirmed the grant of four other plots of ground to the Friars Minors,[15] namely, a piece of ground in Oxford, measuring 5 p. 2 ft. from east to west, and 2½ p. from north to south, given by John Wyz and Emma his wife; another measuring 6 p. by 5 p., lying between the site of the church of St. Budoc and the Thames, given by Henry Tyeys; a third measuring 14½ p. 5 ft. by 4 p. 3 ft. reaching from the Thames to the last-mentioned plot, and formerly belonging to Richard le Lodere; and a fourth measuring 16½ p. by 10 p. stretching from the Thames to the highway, the former owner of which is not named. In 1319 the friars obtained from John Culvard a plot of ground of the annual value of 2*s.*, measuring 5 p. by 6 p. situate within the wall to the east of their habitation.[16] In 1321

[1] *Mon. Franc.* i, 15–16; cf. Grosteste, *Epist.* 17–21 (Rolls Ser.).

[2] *Ann. Mon.* (Annals of Dunstable), iii, 133–4 (Rolls Ser.).

[3] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 180, 182.

[4] Ibid. 183, 189; *Mon. Franc.* i, 69, 39.

[5] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 191; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 244–5; Roger Bacon, *Opera Ined.* (Rolls Ser.) 325.

[6] Feet of F. Oxon. 29 Hen. III, m. 40–4, 46; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 15, 298, Thomas de Valeynes is called Thomas de Walonges in the Hund. R. 7 Edw. I; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iv, 7.

[7] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 16.

[8] Pat. 29 Hen. III, m. 9; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 14, 296.

[9] Pat. 32 Hen. III, m. 10; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 299.

[10] Pat. 29 Hen. III, m. 6; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 297.

[11] Pat. 31 Hen. III, m. 8; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 299.

[12] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iv, 7, from Hund. R. Oxon. (Chan. Ser.) No. 8 (P.R.O.). These lands cannot have been in the parish of St. Aldate.

[13] Wadding, *Ann. Minorum*, vi, 463; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 18.

[14] Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 9.

[15] Ibid. m. 14, Inq. a.q.d. 80 (18).

[16] Inq. a.q.d. 136 (6); Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 44; cf. Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 13; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 20.

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Walter Morton granted them a place measuring 5 p. by 5 p. in the suburb,[1] and John de Grey de Retherfield in 1337 bestowed on them a tenement 6 p. by 5 p. lying next their habitation on the east side within the wall.[2]

In 1376 the friars petitioned the king to grant them a place in Oxford worth 2*s.* a year;[3] the result of this petition is not recorded.

Little is known of the buildings which arose on the newly acquired site. Royal grants of timber for the fabric of the house and church were made as early as 1245 and as late as 1272.[4] The church, which was of the invocation of St. Francis,[5] was in process of construction in 1246 and 1248.[6] In the latter year John of Parma, the minister general, held a provincial chapter at Oxford, 'in which he confirmed the provincial constitutions concerning poverty in living and buildings'—perhaps with special reference to the new friary.[7] The church, though of considerable length, was probably not a very rich or impressive structure. From the description given by William of Worcester[8] in 1480 it seems to have been about 240 or 250 ft. long, and about 30 or 36 ft. wide, with a slate roof;[9] there was one aisle, which extended the whole length of the nave (about 130 or 140 ft.) and which at its west end was of the same width as the nave, but narrowed to about 12 ft. at its east end. The north side of the church, by permission of Henry III,[10] formed part of the city wall; the direction of the wall, which at this point did not run due east and west, may account for the peculiar shape of the aisle. The ten chapels which in 1480 opened out of the north wall of this aisle were probably later additions. One perhaps was the chapel which William Lord Lovell ordered to be made for the tomb of himself and his wife in 1454.[11] Another may have belonged to the 'Gild of St. Mary in the church of the Friars Minors,' which is mentioned at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[12] There seems to have been no south aisle. Friar Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, left £40 for the erection of an aisle in 1535,[13] but this was evidently never built.

The large number of monuments must have given the interior of the church an imposing appearance. In the choir 'under a sumptuous pyramid of admirable workmanship' was interred the heart of Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cornwall and king of the Romans, who was probably the chief founder and benefactor of the church.[14] Here too, before the great altar, rested the remains of his third wife, Beatrice of Falkenstein.[15] Several of the Golafres were buried in the church in the fourteenth century.[16] The body of Agnellus was translated from the original chapel to 'a fair stone sepulchre' in the new church;[17] and according to John Rouse, Roger Bacon was buried among the Friars Minors of Oxford.[18]

Among less distinguished persons who found their last resting-place here were Agnes wife of Michael Norton, who desired to be buried 'in front of the image of the Blessed Mary Virgin of Pity,'[19] (1438) and James Hedyan, principal of Eagle Hall (1445).[20] John Dongan (1464) was buried in the cemetery.[21] Richard Leke, brewer of Oxford, in 1526 left his body to be buried 'within the Grey Friars before the altar, where the first mass is daily used to be said.'[22]

In 1346 Edward III granted to the Friars Minors of Oxford 60 square feet of his quarry near Wheatley in Shotover Forest for the repair of their church and other buildings.[23]

The friars seem to have at first attended the schools of the secular masters:—

> They were so fervent in hearing the Divine Law and in scholastic exercises, that they hesitated not to go every day to the schools of theology, however distant, barefoot in bitter cold and deep mud.[24]

Agnellus however, who had been custodian of Paris before he became provincial of England,

[1] Pat. 14 Edw. II, m. 10.
[2] Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 6.
[3] Petitions to King and Council and Parl. Petitions 4299 (Old No. 6404), P.R.O.
[4] Liberate R. 29 Hen. III, m. 5; Close, 56 Hen. III, m. 7.
[5] Will. of Worcester, *Itin.* 296 (ed. Nasmith).
[6] Liberate R. 30 Hen. III, m. 16; Pat. 32 Hen. III, m. 10.
[7] *Mon. Franc.* i, 68; cf. Liberate R. 32 Hen. III, m. 7.
[8] *Itin.* 296. William's 'stepys' were not always of the same length, so the measurements must not be taken as exact; cf. *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 24.
[9] 'This house is all covered with "slatte" and no lead.' P.R.O. Cromwell Correspondence, xxiii, fol. 709*b*.
[10] Concedimus etiam ut latus acquilonare capelle in prefato vico constructe et construende suplere possit prenominati muri interruptionem, quantum se extendere debeti; Pat. 32 Hen. III, m. 10.
[11] B.M. Lansd. MS. 946, fol. 74 (Extracts from Linc. Epis. Reg.).
[12] Oxf. Univ. Arch. Acta Cur. Canc. ∃ fol. 135*b*.
[13] P.C.C. Hogen, qu. 26.
[14] J. Rouse, *Hist.* (ed. Hearne), 199; cf. *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 25.
[15] *Ann. Mon.* (Chron. Oseney) (Rolls Ser.), iv, 274.
[16] Namely Sir John Golafre (1379) and William his younger brother; Leland, *Itin.* iv, 4; cf. Lambeth Reg. Arundel, i, fol. 155; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 25, 104.
[17] Barth. of Pisa, *Liber Conform.* fol. 80; *Mon. Franc.* i, 54.
[18] J. Rouse, *Hist.* 22, 91; Wood, *City* (ed. Clarke), ii, 384, 408.
[19] Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 90*a*.
[20] *Mun. Acad.* (ed. Anstey), 543.
[21] Acta Cur. Canc. Oxon. Aaa, fol. 213. (Univ. Arch.).
[22] P.C.C. Porch, qu. 9; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 318.
[23] Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33.
[24] *Mon. Franc.* i, 24.

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founded a school which seems to have been the largest of their early buildings.[1] According to Bartholomew of Pisa[2] he soon had cause for regret, for on entering the school one day he found the friars disputing *Utrum sit Deus?* and cried, 'Woe is me! simple brothers enter Heaven, and learned brothers dispute whether there is a God at all!' He secured the services of Robert Grosteste, the first chancellor of the university and the foremost scholar of his time, as theological lecturer to the friars.[3] Grosteste retained that office till his election to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1235.[4] His successors were Master Peter, who became a bishop in Scotland,[5] Roger of Weseham, who became dean of Lincoln in or before 1239 and afterwards (1245) bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Thomas Wallensis, who lectured here till he became bishop of St. David's in 1247.[6] Adam Marsh, who succeeded Thomas, was the first friar to become lector to the Oxford convent, though some ten years before this friars had been appointed as lecturers to other convents in the province, and Elias the general minister had summoned English friars to teach abroad.[7]

Thomas of Eccleston says that under Grosteste the friars made rapid progress 'both in questions and in the subtle moralities suitable to preaching.'[8] Roger Bacon gives more information on the teaching of the first lectors, under whom he had studied. Grosteste and Adam Marsh understood that 'the power of mathematics,' which appears to mean the laws of physical forces, 'is capable of unfolding the causes of all things and of giving a sufficient explanation of human and divine phenomena.'[9] They did not follow slavishly the faulty translations of Aristotle:

> The lord Robert neglected altogether the books of Aristotle and their methods, and by his own experiments and with the aid of other authors and by means of other sciences, employed himself in the scientific questions which Aristotle had treated, and he knew and described the questions with which the books of Aristotle deal a hundred thousand times better than they can be understood from the perverse translations of that author.[10]

Special importance was attached to philology and the knowledge of languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, with a view to understanding the literal meaning of Aristotle and the Scriptures.[11] Roger Bacon, while lamenting the exaggerated respect paid to the Sentences in his day, states that

> the learned men of old, some of whom we have seen, such as Robert bishop of Lincoln and friar Adam Marsh, used only the text of Holy Writ, which was given to the world by the mouth of God and the Saints.[12]

Grosteste speaks of the 'irrefragable authority of the Scripture,' and when consulted by the theological faculty of Oxford, about 1246, recommended that all the morning lectures should be devoted to the Old and New Testaments.[13] Roger Bacon nearly always couples together Grosteste and his pupil Adam Marsh, and sometimes associates Thomas Wallensis with them.[14] The first two he describes as 'perfect in divine and human wisdom,' and ranks them with Solomon, Aristotle, and Avicenna.[15]

Adam Marsh, who had given up great possessions for love of poverty,[16] probably became lector to the Oxford convent in 1247, but he must have lectured as bachelor of theology long before this, and was doubtless doctor of theology before 1245, when Grosteste feared that the friars at Paris would try to secure him as successor of Alexander of Hales.[17] His letters[18] tell us little of his teaching work, which, though the main occupation of his life, must have been often interrupted by other claims. We find him at the council of Lyons with Grosteste,[19] attending the Parliament at London,[20] sent abroad on business of state,[21] acting as papal commissioner,[22] accompanying the archbishop on his visitation,[23] preaching the crusade,[24] defending the Jews from the rabble.[25] He was the trusted but not always welcome adviser of the king, who called him 'his father,'[26] the close friend of Simon and Eleanor de Montfort.[27] With all his other occupations he did not neglect the works of charity: he writes to his various correspondents on behalf of a poor widow, a repentant thief, a starving schoolmaster and penniless scholars.[28]

[1] *Mon. Franc.* i, 5, 37. [2] *Liber Conform.* fol. 79*b*.
[3] *Mon. Franc.* i, 37; Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*; Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*.
[4] *Lanercost Chron.* 45; *Mon. Franc.* i, 37.
[5] Probably Peter of Ramsey, who was bishop of Aberdeen 1247; Eubel, *Hierarchia*.
[6] On all these see *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 30–1.
[7] *Mon. Franc.* i, 38.
[8] B.M. Cott. MS. Nero A ix, fol. 76*b*; cf. Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaft. Studien*, &c. 267, 349 seq.
[9] Stevenson, *Rob. Grosseteste*, 51–2; *Opus Majus* (ed. Jebb), 64.
[10] *Opera Ined.* (ed. Brewer, Rolls Ser.), 469.
[11] Ibid. 91, 434, 472; Stevenson, *Rob. Grosseteste*, 223 et seq. [12] *Opera Ined.* 329; cf. 81–2.
[13] Grosteste, *Epistolae*, 18, 346.
[14] *Opera Ined.* 88, 428; *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), i, 73. [15] *Opera Ined.* 70, 75.
[16] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.) v, 619.
[17] Grosteste, *Epist.* 334.
[18] Ed. by Brewer in *Mon. Franc.* i (Rolls Ser.).
[19] Grosteste, *Epist.* 334. [20] *Mon. Franc.* i, 105.
[21] Liberate R. 31 Hen. III, m. 4; 42 Hen. III, m. 3.
[22] *Mon. Franc.* i, 342; *Cal. Papal L.* i, 332.
[23] *Mon. Franc.* i, 312, &c.
[24] Ibid. 414–38. [25] *Lanercost Chron.* 24.
[26] *Mon. Franc.* i, 275; *Lanercost Chron.* 24.
[27] *Mon. Franc.* i, 122, &c., 264, 266, 294–5, &c.
[28] Ibid. i, 398, 340 et seq.; 244, 137; cf. 256, 397, &c.

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He was often occupied in procuring facilities for study for the friars—books, parchment, scribes.[1] Himself the heir of two episcopal libraries,[2] he was constantly sending manuscripts to his friends, borrowing others, having them copied or collated.[3] From Italy he obtained the prophetical writings of Abbot Joachim of Fiore[4]; he exchanged books with his friend Thomas, abbot of Vercelli,[5] and arranged to send a copy of the *Ethics* of Aristotle to Friar Hugo de Digna of Provence[6]; a treatise of Richard of St. Victor he sent to Paris to be collated with the autograph MS. there.[7]

While Adam Marsh was the leading friar at Oxford, William of Nottingham, the provincial minister, organized what may be called a system of 'University Extension.' Every convent sent students to the universities, who were then as occasion demanded sent back to the various convents as lecturers; and before 1254 'there were thirty lecturers in England who solemnly disputed and three or four who lectured without disputation.'[8]

In 1253 a serious question arose on the presentation of Friar Thomas of York for the degree of Doctor of Theology. The constitutions of the two orders forbade their members to take a degree in arts.[9] The customs of the university required that the student of theology should have graduated in arts.[10] The question had not arisen before, because men like Adam Marsh and Eustace de Normanville[11] were Masters of Arts before they entered the Minorite Order. There was no doubt as to the ability and learning of Thomas of York, and he was allowed to incept, but a statute—the first of the university statutes—was passed providing that no one for the future should incept in theology unless he had previously been regent in arts in some university, the chancellor and masters reserving to themselves, however, the right of granting dispensation. Adam Marsh, who championed the cause of the friars, protested against the statute and objected that the promised graces were fallacious, 'since by the opposition of a single individual such a grace could be long delayed or altogether prevented.'[12] Complaints seem to have been made about the refusal of graces in 1294, when the Bishop of Lincoln wrote to the university on behalf of the Friars Minors.[13] As a result of the controversy between the Dominicans and the university on this subject early in the fourteenth century,[14] the right of refusing these graces was withdrawn from each individual member of congregation and vested in the majority of the regent masters of theology.[15]

From the time of Adam Marsh the lecturers to the friars were simply the regent masters in theology belonging to the order.[16] The senior bachelor in theology was normally appointed regent with the approval of the provincial minister,[17] and held office for one or two years. A list of the masters down to about 1350 has been preserved.[18] The most famous of them were (5) Richard Rufus of Cornwall, who was vigorously denounced by Roger Bacon[19]; (6) John of Wales, whose works for the use of preachers were in high favour throughout the rest of the middle ages; (7) Thomas Docking, famous as a biblical commentator; (10) Thomas Bungay, the friend of Roger Bacon; (11) John Peckham, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; (13) Robert de Cruce, afterwards provincial minister; (16) Roger de Marston, who became provincial and whose teaching bears strong resemblance to that of Peter John Olivi; (20) Hugh of Hartlepool, who was connected with the foundation of Balliol College, and who died when provincial minister, at Assisi in 1302; (25) William of Gainsborough, provincial minister, lecturer in the papal palace and afterwards bishop of Worcester; (34) Richard of Conington, provincial in 1310, and opponent of the 'Spiritual' Franciscans; (39) William of Nottingham, who as provincial minister in 1322 joined in the revolt of the order against the decrees of John XXII; (43) William Herbert, whose English hymns have been preserved,[20] *c.* 1320; (48) Robert of Leicester; (53) Walter de Chatton[21]; (54) John de Rievaux; (56) John of Rodington; (61) Adam Wodham or Godham; and (65) Thomas Otter-

[1] *Mon. Franc.* i, 354, 359; cf. 390, 380, 314, &c.

[2] Those namely of his uncle, Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham (1226), and of Grosteste; Close, 10 Hen. III, m. 6; Trivet, *Ann.* 243.

[3] e.g. *Mon. Franc.* i, 108, 109, 110, 114, 359, 378.

[4] Ibid. 146 et seq. [5] Ibid. 206.

[6] Ibid. 114. Felder (*Gesch. der Wissenschaftl. Studien*, &c. 290) identifies Hugo de Berions with 'Hugo de Bareola, qui et de Digna'; cf. Salimbene, *Chron.* 97. [7] Ibid. 359.

[8] *Mon. Franc.* i, 38; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 65–6; Felder, *ut supra*, 311 et seq.

[9] *Archiv für Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i, 189; Roger Bacon, *Op. Ined.* 426 (Rolls Ser.); *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 217.

[10] *Mun. Acad.* (ed. Anstey), 25.

[11] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 139.

[12] *Mon. Franc.* i, 338, 346 et seq.; *Mun. Acad.* 25.

[13] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, fol. 108; the bishop recites the bull of Alex. IV. (*Quasi lignum vitae*); cf. Worc. Epis. Reg. Cobham, fol. 52 (*c.* 1320).

[14] See account of the Black Friars in Oxford in this volume.

[15] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 264.

[16] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 34 and pt. ii, ch. 1.

[17] *Bullar. Franc.* vi, 31.

[18] *Mon. Franc.* i, 552; on all these see *Grey Friars in Oxf.*

[19] B.M. Roy. MS. 7 F vii, fol. 81; Charles, *Roger Bacon*, 415.

[20] Some have been printed in Wright and Halliwell, *Reliq. Antiq.* i, 86; ii, 225.

[21] *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 48; *Bullar. Franc.* vi, No. 15, 51, 185; Denifle, *Chart. Univ. Paris*, i, 419, 423, 453, 471.

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bourne who, however, probably did not write the chronicle ascribed to him. Simon Tunstede, who was regent master of the friars in 1351 and 'skilled in music and the seven liberal arts,' does not come into this list.[1] The most famous of the Oxford Franciscans do not appear in it. Roger Bacon,[2] Duns Scotus,[3] and William of Ockham[4] were certainly students at Oxford, where they seem to have taken the degree of B.D., but all took their doctor's degree at Paris.

Each lector had a *socius* assigned to him—a younger friar who acted as his secretary and whose time was almost entirely at his disposal.[5] Even in the earliest times it was found necessary to modify the stringency of the Rule in favour of the lecturers. Visiting and good works were subordinated to their scholastic duties.[6] They had separate chambers, and their privacy was at certain times inviolable.[7] They were provided with the necessaries of life by the convents of the places where they lectured; but their other expenses, such as those connected with the necessary books, were (according to the constitutions of Benedict XII, 1336) to be assessed by the general and provincial ministers and to fall on the convent, custody, or province from which they were sent.[8] Nicholas Herford in a sermon at Oxford in 1382 asserted that the friars who had graduated as masters or bachelors, in addition to the ample allowance which they got from their community, begged for themselves, saying: 'I am a bachelor (or master) and require more than others, because I ought to be able to live up to my position.'[9] Roger Bacon evidently begged for means to carry on his experiments.[10]

Student friars were maintained at the university by a system of exhibitions. These were provided sometimes by private benefactors,[11] usually by the native convent of the student out of the 'common alms,' with the occasional assistance of other convents.[12] The exhibition seems to have been generally reckoned at £5 a year, and this sum covered the ordinary expenses of living.[13] There is no evidence of any general rule fixing the number or proportion of friars who might be sent from each convent, custody, or province to Oxford.[14] But the number was so large and the burden on the convent so heavy, especially during the long vacation (perhaps because the alms of the secular scholars were then withdrawn), that in 1292 the general chapter ordained, for the relief of the house at Oxford, that the foreign students should be equally divided among the convents of Oxford, London, and Cambridge.[15] All the provinces of the order had the right of sending students to Oxford.[16]

A friar generally completed the eight years' study of arts, which the university demanded, and sometimes began his study of theology, either at his native convent or in the special school of his custody, before being sent to Oxford.[17] Then after nine years spent in the study of theology, the student might, after election by the provincial chapter if he was a native, by the general chapter if he was a foreigner,[18] be admitted to lecture on the Sentences in the university, i.e. to take the degree of B.D.[19] Three more years were necessary to complete the studies and exercises (which included the preaching of several sermons at the Black or Grey Friars and at St. Mary's) required for the degree of D.D. or S.T.P.[20] In the period covered by the university registers, i.e. after 1447, the statutable requirements as to the period of study seem to have become little more than formalities. It frequently happened that a friar who had been admitted to 'oppose' on the ground that he had studied 'logic, philosophy, and theology' for twelve years, supplicated two years later or less for grace to incept on the plea that he had studied the same subjects for eighteen years.[21]

[1] Bodl. MS. Digby, 90.

[2] See e.g. Comp. Stud. Phil. in B.M. Roy. MS. 7 F vii, fol. 154, and many passages in *Opus Tertium* (*Opera Ined.*).

[3] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, fol. 13; printed in Wood, *City* (ed. Clark), ii, 386. Duns' great work on the Sentences is generally called 'Scriptum Oxoniense.'

[4] Lambeth, MS. 221, fol. 81*b*; Barth. of Pisa, *Liber Conf.* fol. 81*b*; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 224.

[5] *Mon. Franc.* i, 314–6, 354; Roger Bacon, *Opera Ined.* 329.

[6] *Mon. Franc.* i, 40. [7] *Lanercost Chron.* 130.

[8] Bodl. MS. Can. Misc. 75, fol. 80.

[9] Quoted by Twyne MS. iv, 173 (Univ. Arch.).

[10] *Opera Ined.* 16.

[11] See will of W. Maryner, 1512. P.C.C. Fetiplace, qu. 8; quoted in *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 53–7.

[12] *Archiv für Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte*, vi, 108–10; *Bullarium Romanum* (ed. Cherubini), i, 251 ('Martiniana' A.D. 1430).

[13] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 53. [14] Cf. ibid. 43.

[15] *Archiv für Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte*, vi, 63; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 309. Benedict XII (1336) decreed that 'of those appointed to lecture on the Sentences at Oxford, two shall be taken for two years from the English province by election of the provincial chapter, and the third shall be taken for the third year from other parts of the order by election of the general chapter from the Cismontane and Ultramontane parts alternately.' *Bullar. Franc.* vi, 30. This decree does not seem to have been carried out.

[16] Decree of Gen. Chapter at Florence, 1457; Wadding-Sbaralea, *Suppl. ad Scriptores*, 717.

[17] *Mun. Acad.* 380, 390. *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* viii, 65 et seq. *Archiv für Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte*, vi, 64. In 1336 the studium for the custody of Oxford was at Stamford. See below, 129.

[18] *Bullar. Franc.* vi, 30.

[19] *Mun. Acad.* 389. For details see *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 45 et seq.

[20] *Mun. Acad.* 391–2, 395–6, and other references given in *Grey Friars in Oxf.*

[21] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 47, 50, and references there given.

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The exercises at vesperies and inceptions were the same for friars as for seculars. The expenses of inception were very heavy, and Benedict XII had tried to curtail them in 1336.[1] According to ancient custom every inceptor on the day of his inception feasted the regent masters, and often gave them a 'livery' or some present.[2] Wiclif inveighs against the Mendicant doctors for their 'great gifts and making of huge feasts of a hundred and many hundred pounds.'[3] This is obviously an exaggeration, but Friar William Woodford, Wiclif's contemporary, was robbed of £40 on his way from London to take his D.D. at Oxford.[4] It became usual to commute the expenses of the feast for a fixed money payment, generally £10, to the university. In 1460 the Mendicant Orders appealed to the king against the excessive fees demanded by the university.[5] The university authorities in their reply denied the statements of the friars (which were however substantially correct), and pointed out that the fees paid by the friars were far less than the expenses of the Arts course, from which they were excused.[6] In the case of Friar Richard Ednam, O.M., in 1463, the cost of inception was increased; he was required to pay £15 and give a separate 'livery' to the regents at his own expense.[7] In 1478 the composition of a friar was fixed by statute at ten marks,[8] and part of this sum was sometimes remitted.[9]

Oxford was the head of one of the seven custodies into which the English province was divided. The custodian admitted novices to profession, kept the provincial minister informed as to the state of the convents under his supervision, was *ex officio* a member of the provincial chapter, and joined with his fellow custodians to elect one of their number to the general chapter.[10] The custody of Oxford included in the fourteenth century the convents of Reading, Bedford, Stamford, Nottingham, Northampton, Leicester, and Grantham.[11] In each custody there was a special school to which promising students might be sent before they proceeded to the universities. The *studium particulare* for the custody of Oxford in 1336 was at Stamford.[12] Provincial chapters were frequently held at Oxford; some of these have already been noticed. In the chapter of 1248 John of Parma gave the brethren the option of confirming or deposing the provincial minister, William of Nottingham, and they unanimously asked that he might be confirmed; in the same chapter the general minister 'recalled to unity the brethren who had begun to surpass the rest in singular opinions.'[13] The king ordered the sheriff of Oxford to provide a cask of wine and the necessaries of life for this chapter.[14] The provincial chapter was held here on 8 September, 1289, when the king gave £17 17*s.* 11*d.* for two days' food,[15] in 1294,[16] and in 1301; towards the expenses of the last the king contributed £10.[17] Another chapter met here in 1405. At this time 'a great and scandalous schism' had arisen in the province owing to the arbitrary conduct of the provincial minister, John Zouche. The friars appealed to the Cardinal Protector of the Order, who appointed Friars Nicholas Fakenham and John Mallaert commissioners to deal with the crisis. They deposed the provincial and called a chapter at Oxford, 3 May, 1405, to elect a successor.[18]

The friendly relations between the Dominicans and Franciscans at Oxford soon gave place to rivalry and antagonism. The proselytizing tendencies of the two orders led in 1243–4 to quarrels which were carried on mainly by 'men of education and scholars,'[19] and in questions of politics and philosophy the two orders were found on different sides.[20] The Minorites claimed precedence over the other orders on the ground of their absolute poverty. This claim was generally admitted and led to the exaltation of the Minorites in the eyes of the world at the expense of their rivals. In 1269 a controversy arose between the Dominicans and Franciscans at Oxford on this point.[21] A Friar Preacher named Solomon of Ingham accused the Minorites of receiving money either with their own hands or through a third person. The Franciscans denied the charge and demanded the punishment of Friar Solomon. The Dominicans brought forward many instances in which they maintained the Minorites had actually received money. These, answered the latter, were merely personal transgressions, and affected the community no more than any case of carnal sin or disobedience. The Dominicans, how-

[1] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 50. Bodl. MS. Can. Misc. 75, fol. 79*b*; *Bullar. Franc.* vi, 32.
[2] *Mun. Acad.* 353, &c.
[3] *Two Short Treatises*, &c. (ed. 1608), 30.
[4] MS. Exeter Coll. 7, fol. 4.
[5] *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 353. [6] Ibid.
[7] Oxf. Univ. Arch. Reg. Aa. fol. 128; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 264, 337–8.
[8] *Mun. Acad.* 353–4.
[9] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 51.
[10] See the constitutions of 1354, *Bullar. Franc.* vi, 639 et seq.
[11] Eubel, *Provinciale Vestustissimum*.
[12] *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* (new ser.), viii, 68–9. *Bullar. Franc.* vi, 30–1.
[13] *Mon. Franc.* i, 68.
[14] Liberate R. 32 Hen. III, m. 7.
[15] P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdle. 352 (No. 18).; *Ann. Mon.* iv, 318; Peckham, *Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 958.
[16] Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ee. v. 31, fol. 63*a*.
[17] B.M. Add. MS. 7966*a*, fol 27.
[18] *Eulog. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 105; Wadding, *Ann. Min.* ix, 499.
[19] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 279; *Mon. Franc.* i, 56.
[20] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 72–4.
[21] See contemporary account of the controversy in *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 320–35.

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ever, based their contention mainly on the argument that money bequeathed to the Franciscans must be received either by them in person or by intermediaries on their behalf. The Franciscans answered that money so left never passed into their *dominium*, and declared, with a reference to Gregory IX's bull *Quo elongati*, that 'whoever said otherwise would be accusing the pope of lying.' 'Far from us be such presumption,' replied their opponents, 'but it is very clear that the pope's declaration of the Rule was not in accordance with the intention of St. Francis.' The chief disputant on the side of the Friars Minors seems to have been Thomas of Docking. Peace was eventually restored by the interposition of the chancellor and leading secular masters, at whose recommendation Friar Solomon withdrew his words. In philosophy the controversy between the orders centred round the Thomist doctrine of the 'Unity of Form' in man. If the individualizing principle were not form but matter, how, asked the opponents of Thomas Aquinas, could the individual exist in the non-material world? Though the doctrine was being taught at Oxford by Dominicans, it was the Dominican Archbishop Kilwardby who first condemned it there in 1277. Peckham repeated the condemnation in 1284, and being accused by the provincial of Black Friars in a congregation at Oxford in the same year of having sown discord between the orders, denied that he had consulted with the Franciscans on the subject.[1] Archbishop Peckham in the same year (1284) proclaimed the superiority of his order over the others when asserting the right of the Minorites of Oxford to receive an Austin friar into their order.[2] Peckham also appointed two Friars Minors and two Friars Preachers as confessors to the nuns at Godstow,[3] and in 1291 urged the prior of St. Frideswide's to confer the church of St. Peter le Bailey on some one devoted to the Franciscans and nominated by them.[4] Friar Richard de Slikeburne, the Franciscan confessor of Devorguila, induced her to establish 'the house of Balliol' on a permanent foundation, and the statutes of the college in 1282 were addressed to Friar Hugh of Hartlepool and Master William de Menyl, permanent visitors of the college.[5] One of the two visitors, who were called also 'rectors' and 'magistri extranei,' seems always to have been a Franciscan until the statutes of Bishop Fox were promulgated in 1507.[6]

In 1300 Hugh of Hartlepool, the provincial minister, presented twenty-two Oxford friars to the Bishop of Lincoln for licence to hear confessions. The bishop objected to the number as excessive, and was with some difficulty induced to license eight.[7] Their names were Adam of Hoveden, D.D., Philip of Bridlington D.D., William of Newport, William Mincy, Roger of Barnton, Robert of Gaddesby, John of Westburg, Roger of Moginton. While none of these became famous in the scholastic world, there were several among those rejected who afterwards obtained distinction as writers and teachers: Martin of Alnwick, Richard of Conington and John Douns who may be identified with John Duns Scotus.[8]

In 1358 Archbishop Islip, perhaps in consequence of the ravages of the pestilence, authorized five Franciscans of the Oxford convent and three of the Cambridge convent to preach in the diocese of Canterbury.[9]

In the middle of the fourteenth century Richard Fitz Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, declared that nearly all the youths in the university had friars as their confessors, and that the friars used their influence to entice these boys to enter the Mendicant Orders.[10] The university in 1358 passed a strongly-worded statute forbidding the reception of any students into the Orders under the age of eighteen.[11] The friars, whose chief champion was a Franciscan doctor, Roger Conway,[12] do not seem to have denied the charge, but defended their conduct, and exerted themselves to obtain a repeal of the statute. While a suit which they had begun in the Roman court was still undecided the provincials of the four orders laid their grievances before the king in Parliament, and in 1366 the obnoxious statute was formally annulled.[13]

At the same time the friars were denounced for obtaining degrees and graces by means of letters of influential persons.[14] In 1358 any one

[1] Peckham, *Reg.* 852, 866, 896–901. Rashdall, *Univ. of Europe*, ii, 2,527 et seq. Denifle, *Chart. Univ. Paris.* i, No. 517, 518, 523. Ehrle in *Zeitschrift Kathol. Theologie*, xiii, 173 et seq.

[2] *Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 867, 838–840.

[3] Ibid. 845–52.

[4] Ibid. 977.

[5] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, 442–4; (Balliol Coll. Arch.). W. of Woodford, '*Defensorium*,' cap. 32; (Twyne MS. xxii, 1030). Balliol Coll. Arch. printed in Savage, *Balliofergus*, 15.

[6] Friar Robert of Leicester, O. M., was one of the 'extraneous masters' in 1325; and Friar Richard Roderham, O. M., one of the rectors of the college in 1433. *Hist. MSS. Com. ut supra;* H. W. C. Davis, *Balliol Coll.*

[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, fol. 13; printed in Wood, *City*, ii, 386; *Hist. et Antiq.* 134.

[8] On all these see *Grey Friars in Oxf.*

[9] Reg. Islip, fol. 144*b*.

[10] Lechler, *Johann von Wiclif*, i, 220 et seq.; Edw. Brown, *Fascic. Rerum Expetendarum*, ii.

[11] *Mun. Acad.* 204.

[12] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 239; he obtained in 1359 from Innocent VI a bull confirming the decree 'Vas electionis' of John XXII; MS. Lambeth, 1208, fol. 99*b*.

[13] *Rot. Parl.* ii, 290; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 139.

[14] *Mun. Acad.* 206; cf. Wiclif, *Two Short Treatises*, &c. 30.

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using such letters was declared for ever incapable of holding or obtaining any degree at Oxford, and the university determined to hold up these 'wax-doctors' to obloquy.

> These [begins a proclamation of the same year[1]] are the names of the wax-doctors, as they are called, who seek to extort graces from the university by means of letters of lords sealed with wax, or because they run from hard study as wax runs from the face of fire. Be it known that such wax-doctors are always of the Mendicant Orders . . . for[2] by apples and drink, as the people tell, they draw boys to their religion, and do not instruct them after their profession as their age demands, but let them wander about begging, and waste the time when they could learn in currying favour with lords and ladies. . . . These are their names: Friar Richard Lymynster, incepted in theology by means of the prince's letters, and his grace contained the condition that he should not incept or lecture, but that Friar John Nutone his predecessor should continue lecturing: and Friar Giuliortus de Limosano of the Order of Minors, who asserted that he was secretary of the king of Sicily, extorted from the university or rather the theological faculty, by letters of the King, grace to oppose.

The attack on the friars begun by Richard Fitz Ralph was continued by Uthred de Boldon, monk of Durham, who was probably warden of Durham College about 1360.[3] Friar John Hilton, O.M., 'determined' against him,[4] and the Franciscan Tryvytlam in his poem *De laude Oxoniae* denounces his blasphemies against the Minorite Rule.[5] Wiclif's hostility to the friars was confined to the last years of his life.[6] Earlier he spoke well especially of the Franciscans, with whom he agreed in ecclesiastical politics[7] and whom he described as 'very dear to God.'[8] He was on terms of friendship with Friar William of Woodford, with whom he exchanged note-books and arguments when they were lecturing in the schools together.[9] His doctrines on the Eucharist led to his quarrel with the friars. John Tyssyngton, regent master of the Friars Minors, took part in the condemnation of Wiclif's twelve conclusions on the sacraments in 1381,[10] and promptly replied to his *Confessio* in an elaborate lecture delivered in the Franciscan schools at Oxford.[11] This lecture was subsequently issued as a treatise, and was considered of great value, and ordered to be kept in the University Archives,[12] an honour which it hardly deserved. Friar William Woodford became the most determined opponent of Wiclif among the Minorites; he delivered a course of lectures against the *Confessio* in 1381[13]; as regent master of the friars in 1389 he lectured against the adherents of Wiclif,[14] and continued to write and lecture against the Lollard doctrines till the end of his life.[15] William Butler, when regent master of the Friars Minors in Oxford in 1401, 'determined' against the translation of the Bible into English.[16]

The Oxford friaries being bound to receive students from other provinces fell under suspicion of harbouring foreign spies in time of war. The suspicion seems to have attached chiefly to the Dominicans, but the warden and convent of the Minorites in 1388 sought and obtained a royal writ forbidding them to receive any foreign friars for whose loyalty they would not answer.[17] There seem, however, to have been very few French friars among the Oxford Minorites in the fourteenth century. The most distinguished was William de Prato, who studied here before 1363, and was in 1370 sent to the Tartars by the pope, as bishop of Pekin and head of the Franciscan mission in Asia.[18] The names of several Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and German friars have been preserved. Among them were Peter Philargi of Candia (before 1378), afterwards Pope Alexander V[19]; Jacob Fei of Florence, who transcribed a MS. at Oxford in 1393, fell under ecclesiastical censure for joining the sect of the Fraticelli, but recanted his errors and was made Inquisitor in his native land[20]; and Matthias Döring, afterwards champion of the council of Basel against the pope, and general minister, who studied at Oxford in his youth.[21]

The heads of the four orders at Oxford joined in protesting against the reports that the friars were responsible for the peasant revolt in 1381, and appealed to John of Gaunt for protection[22]; and

[1] *Mun. Acad.* 207–8.
[2] Cf. Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon* (ed. Thomas), 51.
[3] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 23.
[4] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 243.
[5] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 208–9.
[6] Lechler, *Johann v. Wiclif*, i, 319, 374, 585.
[7] Cf. *Eulog. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 337–8; dispute on the papal tribute, 1374, when John Mardisley, O.M., S.T.P., of Oxf. opposed Uthred de Boldon. Cf. Lechler, i, 369; *Mun. Acad.* 208.
[8] *Eulog. Hist.* iii, 245.
[9] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 81; Twyne MS. xxi, 502.
[10] *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 113; *Eulog. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 351.
[11] *Fascic. Zizan.* 133–80.
[12] Ibid. 133, note 2.
[13] Ibid. 517, 523.
[14] Bodl. MS. Digby, 170.
[15] Bale gives 1397 as the date of his death; it was probably later. One of his works seems to have been written in the reign of Hen. IV; Brown, *Fascic. Rerum Expetendarum* i, 264.
[16] MS. Merton Coll. 67, fol. 202, seq.
[17] Close, 12 Ric. II, m. 42; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 312.
[18] *Cal. Papal L.* iv. 36; Wadding, *Ann. Min.* viii, 166, 221, 500.
[19] *Eulog. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 415; B. M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. ii, fol. 262*b*; *Bullar. Francisc.* vii, 231. His lectures on the Sentences are in Balliol Coll. MS. 64; cf. Magd. Coll. MS. 92.
[20] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 252; *Bullar. Francisc.* vii, 134–5.
[21] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 256, and references there given.
[22] *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 292–5.

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in 1385 the king ordered the chancellor of the university to protect the Friars Minors.[1]

Many Franciscans were implicated in conspiracies against Henry IV. In 1402 eight friars of Leicester were executed at Tyburn. One of these was Roger Frisby, an old man and master in theology. His head was brought to Oxford,

> and in the presence of the procession of the University, the herald proclaimed: 'This Master Friar Minor of the Convent of Leicester in hypocrisy, adulation and false life, preached often, saying that King Richard is alive, and roused the people to seek him in Scotland;' and his head was set on a stake there.[2]

Oxford Franciscans had a share in combating the Great Schism; Nicholas Fakenham by order of the king 'determined' at Oxford on the subject, 5 November, 1395, arguing that the church could only be reformed by the punishment of those who had disturbed its peace, namely, the cardinals; and he appears to have written to the king of France in the same sense.[3]

In the fifteenth century some of the friars roused the anger of the university by preaching that tithes need not be paid to the person legally entitled to them, but given *in pios usus pauperum*. The chief offender was William Russell, O.M.; his teaching was condemned by the university in 1425, and all graduates were bound solemnly to abjure his conclusions. This oath remained in force till 1564.[4]

For a similar offence Friar William Melton, D.D., was arrested at the instance of the university in 1427, and compelled to recant.[5] In 1482 Friar Isaac Cusack, D.D., a Franciscan, and Dionysius Tully a Dominican, were causing disturbances in Ireland by preaching the doctrine of evangelical poverty; the university cited them to appear on pain of degradation, but there seems no authority for Wood's statement that they were captured, sent to Oxford, degraded and expelled the university as vagabonds and heretics.[6]

Among the chief sources of income of the house was a royal grant of 50 marks a year during the king's pleasure, to be paid in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas. It was first instituted by Edward I in 1289, and was continued by all the kings (except Edward V) to the Dissolution.[7] The sum was sometimes paid direct from the exchequer, but generally the whole or part of it was made a charge on the revenues of some sheriff or other official. Thus in December, 1313, Edward II ordered Richard Kellaw, bishop of Durham, 'to send to our exchequer at Westminster within fifteen days of the feast of St. Hilary' 10 marks in partial satisfaction of the grant. But though this sum was to be the first charge on the arrears in the Durham diocese of the tax imposed on the clergy by Edward I in 1294, and though writs were repeatedly issued to enforce payment, nothing had been paid by 4 June, 1315, '*unde vehementer admiramur*.'[8] The annuity was on several occasions in arrear. The friars petitioned Richard II for the more regular payment of it,[9] and Henry IV in the first year of his reign granted the friars 'of his abundant favour' all the arrears which had accumulated during the reign of his predecessor.[10] In 1450 Parliament passed a general act of resumption, annulling all grants made since the king's accession, and the annuity to the friars ceased. The brethren represented to Henry VI the hardships which this loss of revenue inflicted on them, and in 1453 the king ordered the arrears to be paid 'that the warden and friars may be in a happier frame of mind to offer up special prayers for us to the Highest.'[11] The annuity was exempted from the three acts of resumption under Edward IV.[12] The friars often took legal measures to recover the debts due to them. Richard Clyff, custodian of the Grey Friars, Oxford, in 1466 sued John Broughton, late sheriff of Kent, in the court of exchequer, for 100*s*. due to him from the preceding year and claimed damages to the amount of 10 marks.[13] In 1488 Richard Salford, warden, sued John Paston, knt., late sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, in the court of exchequer, for a debt of £10 18*s*. and £10 damages; he recovered the debt, but the damages were reduced to 26*s*. 8*d*.[14] On the same day he sued Edmund Bedyngfeld, knt., late sheriff of the same counties, for a debt of 'seven pounds of silver' and 100*s*. damages; the amount of the debt and 20*s*. damages were awarded him.[15] Next year he sued the same Bedyngfeld before the barons of the exchequer who awarded him the amount of the debt (£4 2*s*.), but reduced the damages from £4 to 10*s*.[16]

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, vii, 458; Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.
[2] *Eulog. Hist.* iii, 394; Wylie, *Hen. IV*, i, 277.
[3] B.M. Harl. MS. 3768, fol. 188; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 252–3.
[4] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 438–62; *Mun. Acad.* 270, 376; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 86, 258.
[5] *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 35; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 86, 259; *Bullar. Francisc.* vii, 718.
[6] *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 401, 485; Wood, *Ann.* i, 738.
[7] See references in *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 98, *n.* 1.
[8] *Reg. Palat. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), 980, 1027–8, 1065, 1085.
[9] Anct. Pet. (P. R. O.), 13395; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 141.
[10] Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 21.
[11] Pat. 31 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 32.
[12] *Rot. Parl.* iv, 196*a*; v, 520*a*, 597*b*; vi. 90.
[13] Plac. de Scaccario (P. R. O.), 6 Edw. IV, m. 20.
[14] Ibid. 3 Hen. VII, m. 35.
[15] Ibid. m. 35, *in dorso*.
[16] Ibid. 4 Hen. VII, m. 34, *in dorso*.

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The Friars Minors further received 10*s.* a year from Durham College, Oxford;[1] 6*d.* a year from St. Ebbe's parish;[2] 8*d.* each fortnight or fourteen loaves 'for the soul of Roger Writtell' (who lived in the time of Edward I),[3] and a gift of 3*s.* 4*d.*, a peck of oatmeal and one of peas in Lent, from the nunnery of Godstow;[4] 4*d.* a week from Oseney Abbey and 5*s.* at Christmas as the price of a quarter of an ox.[5]

To what extent the friars subsisted on alms in kind it is impossible to say.[6] The friar in Chaucer's 'Somnour's Tale,' himself a master in the schools, after preaching in the church went round the village begging:—

> In every hous he gan to poure and prye
> And beggeth mele, and chese, or elles corn.

Alms were also given in money. On 2 October, 1340, Richard de Whitchford, 'minor,' receiver of moneys for the friary, received 60*s.* or more from various persons, including 13*s.* 4*d.* from the servant of John de Couton, and 12*s.* from Thomas of London; as he refused to give up the money, the warden sued him in the Mayor's Court, and he was sentenced to imprisonment.[7]

A large proportion of the wills of Oxford citizens contain bequests to the Friars Minors, and many persons throughout the country left them legacies; for the convent, like the university, occupied a national position. The earliest bequest recorded is one of 6*s.* 8*d.*, in the will of John of St. John, clerk, about 1230.[8] Martin de Sancta Cruce, master of the hospital of Sherburn near Durham, in 1259 left 10*s.* to the friary and a complete habit and copy of the canonical epistles to Friar Richard of Cornwall.[9] Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury, left the friars 15 marks in 1270;[10] Walter of Merton, bishop of Rochester and founder of Merton College, 25 marks in 1277;[11] Nicholas de Longespee, bishop of Salisbury, 40*s.* in 1297;[12] John de Doclington 10*s.* in 1335;[13] Nicholas Acton, parson of the church of Wyanstowe (Salop), 40*s.* in 1337;[14] John, son of Walter Wrenche of Milton, spicer, ten quarters of corn in 1349;[15] Edmund de Bereford 30*s.* in 1354;[16] Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare, £8 to the four Orders in 1360;[17] John de Bereford, sometime mayor of Oxford, 13*s.* 4*d.*, and other small sums in 1361;[18] Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, £10 in 1361;[19] Walter de Berney, citizen of London, £5 in 1377;[20] Richard Carsewell, butcher of Oxford, 10 marks in 1389;[21] John Okele of Oxford, skinner, 20*s.* a year for three years to Friar John Schankton to celebrate masses in this church;[22] Sir John Golafre, knt., £10 in 1394.[23] Small sums were bequeathed by Richard de Garaford (1395) and other citizens of Oxford;[24] John de Waltham, bishop of Salisbury (1395);[25] John Maldon, provost of Oriel (1401);[26] Lady Eleanor de S. Amando (1426).[27] Agnes wife of Michael Norton in 1438 desired to be buried in this church, and gave instructions that her tenement in St. Ebbe's should be sold and the money should be applied to keeping the anniversaries of herself and her former husband Thomas Clamifer, in the Franciscan church, for twenty years.[28] William Lord Lovell left the friars 200 marks in 1454.[29] Reginald Mertherderwa, LL.D., left them 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1447, and 3*s.* 4*d.* 'to provide one breakfast or dinner among them that they may the more devoutly pray for my soul.'[30] William Chestur, merchant of the Staple of Calais and citizen and skinner of London, bequeathed 33*s.* 4*d.* to them in 1476.[31] Robert Abdy, master of Balliol College (1483), Alice Dobbis, wife of John Dobbis sometime mayor of Oxford (1488), Thomas Banke, rector of Lincoln College (1503), Sir Robert Throckmorton, knt. (1518), Sir Richard Elyot, knt. and judge (1520), were among their benefactors.[32] James Blackwood of Oxford left them 5*s.* and one goblet of silver 'pounced' in 1490.[33] John Tynmouth, Minorite, bishop of Argos and

[1] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 306; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 18.
[2] Wood MS. D. 2, p. 344.
[3] *Cal. Pat.* Edw. I, A.D. 1284–5.
[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), Hen. VIII, ii, 191.
[5] Ibid. 223.
[6] The only Franciscan 'computus' that has hitherto come to light is the fragment in the binding of the Caius College Psalter; facsimile in Rendel Harris, *Origin of the Leic. Codex*, 1887.
[7] Doc. printed in *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 310.
[8] *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xx, 291; Twyne MS. xxiii, 89.
[9] *Dur. Wills* (Surtees Soc.), i, 9.
[10] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* iv, 243; his will was dated 1264.
[11] Hobhouse, *Life of Walter of Merton*, 45.
[12] *Engl. Hist. Rev.* July, 1900.
[13] Wood MS. D. 2, p. 61.
[14] Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills proved in the Ct. of Hustings, Lond.* i.
[15] Wood, *City*, ii, 388.
[16] Lambeth Reg. Islip, fol. 105–6.
[17] Ibid. fol. 164–6.
[18] Twyne MS. xxiii, 68.
[19] Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*, 46–7.
[20] *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* i, 400; Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills* etc. ii, 205.
[21] Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 69*b*.
[22] Ibid. fol. 71.
[23] Lambeth Reg. Arundel, i, fol. 155.
[24] See *Grey Friars in Oxf.* chap. vii.
[25] P.C.C. Rous, fol. 32.
[26] Lambeth Reg. Arundel, i, fol. 189.
[27] Ibid. Chicheley, i, fol. 392*b*.
[28] Lansd. MS. (B.M.), 946, fol. 74 (Linc. Epis. Reg.)
[29] Ibid. [30] *Mun. Acad.* 543.
[31] P.C.C. Wattys, fol. 174.
[32] See *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 106 et seq.
[33] Oxf. City Rec. Old White Bk. fol. 136.

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parson of Boston, left them £5 in 1523.[1] Richard Leke, brewer, of Oxford, bequeathed 4*d.* to each friar being a priest and 2*d.* to each friar being no priest; 6*s.* 8*d.* to the friars 'to make a dinner in their own place'; 6*s.* 8*d.*, to the warden 'to provide for the premisses'; 20*s.* 'to provide the altars to be ornated with apparel,' and 10*s.* at his burying and anniversary.[2] Henry Standish, Minorite and bishop of St. Asaph, in 1535 bequeathed £40 for the exhibition of scholars in the university of Oxford, £40 for building an aisle in the Grey Friars Church in Oxford, 10 marks for their church and '5 marks to buy books to be placed in the library of the scholars of the Friars Minors of Oxford.'[3] Almost the last bequest recorded is one of 20*s.* to each of the four orders from John Claymond, first president of Corpus Christi College, 'that they might celebrate in their churches for his soul.'[4]

There were two libraries in the friary in the fifteenth century—the library of the convent and the library of the student friars.[5] The most valuable collection of books was probably that bequeathed to the friars by Grosteste.[6] These were still in the library when Thomas Gascoigne (*c.* 1450) had access to it. He mentions particularly having seen there a complete copy of Grosteste's letters,[7] his autograph commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul,[8] two MSS. of his commentary on the Psalms (one of these an autograph),[9] a treatise on luxury[10] and another *Super textum*,[11] both written with his own hand. Boston of Bury notices his translation of the *Testamenta xii Patriarcharum* in the same place.[12] Friar Thomas Netter of Walden refers to a book *De Studio* by Grosteste, with autograph notes by the author, which he had seen in the Minorite convent.[13] St. Jerome's 'Catalogue of Illustrious Men'[14] and his commentaries on Isaiah and Ezekiel,[15] and the book called *Speculum laicorum* (ascribed to John Hoveden)[16] were also seen here by Gascoigne. Leland makes frequent uses of a bibliographical compilation of considerable value which he found in this house—namely the 'Catalogus illustrium Franciscanorum.'

Few only of the MSS. which formed part of the library can be identified. Bodley MS. 198 contains a copy of St. Augustine *De civitate Dei* which formed part of Grosteste's bequest; and the illuminated copy of the Gospels in Greek now in Caius College came to this friary probably from the same source. The same is probably true of the Greek Psalter with the Canticles in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,[17] and of the Greek MS. of the *Testamenta xii Patriarcharum* in the Cambridge University Library.[18] The unique MS. of Adam Marsh's letters[19] perhaps belonged to this house, and a number of Franciscan works (including Thomas of Eccleston *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum*, Grosteste's sermons on poverty, the account of the quarrel between the Dominicans and Franciscans at Oxford in 1269), now preserved in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham.[20] A treatise called 'Quatuor principalia Musice,' composed in 1351 by a Friar Minor of the custody of Bristol, and presented to the Oxford convent by Friar John of Tewkesbury in 1388, is now in the Bodleian Library;[21] and several MSS. transcribed in this house are extant.[22] Books were also deposited at the Grey Friars for safe keeping, or lent; and their owners seem sometimes to have had difficulties in getting them returned.[23]

The library was in process of dispersal in the fifteenth century, when Thomas Gascoigne obtained a number of the volumes.[24] Leland visited the friary shortly before the dissolution, and we have from his pen the last description of the once famous library:—[25]

> At the Franciscans' house there are cobwebs in the library, and moths and bookworms; more than this—whatever others may boast—nothing, if you have regard to learned books. For I, in spite of the opposition of all the friars, carefully examined all the bookcases in the library.

[1] Wood MS. B. 13, p. 14.
[2] P.C.C. Porch, qu. 9; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 318.
[3] P.C.C. Hogen, qu. 26.
[4] Wood MS. D. 2, p. 613.
[5] Gascoigne, *Loci e libro veritatum* (ed. Rogers), 103, 140.
[6] Nic. Trivet, *Ann.* 243.
[7] *Grosteste's Letters* (ed. Luard), (Rolls Ser.), p. xcvi.
[8] *Loci e libro veritatum*, 102–3; 'et registratur *Epistolae Pauli apostoli.*' Cf. p. 174; 'et registratur *Epistolae Pauli a.*'
[9] Ibid. 177; the autograph was registered *Episcopus Linc. d.*; the other *Episcopus Linc. ff.* cf. ibid. 126; and W. of Worc. *Itin.* 267.
[10] Ibid. 138, in libro registrato *Episcopus Linc.* i, fol. 25.
[11] Ibid. 126; cf. 129.
[12] Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, xxxvii.
[13] *Doctrinale Fidei*, etc. (tom. ii, col. 466), v, cap. 77 (ed. Blanciotti, 1757). The expression 'in libro quodam de studio magno Lincolniensis' may mean a book of great learning by Grosteste.
[14] Balliol Coll. MS. 129, fol. 7. The copy referred to is perhaps Lamb. Palace MS. 202.
[15] Lamb. Palace MS. 202, fol. 99*b*.
[16] Wood *Hist. et Antiq.* 83; *Ann.* i, 202; *Wood's Life and Times* (ed. Clark), iv, 302-3. (Possibly Caius Coll. MS. 184 is the volume referred to.)
[17] No. 480. [18] Ff. i, 24.
[19] Cott. Vitell. (B.M.), c. viii.
[20] Phillipps MS. 3119. [21] MS. Digby, 90.
[22] e.g. Merton Coll. MSS. 166, 168, 169, 170; Florence MS. Laurent. ex Bibl. S. Crucis Plut. xvii, Sin. Cod. x.
[23] Exeter Epis. Reg. Bronescomb, 283 (A.D. 1274–5); *Grey Friars in Oxf.* (A.D. 1330).
[24] Bodley MS. 198, fol. 107 (A.D. 1433); *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 61; cf. Macray, *Ann. of the Bodl. Lib.* (ed. 2), 446. [25] Leland, *Collectanea*, iii, 60.

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The university records furnish some details about the convent on the eve of the dissolution. Friar Brian Sandon acted as attorney for the house; between 1507 and 1516 and between 1527 and 1534 he appeared as plaintiff or defendant in some fifteen suits in the Chancellor's Court.[1] At one time he sued his proctor, John Morys, for failing to bring corn to the house of the friars; at another he sued Margery, widow of John Lock, for the price of 'certain cheeses which her husband bought from the aforesaid Brian Sandon'; at another he acted as attorney for a secular priest; at another he had to answer a charge of wrongfully keeping a knife. In 1531 he accused his tailor of purloining a quarter of a yard of woollen cloth, 'in consequence of which his clothes were too short and tight.' In 1532 and 1534 he appeals to the court for protection against bodily injury, and in 1535 for protection against a libel on his character, which was not above suspicion. Robert Beste, another Minorite, was summoned before the court (1530), on grave suspicion of incontinence and disturbance of the peace.[2] Friar Arthur was seen 'in a chamber at the sign of the Bear with a woman in a red cap . . . both locked together in a chamber.' The case was heard before Dr. Baskerfeld, warden of the Grey Friars, who was acting for the commissary, and the evidence has been carefully obliterated from the register and is almost illegible.[3]

Early in the sixteenth century, the warden leased one of the gardens of the convent to Richard Leke, brewer of Oxford. The friars thought the agreement very injurious to their interests, and in 1513–4 demanded the repudiation of the contract. Feeling ran high and Leke was in personal danger; the warden was bound over to keep the peace and promised to keep his friars in safe custody if they molested the brewer.[4]

The friars of Oxford seem to have resisted the introduction of the New Learning, Friar Henry Standish, D.D., of Oxford, provincial minister 1508 to 1514, and afterwards bishop of St. Asaph, tried to organize a combined attack on the writings of Erasmus and probably instigated Friar William Roy to write the 'Montfort Codex' of the New Testament and insert the forged passage in 1 John, v. 7.[5]

On the other hand Friar Nicholas de Burgo, of Florence, was a protégé of Wolsey's and was perhaps one of the Italian Humanists whom the cardinal brought to England. He was public reader in theology at Cardinal College. He was an active champion of the king in the matter of the divorce, and became in consequence obnoxious especially to the women of Oxford, who pelted him with stones; in retaliation the friar had about thirty of them locked up in Bocardo.[6] Dr. Thomas Kirkham, a Franciscan, is mentioned as one of the doctors of divinity who opposed the divorce and were ready to write against it.[7] Dr. Kynton seems to have been on the same side at first, but was afterwards one of the committee which issued in the name of the university the qualified declaration in favour of the king.[8]

In 1535 Cromwell sent his agent, Layton, and others to Oxford to reform the university.

> We have in visiting the religious students [wrote Layton, 12 Sept. 1535[9]] amongst all other injunctions, adjoined that none of them for no manner of cause shall come within any tavern, inn, alehouse, or any other house whatsoever it be within the town and suburbs of the same, upon pain once so taken, by day or by night, to be sent immediately home to his cloister where he was professed. Without doubt we hear say of this act to be greatly lamented of all the double honest women of the town, and specially of their laundresses, that now may not once enter within the gates, and much less within their chambers, whereunto they were right well accustomed.

It is probable that between this time and the summer of 1538 many of the Oxford Franciscans had left their house. Of the nine Minorites who were admitted to opponency or the degree of B.D., between 1534 and July 1538, only one appears in the list of those desiring 'capacities' at the dissolution.[10] The commission to visit the Oxford friaries in 1538 was issued to Dr. John London, Mr. Banaster the mayor, and Mr. Pye and Mr. Fryer. On 8 July Dr. London sent to Cromwell an account of their proceedings.[11] After visiting the White and Austin friars, they came to the Grey Friars, who—

> have pretty islands behind their house well wooded, and the waters be theirs also. They have one fair orchard and sundry pretty gardens and lodgings. It is great huge house containing much ruinous building. They have impledged and sold most of their plate and jewels forced by necessity as they do say, and what remaineth is in the bill. Their ornaments of their church be old and little worth. Their other stuff of household is in the bill worth £10. They have taken up the pipes of their con-

[1] Detailed references to the Acta Cur. Canc. (Oxf. Univ. Archives) will be found in *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 93-4.

[2] Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fol. 230.

[3] Ibid. fol. 271*b*; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 95.

[4] Acta Cur. Canc. ∃ fol. 212*b*; 197*b*, 210.

[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 929, 965, &c.; Rendel Harris, *Orig. of the Leic. Codex.*

[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 6788; v, p. 304; viii, 1054; other references in *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 115, 280–2.

[7] Wood, *Ann. sub anno* 1530.

[8] Ibid. Lyte, *Univ. of Oxf.* 475.

[9] Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camd. Soc.), 71.

[10] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 116, note 7.

[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1342; Cromwell Correspondence (P.R.O.), Ser. 2, xxiii, fol. 709*a–b*: *Grey Friars in Oxf.*

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duit[1] lately and have cast them in sows to the number of lxvii whereof xii be sold for the costs in taking up the pipes, as the warden saith. The residue we have put in safe guard. But we have not yet weighed them. And there is yet in the earth remaining much of the conduit not taken up. In their groves the wind hath blown down many great trees, which do remain upon the ground. These friars do receive yearly out of the exchequer of the king's alms 50 marks. This house is all covered with slate and no lead.'

The jewels and plate consisted of a cross of silver and gilt (54 oz.), a chalice all gilt (14 oz.), another all gilt (15 oz.), two chalices parcel gilt (13 oz. and 14½ oz.), a pyx of silver gilded, without a cover (15 oz.), a censer of silver (32 oz.), a pair of small cruets gilt (2¾ oz.), five old masers with bonds of silver, weighing with the trees 92 oz.; a black horn with silver bond and foot, weighing with the horn 10½ oz.; three dozen spoons (33 oz.), a knob of the cover of a maser (2 oz.).[2]

Dr. London urged Cromwell to let the friars have their capacities at once, for meantime the visitors had to find them meat and drink, and 'the longer they tarry the more they will waste.'[3] He wrote to Cromwell 31 August, 1538:—[4]

I have caused all our four orders of friars to change their coats, and have despatched them as well as I can till they may receive their capacities, for the which I have now again sent up this bearer Dr. Baskerfield (the warden) to whom I do humbly beseech your lordship to stand good lord. He is an honest man, and caused all his house to surrender the same and to change their papistical garments. . . . He hath been a visitor of divers places which they do call custodies, and knoweth many things as well in London as otherwise, which he hath promised me to declare unto your lordship if it be your good pleasure he shall do so.

The list of Oxford Grey Friars 'who would have their capacities' contains eighteen names:[5] Edward Baskerfield, S.T.P., warden; Brian Sandon, Richard Roper, B.D., Ralph Cresswell,[6] Robert Newman, William Brown, John Comre, James Cantwell, Thomas Capper, John Staffordeschyer, William Bowghnell, James Smyzth, Thomas Wythman, priests; John Olliff subdeacon; Simon Ludforth, Thomas Barly, William Cok and John Cok, not in holy orders. On 6 November Dr. London was still asking for the 'capacities.'[7]

[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* i, 364 (anno 1221), mentions their conduit laid with leaden pipes under the Isis and Cherwell, for many miles; he does not give his authority.

[2] Chapter Ho. Bks. (P.R.O.), $A\frac{8}{11}$, fol. 29; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 117; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 236.

[3] Cromwell Correspondence, *ut supra*, fol. 710*b*.

[4] Wright, *Suppression*, 217.

[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 235.

[6] He was an Observant Friar in 1534. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1607.

[7] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 767.

The subsequent fate of most of the disfrocked friars who studied at Oxford is obscure. Some obtained benefices—such as Dr. Thomas Kirkham, Edmund Brycott, John Joseph, perhaps Thomas Tomsun; a few rose to positions of some importance in the church; John Taylor, *alias* Cardmaker, became vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, chancellor of Wells, was a prominent reformer in the time of Edward VI, and was burnt at Smithfield in 1555; John Crayford became canon of Durham; Hugh Glasier held various preferments, the rectory of Hanworth (1538), that of Harlington (1546), that of Deal (1553); in the reign of Edward VI he was 'an eager man for reformation,' in the reign of Mary he was one of the commissioners for the suppression of heresy in the diocese of Canterbury. Gregory Basset and Edward Ryley seem to have remained true to the old religion and held preferment in Mary's reign; Simon Ludford became an apothecary in London, and after many attempts fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1563.[8]

The site was of considerable value: and Dr. London hearing that 'divers of the guard' intended to beg these houses of the king petitioned (8 July, 1538) Cromwell to secure them for the town.[9]

If by your good lordship's mediation the town might have the Grey and Black Friars' grounds, after the king's grace hath been answered for the wood and buildings and other things upon the same, . . . it would marvellously help the town and give them great occasion to fall to clothing; for upon the Grey and Black Friars' water be certain convenient and commodious places to set fulling mills upon, and so people might be set to work.

This plan was not carried out. On 10 August, 1540, William Frewers and John Pye of Oxford obtained a lease of the house and site of the Grey Friars, together with the grove containing by estimation 5 acres, for twenty-one years at a rent of 20*s.* a year.[10] Much of the Grey Friars' property was expressly excluded from this lease: namely the close called 'le Churcheyarde,' now held by Richard Gunter of Oxford at an annual rent of 3*s.* 4*d.*, the orchard or garden called 'Paradise,' and a garden called 'Boteham,' now held by William Thomas at an annual rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* Further, all large trees and shrubs were reserved to the king, together with all those buildings within the precincts 'which the king had commanded to be levelled or taken away.'[11]

[8] The authorities for the above statements are given in the *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 119–20, 282, 283–94.

[9] Cromwell Correspondence (Ser. 2), xxiii, fol. 710; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1342; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 120–1.

[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1500 (195); Aug. Off. Bk. (P.R.O.), 212, fol. 195; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 121–2.

[11] Ibid.

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In 1544 the tenants seem to have opened negotiations for the purchase of the property, but were probably not able to give the price demanded. For in the same year Richard Andrewes of Hales, esq., one of the largest speculators in monastic lands, acting in partnership with John Howe, made a successful bid: and on 14 July the king granted to these two, in consideration of £1,094 3*s.* 2*d.* paid by Andrewes, various monastic lands in the counties of Derby, Middlesex, Oxford, &c., including the sites of the Black and Grey Friaries in Oxford. An annual rent from each parcel of property was due to the king, the rent of the site of the Grey Friars being 3*s.*[1] Next month (26 August, 1544) Andrewes and Howe obtained from the king licence to alienate the whole of the Grey Friars to Richard Gunter, alderman of Oxford, and Joanna his wife.[2]

In Wood's time the property belonged to several owners: part of it was occupied by tanners; the island or grove on the south of Trill Mill stream belonged 'to Sir William Moorton, knt., Judge of the King's Bench, in right of his wife Anne, daughter and heir of John Smyth of Oxford, gent.'[3] Writing about a century later, Peshall[4] states that the site

> now forms the messuage or tenement and large yard of Charles Collins, gent: the garden orchard and tenement of Swithin Adee, M.D., late Sir James Cotter's, bart.; and the large garden and orchard called Paradise Garden. The island in their possession . . . is occupied by Mr. Shirley, which serves partly for a tanyard and buildings necessary thereto.

In a short time little was left of the buildings. In 1578 Agas in his map puts the *Graie Friers* where the house of the Black Friars stood. 'The ruins of this college are gone to ruin,' wrote Wood, 'and almost lodged in obscurity:'[5] and the 'scanty fragments' which were visible to Hearne and Parkinson as they walked towards the Water-gate have long since disappeared.[6]

Custodians[7]

William of Esseby[8]
Peter of Tewkesbury,[9] *c.* 1236–47
John of Stamford,[10] *c.* 1247–56
Gregory,[11] 1300
Richard Clyff,[12] 1465–66
Edward Baskerfield (?),[13] *c.* 1534

Wardens[14]

William of Esseby,[15] *c.* 1225
Eustace de Merc,[16] *c.* 1237
Martin,[17] *c.* 1250
Adam of Warminster,[18] 1269
John de Codynton,[19] 1300
John of Okehampton,[20] 1340
Richard Salford,[21] 1488, 1489
William Vavasor (?),[22] *c.* 1500
Robert Burton,[23] 1508
Walter Goodfield,[24] before 1513
John Harvey,[25] 1514, 1515
Edward Baskerfield,[26] 1528, 1538

No impression of the seal of this house has yet been discovered.

26. THE HOUSE OF WHITE FRIARS

Nicholas de Meules or de Molis, formerly custodian of Oxford Castle, granted the Carmelite Friars a place near the hospital in Stockwell Street, in the parish of St. George, in 1256, and on 21 August the provincial prior sent Friar John of Rochester to take possession of the site and make arrangements for the new friary.[27] Before the following February they obtained from Nicholas de Stockwell, sometime mayor of Oxford, an adjacent plot towards the highway. Having secured licence from the Bishop of Lincoln to build an oratory, they came to an agreement with the convent of Oseney, to whom

[1] Aug. Off. (P.R.O.), Particulars for Grants, file 19; Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 37; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 122–3; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 1035 (107).
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 166 (82); Orig. R. (P.R.O.), 36 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 40.
[3] Wood, *City* (ed. Clarke), i, 310; ii, 361, 396, 411.
[4] Wood—Peshall, *Anct. and Present State*, &c. 270.
[5] Wood, *City*, 411.
[6] Hearne, pref. to his edition of Otterbourne. Parkinson was the author of *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica* (London, 1726).
[7] See *Grey Friars in Oxf.* pt. ii, chap. 1.
[8] *Mon. Franc.* i, 27. [9] Ibid. 28, 48, 378.
[10] Ibid. 389, 338, 387, 537.
[11] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 16*b*.
[12] Plac. de Scaccario, 6 Edw. IV, m. 20.
[13] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 235; Oxf. Univ. Arch. Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fols. 270*b*, 392*b*.
[14] See *Grey Friars in Oxf.* pt. ii, chap. 1.
[15] *Mon. Franc.* i, 6, 10.
[16] Ibid. 31, 43. [17] Ibid. 317, 364.
[18] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* App. C.
[19] Wood, *City*, ii, 387. In the same year he appears as warden of Stamford; Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fol. 16*b*.
[20] *Grey Friars in Oxf.* App. B. No. 8.
[21] Ibid. No. 14.
[22] Wood, *Fasti*, 5.
[23] Oxf. Univ. Arch. Acta Cur. Canc. ⊐. fol. 53*b*; he is called 'custos fratrum minorum' in the margin.
[24] Ibid. fol. 194.
[25] Ibid. fols. 212*b*, 261*b*, 262*b*; ibid. EEE fol. 124*b*.
[26] Ibid. H. fols. 185; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 235, &c.
[27] Cott. MS. Vitell. E, xv, fol. 31. Wood, *City*, ii, 415, 417, 435. Bale, *Script.* (Cent. 4, No. 19), says the friars obtained this house through the favour of Richard, earl of Cornwall. (The deeds about the Carmelites referred to by Wood are now missing from the Christ Church archives.)

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the parish church was appropriated, on 5 February, 1356–7.[1] The friars engaged that they would not admit the parishioners of the abbot and convent to any sacraments nor do anything to prejudice their rights, without their consent. On certain specified festivals they were to announce publicly in their oratory these conditions. They were to pay yearly 10*s.* to the said abbot and convent in lieu of tithes, and every five years the prior of the friars was to come to the abbey and swear to observe the terms then set forth. The houses standing between their area and the high road were to remain as before, and if at any time the friars enlarged their site they were to give due compensation to the abbot and convent. The Bishop of Lincoln was empowered to enforce the agreement by ecclesiastical censure. Friar John of Rochester was authorized by the provincial prior to swear to observe these conditions, which he accordingly did before Richard the abbot and others at Oseney on 15 August, 1257, and there is evidence that his successors continued to take the oath.[2] The Carmelites, notwithstanding this agreement, did not refrain from hearing confessions, and paid no attention to Archbishop Peckham when he prohibited them from so doing in 1280.[3]

The next addition to their area was a piece of land with buildings on it extending from their place to the king's highway, lying between the land of Nicholas de Stockwell on either side. It had been held of the canons of Oseney by Nicholas the writer.[4] In 1269 they purchased from the canons of Oseney for 10 marks the annual rent of 10*s.* for tithes which they were wont to pay them 'from the ground on which their oratory was built, and from the adjacent plot towards the south, which is 40 ft. wide, and extends in length to the Thames.'[5] From the general inquisition made by Edward I in 1278 it appears that these friars had bought from Nicholas de Forsthull a house which used to render to the prioress of Littlemore 3*s.*; 'and they have appropriated several tenements, in what way and by what warrant is not known.'[6] In 1280 they obtained the royal licence to receive, from any persons willing to enfeoff them, as much of the adjoining land as they required for the enlargement of their place, and to hold the same in mortmain.[7] It was probably in virtue of this licence that they acquired from Richard, 'called Maydeloc,' a piece of ground, 60 ft. by 30 ft., lying between the land formerly of William de Eynsham, and that formerly of Richard Lekam, on which they built their gateway. For this they agreed in 1282 to pay the convent of Oseney 16*s.* yearly as composition for all tithes and offerings due to the church of St. George in the Castle.[8]

Meantime the friars had been building their church and houses. For their church they received gifts of oaks from Henry III in 1258, 1266, 1267, 1268, and for their houses in 1259.[9] Edward I gave them oaks for the church in 1276 and 1286.[10] A commission of oyer and terminer was issued to R. Fulconis and W. of Amersham, in 1283, touching the evil-doers who broke the door of the Carmelite Friars, beat, wounded, and ill-treated some of the friars and perpetrated other crimes.[11] This alleged attack may have been connected with the foundation of Gloucester College in 1283 on land claimed by the Carmelites. The prior of the Carmelites brought an assize of novel disseisin against the abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, in 1288, the result of which is unknown.[12]

A chapter of the province was held here on 15 August, 1264, for which the king granted a pittance,[13] and another in 1289, to the expenses of which Edward I contributed £6 13*s.* 4*d.*[14] The friars received an alms of 4 marks in 1291 from the executors of Queen Eleanor.[15] Towards the end of the reign of Edward I Nicholas de Cateby was charged with having received books and other goods stolen from the house of the Carmelites at Oxford; he was outlawed for not appearing to answer the charge, and pardoned by Edward II in 1307.[16]

The early history of the Carmelite school is obscure. Peter de Swaynton is said to have been the first member of the order to receive the doctor's degree at Oxford;[17] and perhaps John Chelmeston, William of Littlington and William de Paul or Pagham studied there before the end of the thirteenth century.[18]

In the general chapter of the order held at London in 1312, 'many statutes were enacted especially with reference to the *studium* at Oxford.'[19] It would seem that the Carmelites

[1] Cott. MS. Vitell. E, xv, fol. 31; Wood, *City*, 417.
[2] Wood, *City*, ii, 418.
[3] Peckham, *Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 99.
[4] Wood, *City*, ii, 418; Reg. Oseney, in Cott. MS. Vitell. E, xv, fol. 211*a*.
[5] Wood, ibid. from Cott. MS. Vitell. E, xv, fol. 31*b* (this page is now lost). Twyne MS. xxii, 290.
[6] Wood, *City*, ii, 419 (an extract from a portion of the Hund. R. now lost).
[7] Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 30.
[8] Wood, *City*, ii, 419.
[9] Close, 42 Hen. III, m. 6; 50 Hen. III, m. 1; 51 Hen. III, m. 4; 52 Hen. III, m. 5; Close, 43 Hen. III, m. 9.
[10] *Cal. Close* (1272–9), p. 366; (1279–88), p. 382.
[11] Pat. 11 Edw. I, m. 7 *d.*
[12] Pat. 16 Edw. I, m. 7, 9 *d.*
[13] Liberate, 48 Hen. III, m. 1.
[14] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 318; Exch. Accts. bdle. 352, No. 18. William Hanaberg, provincial 1278–99, held two chapters at Oxford, Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 57*b*.
[15] Exch. Accts. 352, No. 27.
[16] Pat. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 13.
[17] Villiers de St. Etienne, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, i, praef.
[18] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* x, 183; lxi, 377; xliv, 76.
[19] B.M. Harl. MS. 1819, fol. 59*b* (Bale).

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Wroxton Priory



Clattercote Priory



Goring Priory



White Friars, Oxford



Bicester Priory



St. John the Evangelist's Hospital, Burford (?)



Bicester Priory

Oxfordshire Monastic Seals: Plate IV

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did not support the Friars Preachers in their controversy with the university at this time; for the Friars Preachers complained that Friar Robert of Walsingham, master of the White Friars, entered the schools to dispute at the time when Hugh of Sutton, master of the Black Friars, ought to have disputed; and John de Kerhamfrede, a Carmelite, had licence to incept, while licence was refused to several Dominicans.[1] Among Robert of Walsingham's pupils was John Baconthorpe, 'the resolute doctor,' 'prince of the Averroists,' who became the doctor of the Carmelite order as Thomas Aquinas was the doctor of the Dominicans, and Duns Scotus of the Franciscan order. Baconthorpe, after studying in Paris, returned to Oxford, where he seems to have influenced Richard FitzRalph and to have propounded views on the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the royal power, which are associated with the names of FitzRalph's contemporary Ockham and his follower Wiclif. Baconthorpe was provincial prior 1329–33; and died 1346. His writings were very numerous and various; as an exponent and defender of Averroes he seems to have had more influence in Italy than in England.[2]

When Edward II was put to flight at Bannockburn he invoked the Virgin and vowed to found a monastery for the poor Carmelites if he escaped in safety.[3] The king appears first to have provided 120 marks a year from the exchequer for the support of twenty-four friars of this order at his manor of Shene,[4] and to have negotiated with the Holy See through the provincial and the prior of the Carmelites at Oxford for the foundation of twelve friaries;[5] but on 1 February, 1317–18, in fulfilment of his vow, with the assent of the prelates and magnates of the council, in spite of the dissuasions of Hugh le Despenser, he granted to the Carmelites of Oxford the dwelling-place of his manor by the north gate of Oxford beyond the walls, generally known as the palace of Beaumont, with its closes and buildings to hold in frankalmoin to them and their successors celebrating divine service for the souls of the king's progenitors, his own soul, and the souls of all Christians.[6] On 10 February he removed the friars from Shene to Oxford, and transferred the grant of 120 marks a year to the new house.[7] The friars seem to have taken possession at once, for about Whitsuntide a scribe named Edward, asserting that he was heir to the throne, came to the royal palace of Beaumont and ordered the Carmelites to depart.[8] The gift of the manor or palace of Beaumont was confirmed by the pope (May, 1318) and by the Parliament of York (18 October, 1318), the friars being bound to celebrate for the good estate of the king, Queen Isabella, and their children.[9] The king further gave them, on 28 June, 1318, a small piece of vacant ground lying between their house and the high road—probably Stockwell Street—and permitted them to make a passage, 50 ft. in length and 10 ft. in width, under the high road connecting their new place with their old.[10] On the same day the king conferred on them two messuages on the east side of Stockwell Street, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, which he had acquired from the abbot and convent in Oseney in exchange for a tenement in the parish of St. Peter's in the East.[11] John XXII, when confirming their new seat, authorized them to sell or exchange their former dwelling-place (May, 1318).[12] At the king's request the canons of Oseney, as patrons of the church of St. Mary Magdalen, gave them permission to celebrate divine service, and the right of free sepulture for themselves, their servants, and those who elect to be buried there. Robert de Carsington, perpetual vicar of the same church, granted them similar privileges. And all these rights were confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln 25 February, 1311–12, who shortly afterwards gave the friars leave to have their new place consecrated.[13]

On 1 June, 1325, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain to the same friars of the following lands in the suburb of Oxford adjoining their dwelling-place;[14] by Adam de Brom, king's clerk (founder of Oriel College), 3 acres; by William de Burcestre of Oxford, 2 acres; by the abbot and convent of Oseney, ½ acre; by John de Shirbourn, 1 acre. Further during this reign they acquired from John de Croxford, Philip de Ewe, Richard le Grasier, Isolda de Weston, and John Culvered, divers plots in Oxford containing 1 acre; in 1337 they received pardon for entering on these without licence.[15] In 1342 the king relieved them

[1] *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii, 240, 241. See account of the Black Friars in this volume.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ii; and authorities there cited.

[3] Galf. le Baker, *Chron.* (ed. M. Thompson), 9; *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 300.

[4] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 37.

[5] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i, 316–17.

[6] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 3. Galf. le Baker, *Chron.* 9.

[7] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 37.

[8] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 344; *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 282.

[9] Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16; *Cal. Papal L.* ii, 175.

[10] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 3; Inq. a.q.d. 133 (18).

[11] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 1; Wood, *City*, ii, 421.

[12] *Cal. Papal L.* ii, 175.

[13] Wood, *City*, ii, 423. Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Mem. fols. 387*b*, 388; Burghersh, fol. 1; Twyne MS. ii, fols. 4*b*, 5*b*. The notion that the south aisle of St. Mary Magdalen's Church was the original church of the Carmelites is without foundation; Ingram, *Mem. of Oxf.* iii.

[14] Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 10.

[15] Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29; 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

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from the rent of 3*s.* 4*d.*, due from cottages acquired by them with licence of Edward II.[1]

The prior of this house came before the king on 16 October, 1325, and sought to replevy his lands which had been taken into the king's hands for his default before the justices of the bench against Richard Damory, the steward of the royal household.[2] Richard, as tenant of the fee farm of the hundred without the north gate,[3] had probably claimed that the friars owed suit at the hundred court. They obtained exemption from this duty in 1342.[4]

The possession of the royal palace was confirmed to the friars on the accession of Edward III, but the money grant of 5 marks a year for each of the twenty-four friars was withdrawn; the friars petitioned for its renewal in 1330, apparently without success.[5]

The purlieus of a royal palace were not altogether suitable for a religious house. In 1328 the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford and the bailiffs without the north gate were commanded to remove harlots and other women of bad character from the neighbourhood of the house of the Carmelite Friars, and to prevent houses being let to such persons in future—the friars being hindered in the performance of divine service by the clamour, night and day, caused by the resort of men thither.[6]

The statutes of the general chapter of the order contain a number of regulations concerning the student friars at Oxford. In 1324 it was enacted at Barcelona[7] that masters in England, when reading the act, should receive in addition to the board and lodging provided by the convent 100 *grossi antiqui*; bachelors reading the act, 80; bachelors not reading but residing in the university, 50; other students in the English universities, 30 *grossi antiqui*.[8] Each province provided for its students by means of an annual tax.[9]

In 1336 it was ordained[10] that no friar of the English province should be sent to Oxford or Cambridge unless six brethren, some of whom must be priors, testified from personal knowledge to his good character; that no friar should keep a servant, except the masters of Paris, the regent masters in the English universities and the English masters lecturing outside their own province (these were allowed to keep one servant each, to be fed at the expense of the convent); that no master at Paris or in England should at his inception spend more than 200 'black *solidi* of Tours' on feasting and drinking;[11] further, that every bachelor at Oxford and Cambridge should continue his lectures on the Sentences for two years on pain of losing his place and being incapacitated from proceeding to the degree of master. By a subsequent decree the provincial prior and *diffinitores* of the provincial chapter had power to dispense with this rule.[12] The English masters, also, were not bound to take their meals in the common refectory,[13] and were *ex officio* members of the provincial chapter.[14]

In the latter part of the fourteenth century the province was divided into four 'distinctions' or sections—those of London, York, Norwich, and Oxford—and to avoid local rivalries it was arranged that a friar should be chosen from each of these sections in turn to proceed to the degrees of bachelor and master in theology.[15]

In 1396 Cardinal Landulph, protector of the order, in reply to the complaints of the English friars that some members of the order in England obtained the degree of D.D. without being fit for it, decreed[16] that every candidate should (1) study arts for seven years, (2) study theology for seven years, (3) lecture on the Sentences for a year in a university, (4) as principal lecturer, lecture on the Sentences for two years, (5) lecture in the next year on the Bible, and (6) respond to the doctors in the wonted manner and afterwards proceed to the degree of master as is customary. These decrees were confirmed by Boniface IX in 1397. They are substantially in agreement with the university statutes, except that the latter demanded from the religious a preliminary study of arts for eight years, of theology for six years.[17]

Magnates often brought pressure to bear on the university in order to obtain degrees for friars of their household. Thus in 1353 Henry duke of Lancaster petitioned the pope for a faculty for his confessor, William de Reynham, a Carmelite, to incept in theology at Oxford, and after inception to resign at will, any statutes of the university and of the order of Friars Preachers notwithstanding.[18]

In 1360, when the opposition to the Medicant orders roused by Richard FitzRalph was still at its height, John de Norton, a Carmelite, was summoned before the chancellor's court for some breaches of the peace, and refusing to appear, was punished. With the support of his order, he appealed to the pope; Edward III then came to the help of the university and ordered the

[1] Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.
[2] Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 26*d*.
[3] Cf. *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), 173.
[4] Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.
[5] Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 17; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1577; Anct. Pet. (P.R.O.), 512; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 35.
[6] Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14.
[7] B.M. Add. MS. 16372, fol. 17*b*.
[8] In 1345 the general chapter decreed that florins should be used in reckoning, as *grossi* were scarce and their value uncertain (ibid. fol. 50*b*). Cf. *Camb. Doc.* i, 379.
[9] B.M. Add. MS. 16372, fol. 42*b*.
[10] Ibid. fols. 42–4; 56.
[11] Cf. *Mun. Acad.* 383: 'tu jurabis quod non expendes in inceptione tua ultra tria millia Toronensium grossorum.'
[12] Ibid. 46*b* (A.D. 1342).
[13] Ibid. fol. 48.
[14] Ibid. 46*b*.
[15] *Cal. Papal L.* v, 1.
[16] Ibid. 19–20
[17] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), 391.
[18] *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 240.

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provincial prior to stop all appeals against the chancellor's jurisdiction.[1]

The Mendicant Friars were accused of stirring up the Peasant Revolt in 1381, and the prior of the Oxford Carmelites joined with the heads of the other Mendicant convents at Oxford in an appeal for protection to John of Gaunt;[2] their letter appears to have been drawn up by Friar Stephen Patrington.

The last quarter of the fourteenth century was evidently a period of great intellectual activity among these friars. At this time Richard of Maidstone, confessor to John of Gaunt, was writing numerous commentaries, translating the Seven Penitential Psalms, taking part in the controversy on evangelical poverty, determining against John Ashwardby, the Wicliffite vicar of St. Mary's. Robert Ormeskirk was writing in defence of his order; Nicholas of Lynn composing his calendar, which Chaucer used in his treatise on the Astrolabe. Richard Lavenham, confessor to Richard II, was writing on logic and physics, the revelations of St. Brigit, and Wicliffite heresies; and John Kynyngham was engaged in controversies with Wiclif and his followers from 1363 till his death in 1399.[3]

The Carmelites took a prominent part in the opposition to Wiclif and his followers. The following members of their convent at Oxford joined in condemning his doctrines in the council of London: John Kynyngham, John Lovey, Peter Stokes, doctors; John Cheselden, Stephen Patrington, Thomas Legat, bachelors of theology; and John Wrotham, regent of Oxford, was one of the Carmelites at the council of Stamford.[4] The archbishop commissioned Peter Stokes, whom he knew to have laboured more than all the others against the Lollards, to publish the condemnation of Wiclif's doctrine at Oxford, 28 May, 1382.[5] The general feeling there was strong in Wiclif's favour; Stokes and his brethren went in fear of their lives, and when the Carmelite doctor 'determined' against Philip Repingdon on 10 June, men were seen in the school with arms concealed under their clothes.[6] Stephen Patrington, who was chosen twenty-second provincial prior in 1399, was employed as commissary at Oxford against the Lollards in 1414, and was perhaps the original author of the narrative which formed the basis of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*.[7] This is generally ascribed to the more famous friar, Thomas Netter of Walden, who was a pupil of the Franciscan William Woodford at Oxford, *c.* 1390, and later (*c.* 1410?) was engaged in controversies with Peter Payne, the Lollard, at that time principal of St. Edmund Hall. Netter was confessor to both Henry V and Henry VI, and succeeded Patrington as provincial prior in 1417.[8]

Friar William Clerk of the diocese of Exeter, being deputed lecturer in theology at Oxford, was licensed by Pope Martin V in 1427 to hold a benefice *in commendam*.[9]

When Eugenius IV called a general chapter at Rome for the reformation of the Carmelite Order in 1446, the following friars were chosen to represent the 'distinctio' of Oxford—masters John Walton, Walter Hunt, John Stanbery, and the prior of Oxford.[10] The prior was probably John Milverton[11] who was provincial 1456–65 and again from 1469 till 1482; he wrote against Reginald Pecock, and was himself accused of heresy and imprisoned by Pope Paul II for three years. Walter Hunt is said to have been one of the chief exponents of the Latin view in the negotiations with the Greek church at the council of Florence, 1439. After this he returned to Oxford, where he spent the remaining forty years of his life. Stanbery was also a theologian of some distinction, confessor to Henry VI, and bishop of Hereford 1453.[12] Friar Thomas Gloucester was degraded and banished in 1462 for slandering two honourable bachelors of theology in a sermon in the Carmelites' church, to the great disturbance of the university.[13]

In 1401 Henry IV granted to these friars the land which he had of the grant of John Bokeland, abbot of Oseney, without the north gate of Oxford, between the friars' land on either side, for the enlargement of their dwelling place, which was strait and narrow.[14]

Henry VI used to stay in the Carmelites' house at Oxford 'as in his own palace.'[15] The place seems to have had a reputation as a health resort, and persons of distinction took lodgings there when in search of health. Thus John Twynning, abbot of Winchcombe, 'coming to this place to obtain health died among these brethren,' in 1488.[16] Reginald Pole, when a student at Oxford, lodged at the White Friars, perhaps in right of his royal blood.[17] It is possible, however, that secular students had rooms in the friary.[18] One 'Katherine Newcome, widow, living within the house of the Carmelites' is mentioned incidentally in the records of the chancellor's court in 1527.[19]

[1] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), iii, pt. i, 501; Pat. 36 Edw. III pt. ii, m. 44 *d.*

[2] *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 292.

[3] On Ormeskirk, see Tanner, *Bibl.* 562; on the rest see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and the authorities there cited. Cf. C.C.C. Oxf. MS. 151.

[4] *Fascic. Zizan.* 286 seq. 357, 500, Kynyngham's treatises, ibid. 4–103; Wiclif's answers, ibid. App.

[5] Ibid. 275, 297. [6] Ibid. 299, 302.

[7] Ibid. (Intro); *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[8] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* [9] *Cal. Papal L.* vii, 493, 515.

[10] Harl. M.S. 1819. fol. 290.

[11] Cf. Boase, *Reg. Univ. Oxf.* 16.

[12] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* [13] *Mun. Acad.* 697, 757.

[14] Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 20.

[15] J. Rossus, *Hist. Reg. Angl.* (ed. Hearne), 192.

[16] Wood, *City*, ii, 430. [17] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[18] See below, p. 142. Wood, *City*, 441.

[19] Oxf. Univ. Archives, Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fol. 217*a*.

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Among those buried in the church were Friars John Broxham, thirteenth provincial (1335), Robert Ormskirk (*c.* 1382), Walter Hunt, (1478), John Spyne (1484), Peter Keninghale, who was prior of the convent 1466, and died 1494; Richard Ferys, who was provincial 1514.[1] The name of only one secular person buried here seems to have been preserved—William Hampton, burgess of Oxford, 1336.[2]

Among the benefactors of the house was Thomas Heathfield, mechanic of Oxford, who left to the friars by will in 1373 the tenement in the parish of St. Peter's in the Bailey, after the death of his wife, to the intent that it should be sold and the money paid to the friars for his soul's health.[3] Robert Mascall, a Carmelite friar and bishop of Hereford, 1404–16, gave lands to the abbeys of Westminster and Eynsham subject to a pension of £4 and £3 respectively to the White Friars of Oxford.[4] From Durham College, Oxford, they received 10*s.* a year.[5] From Oseney Abbey they had 4*d.* a week and the price of a quarter of an ox at Christmas;[6] from Godstow nunnery, 3*s.* 4*d.* a year and a bushel of oatmeal and a bushel of pease in Lent.[7] Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, left them £10 in 1361,[8] and they received a large number of small legacies: e.g. 3*s.* 4*d.* from John Malden, provost of Oriel in 1401;[9] 20*s.* from John Claymond, president of Corpus Christi College in 1537.[10] Henry VIII gave them £13 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1512 for the repair of their church.[11] The Cordwainers at Oxford kept their light at the White Friars—the payments towards the maintenance of the light appear to have been derived from voluntary subscriptions and to have varied greatly.[12]

Leland noted several books in the Carmelite library; namely William de St. Amour's treatise against the Mendicant Friars; William Woodford's treatise against the eighteen conclusions of Wiclif, and his three determinations; Dr. Lavenham on the Physics of Aristotle; Robert Walsingham's *Quodlibeta*, *Quaestiones ordinariae* and commentaries on the Sentences; Dr. Robert Greystone, a monk of Durham, on the Sentences; the Epistles of Candidus the Arian to Marius Victorinus; Baconthorpe's Commentaries on St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*; the *Moniloquium* of John of Wales; Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, *Adversus omnes Haereses*, in five books; and Thomas Walden's *Doctrinale antiquitatum ecclesiae* in two volumes.[13] A volume in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, containing a Latin translation of an Arabic astronomical treatise, was written by order of Peter of Beccles, a Carmelite at Oxford in 1380,[14] and a copy of St. Jerome's commentaries in the Cambridge University Library seems to have been given to the convent by Friar Walter Hunt.[15]

On the eve of the dissolution the moral, intellectual, and material condition of the White Friars was far from satisfactory. In 1502 a Carmelite was imprisoned by the proctor for incontinence.[16] In 1533 a girl of thirteen disguised as a boy was found by the proctors at the White Friars 'in the cubicle of one Browne scholar,' perhaps a secular student having rooms in the friary.[17]

The long-standing hostility between the White Friars and the monks of Gloucester College broke out 1534–5, and both were bound over to keep the peace.[18] Of the twenty-four Carmelite Friars whose names appear in the university register between 1505 and 1538, three were D.D.'s of Cambridge and merely supplicated for incorporation at Oxford. The last who proceeded to a degree was John Hurlyston, B.D., of Cologne, who supplicated for the degree of D.D. in December, 1534. From that time no Carmelite appears in the register.[19]

When Dr. London visited the Oxford friaries in 1538, he wrote (7 July)[20] that the White and Austin Friars were most out of order, and in such poverty that 'if they do not forsake their houses, their houses will forsake them.' The White Friars' house was ruinous. The prior had already sold the annuity of £3 which the friary received from the abbey of Eynsham to the abbot for £40 and divided the money, and he was now in London trying to make a similar bargain with the abbot of Westminster about the annuity of £4 paid by that abbey. Their land was let for thirty years, and they had begun to sell the elms which grew about their house. Two priors had sold nearly all the jewels and plate, and apart from copes and vestments the rest of their stuff was not worth £5. They petitioned Cromwell on 6 July for licence to change their habits and surrender their house 'in consideration of their poverty, which compels them to sell their jewels, plate, and wood; and will, if they continue, compel them to sell the stones and slates of their house.'[21] They only waited for the return of the prior to make their formal surrender.

[1] Wood, *City*, ii, 430, 442.
[2] Ibid. 442, note.
[3] Ibid. 430.
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1335; *Valor Eccl.* i, 418; ii, 209.
[5] *Valor Eccl.* v, 306; 40*s.* in alms to the four orders *et aliis pauperibus.*
[6] Ibid. ii, 223.
[7] Ibid. 191.
[8] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 47.
[9] Reg. Archbishop Arundel, fol. 198.
[10] Wood, MS. D. 2. 613.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, p. 1455.
[12] *Arch. Journ.* vi, 156–7.
[13] Leland, *Collectanea*, iii, 59.
[14] MS. C.C.C. Oxf. 151.
[15] MS. Ff. iv, 31.
[16] Wood, *City*, ii, 445 (from Reg. C fol. 169*b*.).
[17] Oxf. Univ. Archives; Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fol. 249*b*.
[18] Ibid. fol. 323*b*.
[19] Boase, *Reg.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).
[20] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1335, 1342.
[21] Ibid. 1335 (2).

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The names of those desiring capacities (31 August, 1538) were[1] Richard Chesse the prior, John Tyndall and Lawrence Semar, B.D.'s; Thomas Sydall, Bartholomew Blythman, Robert Churleys, John Haynes, and John Bacon, priests; Anthony Fozton and Robert Eston, not in orders. They had not received their capacities on 6 November, 1538, and had to be found in meat and drink.[2]

The plate sent to London by the visitor consisted of three chalices, a silver ship, two silver cruets, a silver-gilt pax, and a silver-gilt censer.[3] There was little or no lead.[4]

Dr. London asked that Mr. Banaster, who though mayor of Oxford had nothing but 4*d.* a day of the king, might have the site of the White Friars during his lifetime (he was now growing old), and that after his decease it might go to the town.[5]

This plan was not carried out. The site was let at a rent of £3 4*s.*,[6] until 1541, when it was granted with the other lands to Edmund Powell of Sandford, county Oxford, gent., for £388 5*s.* and for certain lands in New Windsor which Powell had given to the king. The site included, besides the house itself, a tenement and garden adjoining the gate, another tenement and garden within the precincts of the friary, a way called the Entry which led from Magdalen parish church to the friary, a stable, a close called the timber-yard containing about 1 acre, 3½ acres of land called Gloucester College close, another close containing 2 acres lying to the south side of the church.[7]

The greater part of the buildings was pulled down by Powell and his children, much of the stone being carried to St. Frideswide's in 1546; the refectory remained standing till about 1596, and was used as a poor-house for the parish of St. Mary Magdalen; it was then demolished and the materials used to enlarge the library of St. John's College.[8]

Priors

John of Rochester,[9] 1256
Roger de Crostweyte,[10] 1278
Henry,[11] 1284
William,[12] *temp.* Edward I
Hugh de Riseberge,[13] 1301
William,[14] 1317
William de Geyton,[15] 1338
William,[16] 1416
John Manning,[17] 1434
John Milverton,[18] *c.* 1449
William Stapleherst,[19] *c.* 1452
Peter Keninghale,[20] 1466, 1481
Richard Tertney,[21] 1499
Peter Nicholas,[22] 1510
Richard Feris,[23] 1511
Robert Lawe or Low,[24] 1521
Richard Chesse or Cheyfe,[25] 1532, 1538

The seal of the convent in the thirteenth century represents on the right Henry III in a tabard of the royal arms of England, crowned, in the left hand a sceptre, in the right hand a church, which he is delivering to two friars; on the left the Virgin, standing, crowned, the Child on the left arm. Over her head an estoile of six points, at her right side a flowering tree. In base under an arch with carved spandrels an ox passing a ford, to the right. Legend :—

S' COMVNE FRATRV ORDIS BE MARIE DE CARMELO OXONIE[26]

The seal of the prior, also of the thirteenth century, is pointed oval, and shows the Virgin seated in a canopied niche with trefoiled arch, pinnacled and crocketed, with tabernacle work at the sides; holding the Child on the seat, standing on the right. At the left, the prior kneeling in prayer. In base, under a round-headed arch, an ox couchant, to the right. Legend :—

S' PRIORIS OXONIE ORDINIS CARMELI[27]

27. THE HOUSE OF AUSTIN FRIARS

Sir John Handlow, knt., then or later lord of the manor of Borstall, about 1268 acquired several parcels of land from divers persons in the suburb of Oxford opposite the gate called Smithgate, which parcels at the instance of the said knight the king gave to the Austin Friars to

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 235.
[2] Ibid. 767.
[3] Ibid. 94, 236.
[4] Ibid. 489.
[5] Ibid. (1), 1341, 1342.
[6] Wood, *City*, ii, 431, 444.
[7] P.R.O. Particulars for Grants, file 895; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 71 (13).
[8] Wood, *City*, ii, 227–8; 431, 445; Hutten, *Antiq. of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 82.
[9] Wood, *City*, 418, 440.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 19 *d.*
[12] Wood, *City*, ii, 440.
[13] Ibid. 418, 440.
[14] Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), ii, pt. i, 316.
[15] Wood, *City*, 440.
[16] B. M. Add. Chart. 5837; a letter of fraternity to John Lincoll' and Agnes his wife.
[17] Wood, ibid.; Oxf. Univ. Archives, Acta Cur. Canc. Aaa. fol. 1.
[18] Gutch, i, 605; Pits, 673; cf. Boase, *Reg.* pp. vi, 16.
[19] Boase, *Reg.* 14; Gutch, i, 621; Pits, 648.
[20] Oxf. Univ. Archives, Acta Cur. Canc. Aaa. fol. 232; *Cal. of Chart.* in the Bodleian, 283.
[21] Wood, *City*, ii, 440.
[22] Acta Cur. Canc. ∃ fol. 70*b*. 109*b*.
[23] Ibid. fol. 70*b*, 143*b*.
[24] Wood, *City*, ii, 441.
[25] Ibid. and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 235.
[26] B.M. *Cat. of Seals*, 3812; cf. 3813; *Archaeologia*, xviii, 427; Gale Pedrick, *Mon. Seals*, No. 74.
[27] B.M. *Cat. of Seals*, 3814; cf. 3815; fragment of this seal appended to B. M. Add. Chart. 5837 (A.D. 1416).

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build a church and other houses and offices. Sir John Handlow was, after the king, considered as the chief founder of the friary.[1] The foundation was confirmed by Pope Gregory X.[2] The following gifts may be included among these parcels: in 1268 the king gave to the friars to found an oratory (1) the land with its appurtenances in the parish of Holywell which he had of the gift of Roger le Clerc of Cumnor—the friars being bound to pay yearly one silver halfpenny to Roger and the service due to the chief lord; (2) the land in the same parish which he had of the gift of Master Martin de Wynton, the friars being bound to pay yearly one silver halfpenny to Martin, 12*d.* to the chief lord, and 6*d.* to the heirs of Peter de Brideport.[3] In 1269–70 Bogo de Clare, rector of the church of St. Peter in the East, at the instance and precept of his lord and patron King Henry, granted to these friars part of his land in the parish of Holywell, 'lying between the high road which runs towards Beaumont and the land of Master Walter Byllingdon,' to build there a chapel and houses, and to hold without any service or exaction. This land paid to the rector of St. Peter's in the East 3*s.* 2*d.* and 1 lb. of pepper a year; and in compensation for the loss, John de Coleshull, burgess of Oxford, gave to him 4*s.* of annual rent from a messuage in the Jewry held by Lumbard de Crekelade, a Jew.[4] About the same time Robert Maynard of Oxford, chaplain, arranged that Philip son of John le Kyng of Holywell should pay 2*s.* a year to the rector of Holywell on behalf of the Austin Friars out of lands which the said Philip held of him.[5] In 1271 the king gave these friars 5 marks towards the purchase of their area.[6]

From the convent of St. Frideswide, while John Leuekonore was prior (1278–84), the friars, in consideration of 100*s.* of silver, acquired a piece of land in the suburb of Oxford in the parish of Holywell, lying between the land of the friars (which was formerly held by Walter le Norreys) on the south and east, and the land of Richard of Canterbury on the north, and Beaumont Street (now Park Road) on the west, together with two other adjacent plots.[7] This land probably contained the five houses of Alexander the fisher, Stapeleston the scribe, Thomas the mason, and John de Zestele, which were demised by St. Frideswide's convent to the Austin Friars at this time.[8] Towards the building of the church and houses Sir John Handlow after the death of Henry III made many grants, but he died before the completion of the church, in which he desired to be buried.[9] Grants of oaks for timber from the king between 1269 and 1275 show that building was then going on.[10] On 16 November, 1316, Edward II, on the information of Friar Luke his confessor, gave the Austin Friars a piece of ground in his quarry in the forest of Shotover with licence to dig for stone there for the fabric of their church and houses at Oxford.[11]

Elias le Coylter of Oxford desired to alienate in mortmain to the Austin Friars a messuage in the suburb of Oxford in 1293–4: an inquest was held and the jurors made a favourable return, but there is no record of the grant having been made.[12] In June, 1335, the king granted to them two messuages and an acre of land adjoining their place, which he had of the gift of William le Taillour of Higham Ferrers, chaplain. These were held of the Warden of Merton, who possessed also rights of pasture there, and the friars

cunningly contrived by deception and collusion of the common law that they should still be held in the king's hands, that by that colour they may enclose them and exclude the warden of Merton.

The king refused to be a party to the fraud, and the college made good its claim in proceedings in the Mayor's Court and then in the Court of King's Bench (1339), and seems to have exacted a rent of 21*s.* 6*d.* a year for the land. The prior of the Austin Friars was ordered to pay £10 damages.[13] In a plea of 'fresh force' or novel disseisin which the college instituted before the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford 1338, the names of the friars are given, which being, as Wood remarks, 'a rarity,' we insert here: John de Saltford, prior, William de Circestre, Walter de Chaleston, William de Chedeworth, Nicholas de Abyndon, John de la Chapele, John de Ykesworth, William de Durham, Nicholas de Longevylle, John de Bristowe, Guido de Cantebrugge, John de Coleby, John filius Thomae de Bedell de Oxon, John de Stodeham, and John filius Ricardi le Cooke dictus Mek de Oxon, 'being fourteen besides the prior, other students of the same order, and servants belonging to the house.'[14]

[1] Wood, *City*, ii, 454–5; Kennet, *Parochial Antiq.* 270, &c.; cf. leiger bk. of the lords of Borstall, Coll. of Arms, Vincent MS. 85, fol. 136*a–b*.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Rot. Cart. 52 Hen. III, m. 7; Wood, *City*, 447, who reads 'Martin de Bruton.'
[4] Rot. Cart. 54 Hen. III, m. 2; Wood, ibid.
[5] Merton Coll. Archives, No. 2696.
[6] Liberate R. 55 Hen. III, m. 2.
[7] Merton Coll. Archives, No. 2634; Wood, *City*, ii, 448.
[8] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide* (ed. Wigram, Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 259.
[9] Wood, *City*, ii, 455.
[10] Close, 54 Hen. III, m. 4; 56 Hen. III, m. 7; *Cal. Close* (1272–9), p. 205.
[11] Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8.
[12] Inq. a.q.d. (P. R. O.), 23 (18).
[13] Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20; 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 38; 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30; Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 18*d*; *Year Bks.* (Rolls Ser.), 15 Edw. III, 56–60, 332, 475–82; 16 Edw. III, 256; Placita Coram Rege, Pasch. 15 Edw. III, R. 63. Merton Coll. Archives, Nos. 2662, 2699, 2651, 2763. Proceedings appear to have been still going on in 1348.
[14] Wood, *City*, ii, 463.

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In 1336 Edward III granted £20 to Friar Geoffrey of Maldon, Austin friar of Oxford going to parts beyond the sea.[1]

Archbishop Peckham forbade the Austin Friars of Oxford to hear confessions in 1280 until they showed him by what authority they acted.[2] In 1284 he denounced them for excommunicating and defaming the Friars Minors of Oxford who had received one of their friars, though 'it is lawful to change a vow for a better one.'[3] In 1289 three of the Mendicant Orders held provincial chapters at Oxford, that of the Austin Friars meeting on 15 August.[4] In general the Austin Friars seem to have acted with the other orders.

A university statute passed in 1326 prescribed 'for the prosperity and utility of scholars studying in the Faculty of Arts,' that every B.A. should dispute once and respond once each year at the Austin Friars.[6] These exercises seem to have been held here till the dissolution, except for brief intermissions, as for instance in 1530, when, the convent being infected with the plague, a dispensation was granted that bachelors might perform the said exercises in St. Mary's Church.[6]

The name 'disputations in Austins' was still current in Wood's time, and down to the end of the eighteenth century every B.A. who aspired to the M.A. degree had to 'do Austins.'[7]

The 'Vesperies of Artists' might be celebrated either at St. Mildred's or at the Austin Friars.[8]

The number of disputants was large and every year two Bachelors of Arts were appointed by the proctors as 'collatores' or 'collectors' of the disputations at the Austin Friars, their business being to allot times and parts to the disputants:[9] (it was a difficult task as all candidates wanted to 'respond' and none to 'oppose').[10] Two Masters of Arts were likewise appointed yearly as masters of the Austin Schools,' one of whom had to be present as moderator at every disputation. In 1492 the university decreed

> That, whereas the Masters of the Schools at the Austin Friars work hard without reward, while the Masters of Grammar do no work and yet receive salaries from the university, the sum paid to the latter shall be transferred to the former, who shall be and shall be reckoned not only Masters of the Schools at the Austin Friars but also Masters of Grammar.[11]

The only masters of grammar paid by the university were the two supervisors of the grammar schools,[12] originally endowed by Nicholas de Tyngewick in 1321;[13] and the change in the title of the masters of the schools at the Austin Friars was perhaps necessary in order to legalize this diversion of funds to another purpose. This statute seems to be the sole basis for the belief that the Austin Friars at Oxford 'almost engrossed the tuition of grammar and at one time were noted for giving their instruction gratuitously.'[14] The masters of the Augustinian schools were not friars and did not teach grammar.[15]

The friary seems to have afforded a refuge to some scholars during the great riot of 1354.[16] In 1355 Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge were formally recognized as the only universities in which Austin Friars might act as masters of theology without licence of the prior-general or chapter-general.[17] In 1357 Friar John de Kedington of this convent, S.T.P., appealed against the chancellor and proctors of the university to the archbishop's court, in spite of the opposition of the prior of the house, and was suspended by the university authorities.[18]

At this time Richard FitzRalph was making his attacks on the Mendicant Orders, and Geoffrey de Hardeby, an Austin friar who studied at Oxford,[19] wrote a book, *De Vita Evangelica*,[20] in answer to FitzRalph's treatise on 'evangelical poverty.' Another, Thomas of Ashborne, argued against paying tribute to Gregory XI in the council of London in 1374.[21]

An Austin friar, John Schypton, was among the twelve doctors who approved the decree condemning Wiclif's doctrines on the Eucharist. The decree was promulgated in the school of the Austin Friars in 1381, where Wiclif himself was lecturing.[22] Thomas Wyntirton, another Austin friar, and contemporary of Wiclif at Oxford, published a treatise against Wiclif's *Confessio*.[23] Among the Oxford Augustinians who took part in the proceedings against Wiclif and his followers were Thomas of Ashborne, John Banekyne, John Courte, Robert Waldby, afterwards archbishop of Dublin and finally of York, and John Waldby about this time provin-

[1] Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 21.
[2] Peckham, *Reg. Epist.* (Rolls Ser.), 99–100.
[3] Ibid. 838–40.
[4] *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 318.
[5] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), 118.
[6] Wood, *City*, ii, 450, from Univ. Archives, *Reg.* H. fol. 213*b*, &c. Probably they were intermitted in 1438; see below, and Anstey, *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 162.
[7] *Reg. Univ. Oxf.* ii, pt. i, 74; *Reminis. of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 164.
[8] *Mun. Acad.* 429.
[9] Ibid. 118, 749; *Reminis. of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 95–6.
[10] *Mun. Acad.* 411.
[11] Ibid. 363.
[12] Ibid. 440.
[13] *Engl. Hist. Rev.* vi, 152.
[14] Mullinger, *Univ. of Camb.* i, 565; Anstey, *Mun. Acad.* lxiii.
[15] Cf. Boase, *Reg.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 295, 296.
[16] Wood, *Annals*, i, 457–9; Maxwell Lyte, *Univ. of Oxf.* 162–3.
[17] *Cal. Papal L.* iii, 563.
[18] Twyne MS. (Oxf. Univ. Archives), iii, 368–70. (See also Twyne MS. ii, fols. 98–9.)
[19] Bale, *Index Scriptorum* (ed. Poole), 79; Digby MS. 161, fol. 2.
[20] Preserved in Digby MS. 113, fols. 1–117.
[21] *Eulog. Hist.* (Rolls. Ser.), iii, 337–8; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lvi, 175.
[22] *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls. Ser.), 113.
[23] Printed in *Fascic. Zizan.* 181–238.

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cial prior of the order. Peter Pateshull, who became a Lollard and made violent attacks on his order, was an Austin friar and D.D. of Oxford.[1]

In 1396 an Austin friar was refused the grace to read the Sentences (i.e. to take the B.D. degree) because he had omitted a single disputation in the year of his opponency.[2] This was perhaps Friar Anthony Ciccarelli of St. Elpidio in the diocese of Fermo, Italy, who in 1398 received from Boniface IX licence for himself and another member of his order of his choice to transfer themselves from Oxford to Paris; Friar Anthony had been deputed by his superiors to study theology at Oxford and promoted to the degree of lector, but could not complete his course there 'on account of the divisions of the country and the impotence of the convent.[3]

In 1420 the university entrusted the duty of deciding what should be done with the unreclaimed pledges deposited in the chests before the first pestilence to a committee of five Mendicant friars: their names were Thomas Benham, O.P., Thomas Chayne, O.M., Richard Franke Ord. S. Aug., John Lauvale, Ord. Carm., Robert Hyldreskelf, O.P.[4]

In 1438 Philip Norreys, S.T.P., seems to have attacked the Austin Friars in his lectures, and was cited to appear before the conservators of the order. William Musilwyk, regent master of the Austin Friars, excommunicated him without leave of the chancellor, and the case came before the Privy Council. The university resented this violation of their privileges, and after due deliberation degraded Musilwyk and suspended his convent which supported him. Eventually the university remitted the penalty on the friar as a special favour to the Duke of Gloucester.[5] In 1450 John Norreys did penance for laying violent hands on Thomas English, an Austin friar.[6]

The expenses of inception formed the subject of complaint of the Mendicant Orders to the king in 1460.[7] Thus in 1429 William Russell, described as an Austin friar but perhaps a Minorite, paid £10 in lieu of feasting the regent masters,[8] and John Goodwin, prior of the Austin friary, paid the like sum in 1447.[9] The university denied the friars' statements with regard to the cost of degrees, but in 1478 decreed that every Mendicant friar should either feast the regent masters or pay 10 marks on inception.[10]

Among the benefactors of the Austin Friars were the executors of Queen Eleanor, who gave them 4 marks in 1291;[11] John de Chastleton, illuminator, who in 1317 left a tenement in Cat Street to be sold and the money given to these friars that they might insert his name in their martyrology;[12] John de Docklington 1335 (20*s.*);[13] John Bereford (mayor at the time of the riot on St. Scholastica's Day), in 1361 (13*s.* 4*d.*);[14] Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford in 1361 (£10);[15] Richard de Garaford in 1395;[16] Lady Eleanor de Sancto Amando in 1426 (£2);[17] Robert Abdy, master of Balliol, in 1483 (20*s.*);[18] John Claymond, president of Corpus Christi College, in 1536 (20*s.*)[19]

From the nunnery of Godstow they received 3*s.* 4*d.* a year and a peck of oatmeal and one of peas in Lent;[20] from Oseney, 4*d.* a week, and 5*s.* at Christmas;[21] from Durham College, 10*s.* a year.[22] They were not in receipt of an annual grant from the exchequer.

William of Worcester gives the following measurements of the church: 'length of the choir 60 steps, of the nave 66 steps, width 40 steps.'[23]

Very few names of those buried in the church besides the founder have come to light; those of Thomas Elkyns of Oxford 'freemason,' 1449,[24] and Walter Curson of Waterperry (1527) and Isabel his wife are recorded. The monument over the tomb of the Cursons was removed after the dissolution to Waterperry church, where it may still be seen.[25]

In 1456 Edmund Rede, esq., a descendant of Sir John Handlow, claimed the privileges of founder by hereditary right. The claim was after investigation admitted by the prior and convent, at whose request John Capgrave, the provincial prior, attended the ceremony of his installation. This took place 21 April in the presence of the prior of St. Frideswide's, the master of the Hospital of St. John without the East Gate, the Warden of the New College, the proctors, and others. To Edmund Rede and his son William

[1] *Fascic. Zizan.* 286, 291, 499; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* ii, 157–9; *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls. Ser.), 377. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii, 136; xliv, 29; lvi, 175; lix, 12; cf. Chancery Warrants, file 1767, No. 10 (P.R.O.).
[2] *Mun. Acad.* 236.
[3] *Cal. Papal L.* v, 159; cf. ibid. 382–3.
[4] *Mun. Acad.* i, 275.
[5] Anstey, *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 160–6.
[6] *Mun. Acad.* 603. The convent perhaps lay under an interdict in 1453; ibid. 742.
[7] *Epist. Acad.* 353–4.
[8] Ibid. 49; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 258.
[9] *Mun. Acad.* 564.
[10] *Epist. Acad.* 353–4; *Mun. Acad.* 353.
[11] Exch. Acct. (P.R.O.), 352 (27).
[12] Wood, *City*, ii, 456, 462.
[13] Wood MS. (Bodl. Lib.), D. 2, p. 61.
[14] Twyne MS. xxiii, 758.
[15] Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*, 46–7.
[16] Twyne MS. xxiii, 427.
[17] Lambeth, Reg. Chicheley i, fol. 392.
[18] *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc), iii, 284.
[19] Wood MS. D. 2, p. 613.
[20] *Valor Eccl.* ii, 191. [21] Ibid. 223.
[22] Ibid. v, 306; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 18.
[23] W. de Worcestre, *Itin.* 297.
[24] *Mun. Acad.* 595.
[25] Wood, *City*, ii, 456; *Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxf. Arch. Soc.), No. 210.

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the friars assigned certain chambers in their house lying between the church on the south and the refectory on the north, together with a garden adjoining.[1] The friars seem to have taken in lodgers, for in 1501 we find mention of William Kemp, tanner, 'living within the Austin Friars.'[2]

Edward IV, 8 March, 1473–4 granted to these friars on account of their poverty the right of having a fair for all kinds of merchandise yearly on 5 to 10 May on their soil adjoining their church, and of holding a court of pie-powder there before their steward to hear and determine trespasses and evil-doings committed within the fair, with power of arrest and imprisonment.[3] The fair was in 1538 said to be worth £4 or £5 to them,[4] and seems to have been of considerable importance to the neighbourhood.[5]

In the fifteenth century John Banard, theological writer and Austin friar, is said to have been chancellor of the university in 1412.[6] He would thus be the first chancellor chosen after the suppression of the academic freedom by Archbishop Arundel. It is probable that John Lowe, provincial prior in 1428, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph and of Rochester, principal founder of the great library of the Austin Friars of London, and the famous John Capgrave, provincial in 1456, studied at Oxford.[7] Thomas Penketh, provincial in 1469, famous for his knowledge of Duns Scotus, taught theology here in 1473 and 1477.[8] William Galeon (1507) provincial prior and reformer of his order, was a student in this convent.[9]

The common library of the Austin Friars was placed at the end of the dormitory.[10] Thomas Gascoigne in 1430 noted several books here :[11] various works of Ægidius (Romanus), and of Hugo (de Sancto Victore ?) ; William of Auxerre on the Sentences ; 'an excellent index of original doctors according to the order of books, not of the alphabet ;' the *Correctorium Corruptorii* and Paris *Quodlibeta* of Thomas Aquinas ; several works of Anselm and Dionysius the Areopagite. It is probable that Royal MS. 10 A xv in the British Museum—containing the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua, and William of Occam's *De Imperatorum et Pontificum Potestate* — was bought by Gascoigne from this library.

In the last thirty years of the existence of the friary, only twenty-two Austin Friars appear in the university register.[12] Among them were John Stokes, provincial prior and D.D. of Cambridge, who incepted as D.D. of Oxford in 1512 ; William Wetherall, who was provincial prior in 1531 ;[13] and George Browne, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, who by Cromwell's influence obtained the degree of D.D. in 1534 'without costs or charges'[14]

The university authorities seem to have been suspicious of Lutheran tendencies among the Austin friars. In 1527 Alice Crispe was reported to have married John Dayryke *alias* Daywyke, an Austin friar ; 'and because the aforesaid contract seems to be contrary to the sacred canons, and to agree with the opinions of the Lutherans, which alas are very prevalent just now among schismatics and heretics,' Alice was summoned before the chancellor's court. Eventually she cleared herself of the charge with four 'compurgatrices.' No action seems to have been taken with regard to the friar.[15]

From another entry in the records of the chancellor's court it appears that in 1531 Friar John Wyg had gone away owing the convent 33*s.* 8*d.* ; the friars obtained the court's permission to appropriate Wyg's mare, which, however, was valued at only 7*s.*[16]

George Browne was made provincial of the Austin Friars in 1534 by the king, and in the same year general visitor (with John Hilsey, O.P.) of all the Mendicant Orders.[17] He was also prior of the London house, and acted as head of the Oxford convent, and in this capacity is said to have felled the best trees, taken away stuff and plate to the value of 200 marks, together with £9 11*s.* 1*d.* in money.[18] The plate included various goblets and salts, nine silver spoons with maidens' heads, and six Apostle spoons. He left only three chalices for the visitor to send to Cromwell.

Dr. John London was commissioned to visit the Oxford friaries, in conjunction with the mayor (Mr. Banaster), Mr. Pye, and Mr. Fryer.[19] The Austin Friars he found had only 6 or 7 acres of land, and their house was ruinous.[20] They and the White Friars were in such poverty that 'if they do not forsake their houses, their

[1] Wood, *City*, ii, 454–5, from the leiger book of the lords of Borstall, now MS. Vincent 85 in the College of Arms ; Kennet, *Parochial Antiq.* Capgrave, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), App. 330.

[2] Acta Cur. Canc. (Oxf. Univ. Archives), C fol. 108.

[3] Pat. 14 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 23 ; Original preserved in Wadham College. Cf. *Records of the City of Oxf.* 18–19 (A.D. 1518) ; Acta Cur. Canc. (Oxf. Univ. Archives), H fol. 89*b*.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1342.

[5] Cf. ibid. ii, 4125 (A.D. 1518).

[6] Wood, *City*, ii, 453, 467, referring to MS. C.C.C. Oxf. 116.

[7] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* [8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid. [10] B. M. Royal MS. 10 A xv.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Boase, *Reg. Univ. Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i.

[13] Cf. Acta Cur. Canc. (Oxf. Univ. Archives), EEE. fol. 265*a*.

[14] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 404.

[15] Acta Cur. Canc. EEE. fol. 217.

[16] Ibid. fol. 184.

[17] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 587 (18), 530, 665, 807, 953, 982, 1255.

[18] Ibid. xiii (1), 1342 ; (2), 236.

[19] Ibid. (1), 1335 (1).

[20] Ibid. and 1342.

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houses will forsake them.' Their church ornaments and household stuff were not worth £10. The Austin Friars surrendered at once on 6 or 7 July. But the visitors felt bound to provide them with meat and drink till their capacities were sent. The list of Austin Friars desiring capacities on 31 August contains ten names: Ralph Jonson, Geoffrey Tomson, Edward Foxgill, William Mory, Edmund Hyans, Thomas Fryth, Michael Symson, George Elsdan, Robert York, Robert Baly.[1] It appears that the capacities had not yet arrived on 6 November.[2]

Dr. London had on 8 July urged Cromwell that the site of the Austin Friars and the profits of their fair should be granted to Mr. Pye for life, and then to the town.[3] These proposals were not carried out. After being let to yearly tenants in 1539 the site was leased in 1546 for 21 years to Thomas Carden, esq., for 46*s.* 4*d.* a year. It was then purchased by Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, and in 1552 sold by him and Thomas Duport to Henry Bayley (husband of Anne Frere), from whom it passed to William Frere. He sold it in 1588–9 to the city, from whom it was acquired by the foundress of Wadham College.[4]

PRIORS

John de Saltford,[5] 1338
John,[6] 1357
John Goodwin,[7] 1447
John Stockton,[8] 1456
Thomas Thwayts,[9] 1489.
John Storke or Stock,[10] 1499, 1508, 1509
William Wetherall,[11] 1515 (?)
Ralph Wedell,[12] 1518
John Hancocks[13] was sub-prior in 1533

28. THE HOUSE OF CRUTCHED FRIARS

The Friars of the Holy Cross, who were distinct from the order of Cross-bearing Friars,[14] came to England about 1248,[15] but do not seem to have had a house in Oxford till nearly a hundred years later.[16] On 29 July, 1342, the Crutched Friars of London had licence to acquire land in Oxford, not held in chief, to the value of £10 yearly.[17] On the same day Simon de Gloucester of Oxford had licence to alienate in mortmain a messuage in Oxford to the prior and Crutched Friars by the Tower of London, 'that they may found there a dwelling-place for thirteen student friars of their order, to stay for study in the University there, and for the increase of the service of God and his Church, and to celebrate divine service for ever, for the good estate of the king and his children, as long as they live, and for their souls after death and for the souls of his progenitors and the faithful dead.'[18] The position of this messuage is not known, but it may be noted that in February, 1342–3, Simon de Gloucester made recognition that he and his predecessors were wont to pay to St. Frideswide's 9*d.* a year for his tenement called White Hall in Schidyard Street.[19]

In 1343 Thomas Legh, of Oxford, town-clerk, sought permission to grant to the Friars of the Holy Cross in London a messuage without the South Gate of Oxford, in Grandpont.[20] This was probably Broadgates Hall or Plomerhall.[21] In May, 1349, Richard Cary, several times mayor of Oxford, had licence to grant the same friars two messuages and a plot of ground contiguous to their dwelling-place. One messuage was held of the abbess of Godstow for 5*s.* rent,

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1335, 1342; (2), 94, 235. On Symson, see *Reg. Univ. Oxf.* (ed. Boase), i, 201. Wood mentions a mathematician, Friar Whitehead, as a member of this house, and says that he was the real author of Henry Billingsley's 'Elements of Geometry,' &c., published in 1570.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 767; Wright, *Suppression*, 227.

[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1342.

[4] Aug. Bk. (P.R.O.) 214, fol. 6; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 698; Particulars for Grants, 1987; Harl. MS. 4316, p. 3; Bodl. Rawlinson MS. *C*, 936; see also Wood, *City*, i, 504; *Colleges and Halls*, 591.

[5] Wood, *City*, ii, 463.

[6] Twyne MS. iii, 358.

[7] *Mun. Acad.* 564.

[8] Wood, *City*, ii, 454.

[9] *Epist. Acad.* 559, 561; J. Cope, sub-prior.

[10] Acta Cur. Canc. (Oxf. Univ. Archives), C. fol. 7*b.*; H. fol. 57, 93; Wood, *Fasti*, 4.

[11] Acta Cur. Canc. Reg. G, p. 279; Wood, *City*, ii, 467; *Fasti*, i (48).

[12] Acta Cur. Canc. Reg. H, 22; Wood, *Fasti*, i, 48.

[13] Acta Cur. Canc. (Oxf. Univ. Archives), EEE, fol. 255*b.*

[14] York MS. of Eccleston, fol. 24*a*; Pat. 28 Hen. III, m. 2; Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 496 (1244).

[15] Pat. 33 Hen. III, m. 2.

[16] Wood, *City*, i, 65, refers to the Crossed Friars in 1273; this is a mistake for Crusaders; see Twyne MS. xxiii, 83. In the will of Nicholas de Weston, 1271, money is left to five houses of friars in Oxford, and to eight other religious houses and nine anchorets; as the Crutched Friars are not mentioned, it may be assumed that they had no house in Oxford in 1271; Bodl. Oseney Charters, 14.

[17] Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 25.

[18] Ibid. m. 22. Wood says the number of friars was 30 (*City*, ii, 492, from Coll. Milonis Windsore in bibl. C.C.C. Oxf.).

[19] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide's* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 134–5. Wood states that he was the owner of Bekes Inn and Kepeharme Hall (*City*, i, 538–9). He was bailiff in 1331, mayor in 1336, and one of the parliamentary burgesses in 1340 (Wood, *City*, iii, 14, 15, 45).

[20] Inq. a.q.d. 268 (18).

[21] Cf. Wood, *City*, i, 303; *Cartul. of St. Frideswide's*, i, 342–3. There were several Broadgates Halls.

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the other messuage was held of St. Frideswide's priory at a rent of 6*d*., and the plot of ground which lay between the tenement of Thomas Legh on the north and that of Nicholas de Longford, fisherman, on the south, was held of the same priory at a rent of 4*s*. The net value of the whole to the friars was 2*s*. 6*d*.[1]

About this time the friars came into possession of a new site near the East Gate. They had licence 24 June, 1349, from Libertus, the general of the Order, to hold lands, houses, and tenements and receive novices,[2] and a papal decree of 27 September, 1350, addressed to the prior and Augustinian Friars of the Holy Cross in Oxford and signed by the pope and ten cardinals, confirmed the property and privileges of the friary, including the site of the house, the hall called 'Schipalle' with its garden, with meadows, woods, pastures, water-mills, and other liberties and immunities.[3]

The new site was on the property of the warden and fellows of Merton College, who stipulated[4] that the friars should pay 1 mark yearly for tithes to the parish church, which belonged to the college; that one of the brethren should pray daily in the oratory for the founder, warden, and fellows of the college; that they should pay a rent of 20*s*. a year for the ground; that they should not celebrate divine service in their oratory with a loud voice when the parishioners were at mass in the parish church, except on the two festivals of the Holy Cross; that they should not hear confessions nor bury any of the parishioners in their chapel without leave from the vicar of the parish church or the warden of Merton College, or at least unless the deceased had willed his body to be buried there; that they should do nothing to the prejudice of the mother church in receiving or enticing legacies from any of the parishioners on their deathbeds, upon penalty of refunding threefold to the vicar; with other considerations. Upon giving security for the performance of these conditions, they proceeded with their building, which contained in length on the south side 59 ft., and at the east end 30 ft. But before the foundations were up the Bishop of Lincoln forbade them to go on with the chapel, 26 July, 1349;[5] and Richard de Medmenham, proctor of Merton College, met Thomas,[6] the prior of the friars of the Cross, on the site (24 March, 1349–50), and formally 'announced' the said work by throwing a pebble; he explained his words in English to the prior, who replied: 'God will help us.'[7] The friars gave up the attempt to build on this site, but in 1352 they began publicly to celebrate divine service in another place hard by, called the people to mass by the sound of a bell, and received offerings. Acting on the instructions of the bishop, Thomas abbot of Oseney cited the prior, Simon Veal, 'called of Cornwall,'[8] to appear before him, and, on his failure to do so, excommunicated him. Simon appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who summoned the warden and scholars of Merton to appear before his court in London.[9] The result of the appeal is not known. The friars seem to have succumbed to this opposition, combined perhaps with pestilence. There is no evidence that they had a house in this district when New College was founded.

John son of Walter Wrenche of Milton,[10] spicer, bequeathed to them five quarters of corn, 4 May, 1349, and Edmund de Bereford left them 13*s*. in his will, dated 8 January, 1350–1.[11]

Of their tenements without the South Gate, Broadgates Hall was conveyed by Richard de Charingworth, prior of the Crutched Friars (probably in London), to Sir Adam de Shareshill, knt., in 1362, with two shops adjoining it, for the term of his life, he rendering to the prior and convent a rose on the feast of St. John Baptist.[12] Further there is mention in an indenture of 1377 of a tenement in Grandpont which the friars of the Holy Cross were wont formerly to inhabit; this was demised in 1377 by Thomas Fourneys and Richard Boteler to William Witteneye, parson of St. Michael's in the South Gate, and John Grom.[13]

29. THE HOUSE OF FRIARS OF THE SACK

The Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ, called Friars of the Sack, came to Oxford in 1261 or the beginning of 1262. They were already in possession of a site in the parish of St. Budoc before 7 May, 1262, when Henry III, as patron of the church, gave them licence to build an oratory and celebrate divine service.[14]

[1] Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11. Inq. a.q.d. 294 (6); the writ is dated 8 Feb. *Cartul. of St. Frideswide's*, i, 188. This property was not near the East Gate, as Wood says (*City*, ii, 490–1).

[2] Wood, *City*, ii, 491; the original in Merton Coll. Archives, No. 1,861, is now illegible for the most part.

[3] *Cal. of Papal L.* iii, 381.

[4] Wood, *City*, ii, 491 (from various muniments of the City and Merton Coll.).

[5] Merton Coll. Muniments, No. 8.

[6] Probably Thomas de Castro; *Cal. Papal. L.* iii, 410.

[7] Merton Coll. Muniments, No. 7.

[8] Cf. *Cal. Papal L.* iii, 410.

[9] Merton Coll. Muniments, Nos. 9, 11, 12, 13. There is no entry concerning the matter in Islip's Register.

[10] Wood, *City*, ii, 388, 492; Wood MS. D, 2, p. 540.

[11] Reg. Abp. Islip, fol. 105*a*.

[12] Wood, *City*, i, 303; Wood-Gutch, *Hist.* i, 443; Twyne MS. xxiii, 474–5.

[13] Wood, *City*, ii, 490.

[14] Pat. 46 Hen. III. m. 11; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 300.

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As the church was in ruins and the district more or less uninhabited,[1] the parish of St. Budoc had been joined to the parish of St. George in the Castle; the friars therefore in this year obtained from the abbot and convent of Oseney, patrons of St. George's, licence to build a chapel which, however, was only to be used by 'seculars who were their servants, or were living with them owing to sickness.'[2] The original plot was probably that which they bought of Walter the Goldsmith, and for which in 1278 they were paying 2*s.* a year to the alien priory of Steventon.[3] Wood says that Ela de Longespee, countess of Warwick and wife of Philip Basset, furnished the purchase money, and also procured for them the licence from Oseney Abbey.[4]

In February, 1264–5, the king gave them the church of St. Budoc, which adjoined their site, with the cemetery and the houses on it, 'so far as pertained to him,' on condition that the cemetery should be kept as consecrated ground.[5] The church was said in 1285 to be worth 20*s.* a year.[6] The whole area measured 20½ perches from north to south, and was 6 perches wide at the south end, 2 perches 4 ft. at the north end.[7]

The king gave them six oaks for timber in 1267;[8] Nicholas de Weston, burgess of Oxford, left them 10*s.* in 1271, and Julian Wyth 2*s.*[9]

Oxford was one of the five *studia generalia* recognized by the order;[10] to each of these every provincial prior was entitled to send two brethren of his province who were to have the 'liberty of students.'

> In the cells they may read, write, pray, sleep, and sit up with a light at night for the sake of study. Students in any faculty and preachers shall not be bound to attend the daily chapters except on Wednesday and Friday.

Every student had to be provided by his province with at least three theological books, namely, the Bible, the Sentences, and the Histories,[11] which were to be their chief subjects of study.

This order was one of those suppressed by the Council of Lyons in 1274, that is the friars were forbidden to admit new members; the friaries came to an end when the old members died out, and were at the disposal of the apostolic see. As early as 1296 Boniface VIII ordered the Bishop of Lincoln to allow the Friars Minors to take possession of the land and houses of the Friars of the Sack in Oxford as soon as the five remaining brethren died,[12] and Clement V at the request of John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, granted the place to the Friars Minors on 27 May, 1309.[13] The lands which Henry III had granted were held to have escheated to the crown, and these Edward II conferred on the Minorites by letters patent dated 28 March, 1310.[14] On the same day he confirmed the grant of four other parcels of ground to the Minorites; some of these may have been previously held by the Friars of the Sack.[15]

In March, 1319, the Friars Minors formally surrendered to the king the area which had belonged to the Friars of the Penance 'in its entirety as it came into their hands,' and received it back of the king's special favour in pure and perpetual alms.[16]

30. THE HOUSE OF TRINITARIAN FRIARS

The Trinitarian Friars seem to have been making efforts to obtain a house in Oxford as early as 1286, or already had students at the university, for in this year (23 February, 1285–6) Ralph of Reading and three others were 'proctors of the house of St. Robert of Knaresburgh and Oxford, and of the Order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives in the Holy Land.'[17] In 1293, after an inquisition held in this or the previous year, Edmund earl of Cornwall conferred on the minister and brethren of the Holy Trinity at Oxford a plot of land 156 yards long and 78 yards wide, extending from the East Gate at Oxford to the gate of the canons of St. Frideswide or Teckew Gate (i.e. lying between Trinity Lane, now Rose Lane, and the City Ditch), and built a chapel for them. The city claimed a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* from this land.[18]

[1] Pat. 49 Hen. III. m. 24.
[2] Cotton MS. Vitell, E xv, fol. 220*b.*; Wood, *City*, 474, who refers also to 'a small register belonging to Merton College,' fol. 11*a*.
[3] Wood, *City*, ii, 474; *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iv, 8. This land was also called 'the fee of the abbot of Bec'; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 14, 16.
[4] Wood, *City*, ii, 473–4.
[5] Pat. 49 Hen. III, m. 24; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 300.
[6] Plac. Coronae Oxon. 13 Edw. I, m. 55 (cf. *Oxf. City Doc.* 205). In Twyne MS. xxiii, 249, there is mention of an action brought against the prior by John de la Feyre.
[7] Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 9; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 301–2.
[8] Close, 51 Hen. III, m. 9.
[9] Bodl. Oseney Charters, 14; Wood, *City*, ii, 477–8.
[10] The following statements are taken from the General Constitutions of the Order; *Engl. Hist. Rev.* ix, 121–7.
[11] i.e. Hist. Scholastica of Peter Comestor.
[12] Wadding, *Ann.* v. 515; *Reg. de Boniface*, viii (ed. Digard), 444.
[13] Wadding, vi, 463.
[14] Inq. a.q.d. 80 (18); Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 9; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 301.
[15] See in the account of Grey Friars.
[16] Pat. 12 Edw. II, m. 25.
[17] Pat. 14 Edw. I, m. 21.
[18] Wood, *City*, ii, 481; and map, ibid. vol. i.

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RELIGIOUS HOUSES

According to the rule of the order approved by Innocent III a friary consisted normally of the minister, three clerks and three lay brothers; but these numbers were omitted in the revised rule of 1267.[1] Wood says:—

> The constant number that were here to reside were a minister and five brethren, who had liberty also given them to take in novices of their order to be there trained up in Academical Learning,

at the expense of the convents that sent them hither.[2]

Before the death of Edward I the Trinitarian Friars acquired from the prior and convent of St. Frideswide without royal licence the chapel of the Holy Trinity within the East Gate, together with a shop and two plots of vacant ground within the walls.[3] The breach of the statute of Mortmain was pardoned (1 February, 1310–11) after an *Inquisitio ad quod damnum* on payment of a fine of 20*s*.[4] and at the same time the mayor and commonalty of Oxford granted to the friars in mortmain three plots of vacant land in the town, already held by them for a term of years; the commonalty reserved the right of free access to the town walls when necessary to repair or guard them, and free entry through two posterns to lands extending from the Smithgate to the East Gate of the town. These plots, forming a long narrow slip 473 yards long and about 8 yards wide, were known as 'the Underwall.'[5] Two years later the friars had licence to remove from their dwelling-place without the East Gate to their new site within the walls subject to the above conditions and to the obligation of making a chantry in the chapel of the Holy Trinity by the East Gate for the founders and benefactors—the chaplains to be maintained out of the place beyond the gate.[6] The friars had already obtained permission from the warden and scholars of Merton College and the vicar of St. Peter's in the East to have a free oratory for their use and a chantry and cemetery for the burial of brethren of the order,[7] and the Bishop of Lincoln confirmed this grant.[8]

In 1314 William de Parys, the minister, and the brethren of the house, with the permission of Henry de Ledes, provincial, purchased from the mayor and commonalty a tenement and plot of ground, probably within the wall, subject to a yearly rent of 13*s*. 4*d*.[9] Thus for the various lands which they held of the town they paid a rent of 26*s*. 8*d*.[10]

The friars of this house were authorized to solicit alms in 1314;[11] and again in 1329 Edward III granted them protection for two years while collecting alms once a year in the churches by virtue of an indulgence from the pope.[12] At the request of Henry, earl of Lancaster, they obtained licence in 1331 to acquire in mortmain land and rent, not held in chief, to the yearly value of 100*s*.,[13] but it does not appear whether they actually acquired such land. William of Allerton, the minister of the house, demised a plot of vacant ground between Runceval Hall and the East Gate for fifty years to Merton College in 1327 for 18*d*. a year.[14] In 1333 John de Drayles, rector of St. Mildred's, mentioned them in his will,[15] and in 1349 John son of Walter Wrenche of Milton, spicer, bequeathed to them five quarters of corn.[16]

The Black Death seems to have been specially fatal to these friars. They did not entirely cease to exist, for in 1361 Henry of Malmesbury bequeathed 13*s*. 4*d*. to the Trinitarian Friars of Oxford.[17] But from about 1351 the chapel without the East Gate was served only by one brother of the order, who was sent from the house of the Trinitarian Friars at Hounslow.[18] Their possessions within the walls, from the postern near Smithgate to East Gate (i.e. the Underwall), were sold to the founder of New College in 1379.[19] The king took possession of their land without the East Gate as an escheat in 1351 and held it till 1391, when, upon the complaint of the burgesses that the friars held this plot of them at a rent of 13*s*. 4*d*. which for many years had not been paid, Richard II allowed the mayor and commonalty to seize the land as a distraint.[20]

In 1447 John Wodell or Wodale, minister of the friars of Hounslow, granted to the mayor and commonalty of Oxford all his lands, rents, and tenements within and without the town of

[1] *Bullar. Roman.* i, 71, 135 (ed. Cherubini).
[2] Wood-Gutch, *Ann.* i, 332.
[3] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide's* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 387. Inq. a.q.d. 80 (2); Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 24. The old Trinity Chapel is variously described in the documents as being *infra, supra, juxta, ultra* (i.e. on the other side of) the East Gate. It is clear that Wood is right and his editor wrong about the two Trinity chapels; Wood-Clark, *City*, iii, 326–7.
[4] Pat. ibid; Inq. a.q.d. 75 (25).
[5] Wood, *City*, i, 580; and Hurst, *Oxf. Topog.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 146–7.
[6] Inq. a.q.d. 91 (15); Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 17.
[7] Wood, *City*, ii, 476, 'out of a thin register with a red cover in Merton Coll. Exch. fol. 16.'
[8] Dalderby Reg. (Memo.) fol. 308; Twyne MS. ii, fol. 30.
[9] Wood, *City*, ii, 485; Wood, MS. D 2, p. 246.
[10] *Oxf. City Doc.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 302 (1379).
[11] Pat. 7 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 13; Cf. Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby (Memo.), fol. 346.
[12] Pat. 3 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 24.
[13] Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.
[14] Merton Coll. Muniments, No. 2660–1; Twyne MS. iii, 592; Wood, *City*, i, 103, 127 (*n*. 4); ii, 480. This land was in 1379 demised by the burgesses to William of Wyckham.
[15] Oxf. City Archives, Old White Bk. fol. 16.
[16] Wood, *City*, ii, 388.
[17] His will is preserved in Christ Church, Oxford.
[18] Close, 15 Ric. II. m. 1; Wood, *City*, ii, 481, 485.
[19] Wood, *City*, ii, 481 (Reg. Novi Coll. 7, cartae 17, 23).
[20] Wood, *City*, ii, 481; Close, 15 Ric. II, m. 1.

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Oxford, known as 'Trynytees,' and also the chapel of Holy Trinity, first on a seven years' lease [1] and subsequently on a ninety-nine years' lease.[2] John Dobbis, mayor of Oxford in 1471, conferred the chapel with its lands and rent on Robert Alrede, hermit, for the term of his life, on condition that he should maintain a chaplain there.[3] In 1486 Robert Gaguin, general or 'greater' minister of the order, wrote to the university that the chapel of the Holy Trinity, long in possession of the order, had been dishonestly sold to the town by Friar John Wodell, and prayed the university to assist the provincial minister to recover it.[4] Two years later the mayor and burgesses, 'moved not only by scruples of conscience but rather by zeal and devotion desiring to rejoice in the suffrages of the order, at the special request of very many venerable men, and also for a certain sum of money,' agreed to surrender the chapel and land to Richard Lancing, provincial of the Trinitarian Friars and minister of Modenden, reserving the annual rent of 13*s.* 4*d.*[5] The friary now became known as Trinity Hall; its head appears to have been appointed by the provincial or minister of Modenden;[6] and secular students were among its inmates. Thus Edward Chamber of Trinity Hall, who was bound over in 1510 to keep the peace towards Master Slepinden the principal, and towards all scholars of the hall, was not a friar.[8] John Gregory, of the order of the Holy Trinity, B.Can.L., who was dispensed from taking part in general processions in Lent, 1526–7, because he had to hear confessions, was the last principal. He was also minister of Modenden.[9] According to Wood, the hall was at the dissolution occupied only by a priest, an anchoret, and other scholars who lived by alms from the colleges.[10]

Trinity Hall passed into the king's hands as part of the possessions of Modenden Friary, and in 1540 was leased for twenty-one years to Robert Parette of the household.[11] Wood identifies him with Robert Perrot or Porrett, B.Mus., of Magdalen College, and states that in Mary's reign he converted part of it into a barn and stable, and the other part with the chapel into several tenements, paying rent to the city towards the relief of four poor bedesmen called 'Trinity men,' who wore a habit resembling that of the Trinitarian Friars and went begging about the city. But in 1563, 'being by the mayor and his brethren reformed, they were appointed to be bedells of beggars, and each to take a ward every Friday to beg in (though they still use some kind of prayers) and to wear a badge of tin and a new ox upon their coats.'[12]

HOSPITALS

31. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BANBURY

Most of our knowledge about the early history of the Hospital of St. John is derived from a letter of Bishop Oliver Sutton, dated June, 1283.[7] We learn from it that his clerks had held a visitation of the hospital in the previous February; that Robert Whiting was reckoned its founder, while Adam Grey was recorded as a benefactor; that the rules under which the brethren lived were drawn up by Serlo, once prebendary of Banbury; that the master was nominated by the brethren from their own number, and according to some, ought to be presented first to the prebendary of Banbury for his approval and then to the bishop, while others said he need only be presented to the bishop; that a master who had died between 1280 and 1283 had left property by will, which was absurd, inasmuch as every one who joined the house took on himself the vow of poverty as well as obedience and chastity; that the master ought to swear obedience to the prebendary of Banbury, but the other brethren need not; that they ought to think about supplying the defects of their library; and that this letter should be preserved and often read. To this, Bishop Dalderby adds that the brethren did wrong to speak of 'electing' the master, that they should say 'nominate,' the point no doubt being that as they did not belong to the monastic orders, they were not bound by the forms of a canonical election.

[1] Bodl. Charters, 428.
[2] Bridgwater Corp. Muniments, Oxf. D. 35.
[3] Ibid. No. 5.
[4] *Epis. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.) ii, 505.
[5] Bridgwater Corp. Muniments, Oxf. D. 35, 180.
[6] See list of principals given by Wood, *City*, i, 600; Thomas Elys, 1502; John Slepindon, 1507; 'fideijussor minister provincialis de Madyn' (Modenden ?); Ric. Rodworth, 'nomine magistri Slepingdon,' 1527; John Amery de Ord. Trin. 1535. (Friar John Amery, 21 April, 1536, was accused of subtracting eight pieces 'de le pewter' from the house of John Sheldon, cook of New Inn Hall. Acta Cur. Canc. EEE, fol. 379.)
[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Memo. fol. 149.
[8] Acta Cur. Canc. (Univ. Archives), ℸ. fol. 136*a–b*; cf. fol. 125.
[9] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 967 (54); *Reg. Univ.* (ed. Boase), 38; Twyne MS. xxiv, 415; Acta Cur. Canc. ℸ, fol. 175*b*; Wood, *Fasti*, 47.
[10] Wood, *City*, ii, 487.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 722.
[12] Wood, *City*, ii, 482, 487–8; i, 575.

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From this information we conclude that the hospital was founded early in the thirteenth century, Serlo having held the prebend of Banbury between 1236 and 1241.[1] In 1229 the king granted to the prior of the hospital the old timber of the gaol of Warwick, to build himself a house,[2] and four years earlier, in a survey of Banbury, the prior of the Hospital of St. John occurs several times among the householders.[3] We hear of Herbert, prior of the hospital in 1259,[4] and a letter, preserved at Lincoln, written to the dean and chapter in 1273, records that by their command their agent had gone to the hospital, and had ordered the prior and brethren to give canonical obedience to R. de Esthalle, the newly appointed prebendary of Banbury, and that none had gainsaid him.[5] About the middle of the fourteenth century a change must have been made in the nomination of the master. When vacancies occurred in 1311 and 1326, the brothers nominated one of their number, the bishop instituted him, and there was no form of induction. But from 1355 onwards the bishop always appoints, and repeatedly asserts that the hospital belongs *ad nostram collationem* (whether in his character of bishop of Lincoln, or as lord of the town of Banbury, is not said); on some occasions too the archdeacon or the prebendary of Banbury was commanded to give induction; and though the master was chosen from the brethren for some time, yet ultimately the post was given to canons of Lincoln or fellows of a college, not by any means the people that were bound by the law of poverty. Pedwell and Stalworth were both prebendaries of Buckden, Brynknell was prebendary of Marston St. Lawrence, Stanbridge and Cartwright were prominent scholars of Oxford.[6] In short the mastership was one of those sinecures which prominent ecclesiastics were ever ready to accept. When Pedwell resigned the hospital of St. John 'at the end of the town of Banbury,'[7] he still retained a pension of £4 for life, though he held the prebend of Buckden, and in the same way Stalworth, when he resigned, was not ashamed to accept a pension for life of £2 a year.

The Hospital received gifts of land and rent in 1290, 1303, and 1305,[8] while in 1513 Smith, bishop of Lincoln, left it by will the sum of £100 in addition to £60 he had already given.[9] In June, 1359, the bishop commands the master to receive a poor priest, Robert son of William son of John of Stanesby, as they are short of the full number of brethren, who ought to pray daily for their founders and benefactors; this priest desires to leave the vanities of the world, and in the habit of a regular to serve God in the said hospital.[10] In 1526 the master's salary was £14, of which he paid £4 to an usher (*ostiarius*),[11] while in 1535 the net salary was £15 1*s.* 10*d.*[12]; possibly the income of the hospital was more than this, but as with all hospitals, that which was spent on the support of the indigent would not be liable to assessment for subsidies.

PRIORS OR MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BANBURY

. . . . . .

Herbert,[13] occurs 1259

Thomas,[14] occurs June, 1260

. . . . . .

John de Banbury,[15] died 1311

Walter de Wokingham appointed 1311,[15] resigned 1326

William de Upton, appointed 1326[16]

. . . . . .

John Harding, appointed 1355,[17] resigned 1356

William de Langport,[18] appointed 1356

. . . . . .

Richard Tewe, appointed 1406,[19] died 1407

Roger Robert, appointed 1407,[20] died 1433

John Reynold, appointed 1433[21]

Robert Carleton,[22] appointed 1434, resigned 1457

Richard Turnour, appointed 1457[23]

John Wigmore,[24] resigned 1465

Thomas Taylard, appointed 1465,[25] died 1467

William Pedwell, appointed 1467,[26] resigned 1485

Master Simon Stalworth, appointed 1485,[27] resigned 1494

Ralf Hamsterleye, M.A., appointed 1494[28]

Thomas Banbury, died 1501

Master John Stanbridge, appointed 1501,[29] died 1510

[1] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 92; and *Eynsham Cartul.* fol. 57. Brian Twyne asserts that it was founded before 1209, but the evidence is not forthcoming.

[2] Close, 13 Hen. III, m. 9.

[3] In a MS. in the library of Queen's Coll. Oxf.

[4] Feet of F. 43 Hen. III.

[5] Muniments of the Dean and Chapter.

[6] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 187, 195, 197, 204.

[7] Linc. Epis. Reg. Russell, Inst. fol. 106.

[8] Beesley, op. cit. 77. [9] Ibid. 78.

[10] Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, Memo. fol. 100.

[11] MS. at Lincoln.

[12] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).

[13] Feet of F. Oxon, file 8, No. 7.

[14] Swalcliffe Charters, New Coll. Muniments, No. 69.

[15] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 158.

[16] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 253.

[17] Ibid. Gynwell, Inst. fol. 215.

[18] Ibid. 219.

[19] Ibid. Repingdon, Inst. fol. 379.

[20] Ibid. 384.

[21] Ibid. Grey, Inst. fol. 61. [22] Ibid. fol. 83.

[23] Ibid. Chedworth, Inst. fol. 118.

[24] Ibid. fol. 126.

[25] Ibid. [26] Ibid. fol. 128.

[27] Ibid. Russell, Inst. fol. 106.

[28] Ibid. fol. 114. [29] Ibid. Smith, Inst. fol. 315.

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John Crag, appointed 1510[1]
Thomas Brynknell, S.T.P., appointed 1511[2]
Nicholas Cartwright, S.T.P.,[3] appointed 1541

Seal: a pointed oval: a patriarchal cross—[4]

+ SIGILLV. . . . TAL . . . . IOH'IS DE BANNEB'.

32. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, BANBURY

At Banbury there was a hospital of St. Leonard for lepers, standing at the east end of Banbury bridge, and therefore in that part of the parish which is within the county of Northampton. In the reign of Edward I land was given to the 'master and leprous brothers of St. Leonard, Banbury';[5] while in 1319 Bishop Dalderby granted an indulgence of twenty days to those who should contribute towards 'the maintenance of the poor lepers of the house of St. Leonard, near the bridge of Banbury.'[6] In June, 1333, the king granted protection for two years for the leprous men of the hospital of St. Leonard without Banbury, collecting alms for their house.[7] Three years later a carucate of land was given to the hospital by Sir John de Lyons, and the same donor in 1376 granted further possessions to 'Robert, chaplain of the hospital of St. Leonard, near Banbury.'[8] The last record we have is that in 1398 the king granted to 'Geoffrey Stokes, clerk, the custody of the hospital of St. Leonard, near Banbury, in the country of Northampton.'[9] There is no mention of it in the Taxation of 1526 or in the Valor of 1535.

33. THE HOSPITAL OF BICESTER

In 1355 Nicholas Jurdan, a hermit, obtained the king's licence to found again (*de novo fundare*) a hospital in connexion with a certain chapel of St. John the Baptist, of which he was warden, and to endow it with land and rent of the value of 100*s.* a year.[10] Evidently this was not the beginning of the hospital: it was already in existence; Jurdan was its warden, and the chapel of St. John was its chapel; but now it was to be endowed, and in this sense to be 'founded again.' That this purpose was accomplished there is no evidence, and we do not hear any more of an endowed hospital at Bicester.

34. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, BURFORD

The hospital of Burford is first mentioned 11 September, 1226, on which date the king gave ten cartloads of dry wood to 'the master and brothers of the hospital of St. John the Baptist' [*sic*] at Burford;[11] and on 29 May, 1231, he granted to the 'prior of the hospital of St. John of Burford' three oak-trees for firewood.[12] From the Hundred Rolls we learn that the hospital owned ten virgates in Fifield, Oxon,[13] and the Taxatio of 1291 mentions a virgate in Rissington, Gloucestershire;[14] it is also said to have held the rectory of Widford.[15] In 1305 the bishop granted twenty days' indulgence to all who give aid to the fabric of the church of the hospital of Burford.[16] In 1319 the monastery of Godstow granted a virgate of land in the parish of Asthall in fee-farm to the prior of the hospital,[17] and next year licence was obtained from the king by Joan, widow of Richard de Cornwaile, to give to the prior and hospital lands and rent in Asthall and Asthall-ingleye;[18] the gift was completed in 1322, and in return 'brother John, master of the hospital of St. John the Evangelist, and his fellow brothers bind themselves to find for ever a priest from among the brethren to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel of St. Mary and St. Katherine in the church of Asthall for the soul of Richard de Cornwaile, and for the souls of Joan and her children after death.'[19] In 1327 this prior died, and 'Robert le Glasier, chaplain, one of the brethren, was admitted to the custody of the hospital, void by the death of John de Sutton'; we are told that he was nominated by the brethren and presented to the king 'by reason of the lands of Hugh le Despenser and Eleanor his wife being in his hands.'[20] But our next record shows that a change had been made in the way of electing the master or prior; for on November 20, 1389, the king grants to his clerk, William Doune, the wardenship of the hospital of St. John.[21] Later we find that the

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Smith, Inst. fol. 338. Possibly he did not enter into office, as the appointment in the following year is said to be made, as was his own, upon the death of John Stanbridge.
[2] Ibid. fol. 339.
[3] Ibid. Longlands, Inst. fol. 180.
[4] B.M. lxx. 66; Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 610.
[5] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 79.
[6] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Memo. fol. 398.
[7] Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2.
[8] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 79.
[9] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 772.
[10] Dunkin, *Hist. of Bicester*, 116.
[11] *Close R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 137.
[12] *Cal. of Close R.* (1227–31), p. 510.
[13] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 732.
[14] *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 238.
[15] Fisher, *Hist. of Burford*, 52.
[16] Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, Memo. fol. 90.
[17] *Godstow Cartul.* (E.E. Text. Soc.), 212.
[18] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 22.
[19] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 261. The Patent Rolls say the service was to be in the church of St. Nicholas, Asthall.
[20] Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 6.
[21] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 31.

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nomination is in the hands of the burgesses of the town; for about 1456 Richard, earl of Warwick, asked the bailiffs and burgesses of Burford to grant him the next presentation to the priory, that thereto he might promote a chaplain of his.[1] That this continued to be the case is clear, as in 1537 Nicholas Austen, late abbot of Rewley, desired Cromwell to write on his behalf to the burgesses of Burford for the 'service called the priory' in that town, worth £11 a year, the holder, Mr. Cade, being very old and sickly.[2] In 1523 Mark Patenson, 'prior of the chapel,' and in 1526 Maurice Patenson, 'prior of the hospital,' had an income of £13 6s. 8d.[3] while in 1535 Sir Mark Patenson, 'prior of the hospital or priory' had £14 3s. 6d.[4] Elsewhere in the Valor his title is 'master or prior of the hospital of St. John the Evangelist.'[5]

A survey of the estates of the 'late hospital of St. John the Evangelist in Burford,' undated, but subsequent to December, 1539, estimates the property to be worth £12 17s. 2d. in all; lands and buildings in Burford were worth £4 0s. 4d., in Upton £1, in Asthall £1 13s. 4d.; in Fifield the capital mansion with services of customary tenants, a hide of customary land, demesne and other lands, was worth £4; land at Widford was valued at 12s.; in Gloucestershire, land at Risington £1 7s., at Barrington 4s. 6d. The property seems to be under-estimated, as arable land is reckoned to be worth 6d. an acre or less. It is stated that Thomas Cade, late master of the hospital, granted to John Barker a lease of all the property for eighty years, from 4 May, 1538; Barker was to pay £10 a year, and to keep all the buildings in repair.[6] It is evident from this return that the hospital had no endowments for the maintenance of the infirm; the whole of the income was absorbed by the prior; and as he is called *prior capellae* in 1523, it seems that he was practically a chaplain, perhaps serving some almshouses, but not what is usually understood by the prior of a hospital.

PRIORS OR MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, BURFORD

Robert, occurs 1261[7]
John de Sutton, occurs 1322,[8] died 1327
Robert le Glasier, appointed 1327[9]
William Doune, appointed 1389[10]
Thomas Smythe, occurs 1478[11]
Maurice or Mark Patenson, occurs 1523, 1526,[12] 1535[13]
Thomas Cade, occurs 1537[14]

An early thirteenth-century seal in the British Museum assigned to this hospital is a pointed oval: the Virgin, with crown, half-length, the Child on the left arm. In base under a trefoiled arch a monk kneeling in prayer to the right.[15] Legend:—

+ AVE MARIA GRA PLENA DNS TECVM

35. THE HOSPITAL OF COLD NORTON

This is the only hospital in Oxfordshire mentioned in the list drawn up about 1200 by Gervase of Canterbury.[16] It was intimately connected with the priory of Cold Norton, and has already been mentioned in the account of that house.

36. THE HOSPITAL OF CROWMARSH

Very little is known of this institution. That it existed as early as 1142 is a natural conclusion from the notice that the Empress Matilda gave it land in Benson.[17] We have a deed[18] of 1248 whereby the hospital for lepers at Crowmarsh and the hospital for lepers at Wycombe, by their proctors, Adam and Richard, surrender to Oseney Abbey some part of their tithes at Oving, Buckinghamshire, receiving annually in return six quarters of corn. Two other deeds, quoted by Lipscombe,[19] add to our knowledge. In 1267 and 1269 Richard, master of the hospital for the infirm at Wycombe, and John, master of the hospital for the infirm at Crowmarsh, made good their claim to the tenth sheaf of the demesne once of Wigan of Wallingford in Oving, after the church has taken its tenth sheaf. This they claimed in virtue of the charter of Wigan. This Wigan was nephew of the great Brien Fitz-Count of Wallingford, was at one time lord of Wycombe,[20] and died in 1156,[21] but as it does not seem that he ever owned Crowmarsh, he cannot have been the founder of the hospital. In 1232 the king granted an oak to the master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Crow-

[1] *MSS. in Various Coll.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 49.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 1321.
[3] MS. at Lincoln.
[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 179.
[5] Ibid. 266.
[6] P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys, portf. 18/66.
[7] Oxon. Feet of F.
[8] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh Inst. fol. 261.
[9] Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 6.
[10] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 31.
[11] *MSS. in Various Coll.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 45.
[12] MS. at Lincoln.
[13] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 179.
[14] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 1321.
[15] B.M. lxx, 69. May be the seal of the priory, but there seems no sufficient grounds for the theory. *MSS. in Various Coll.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 30.
[16] *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 434.
[17] *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 134*b*.
[18] Oseney Chartul. No. 688.
[19] Lipscombe, *Bucks*, i, 373.
[20] *Testa*, 115.
[21] A deduction from the Pipe Rolls.

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marsh, to make shingles for the roof of the church of the hospital.[1] By a deed of 1240–50,[2] the 'brothers and sisters of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Crowmarsh' make a grant about land in Wallingford; and another deed[3] records that in 11 Edw. II, Miles, warden of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Crowmarsh, quitclaimed arrears of wheat from Oving; both deeds have lost their seals.

37. THE HOSPITAL OF EWELME

In 1437 licence was given to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife, to establish an almshouse at Ewelme and to endow it with land to the value of 100 marks yearly.[4] By 1442 the foundation was complete, the endowments being the manors of Conock, Ramridge, and Marsh Gibbon, worth £59 a year;[5] but the statutes drawn up by the founder date from 1448–50.[6] From them we learn that the inmates were to be two priests and thirteen poor men. Each of the former was to receive £10 a year, each of the latter 14*d.* a week. One of the priests was to be the master; the other was to be a teacher of grammar to instruct, free of charge, the boys of Ewelme and of the three other manors from which the house derived its income. The master was to be, if possible, of the university of Oxford, and was to be chosen by the lord of the manor of Ewelme, who also was to fill up all the other posts. The thirteen poor men were to be such as had no means of livelihood, aged or infirm, and in selecting them preference was to be shown to men of Ewelme, Conock, Ramridge and Marsh Gibbon. They were not bound to a rule of absolute poverty; one who came into property worth £4 a year must leave the house, but if the sum were less he might remain an inmate, and was allowed to receive half the sum which he had inherited, the house taking the other half. Whatever property they had at the time of death was to come to the house. All members were to be present daily at mattins, mass, evensong, and the hours, to be said in the adjoining parish church, where there was a stall for each inmate. The visitor was to be the lord of the manor, and as a rule he was to make a visitation every year. The brethren were to have cloaks with a red cross on the breast, and none with leprosy or an 'intolerable disease' were to be admitted.

[1] *Cal. of Close R.* (1231–4), p. 75.
[2] Bodl. Lib. Oxon. Chart. 149.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, 581.
[4] Ibid. viii, 625, where an abstract is given of the charters of the almshouse.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid. ix, 217, where they are printed in full.

In 1526 the income of the almshouse was £64; but in the Valor of 1535 it is not assessed. This favour, and its escape at the dissolution, are no doubt to be put down to the fact that Ewelme was a favourite royal manor and the king was the immediate patron of the almshouse. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the lordship of the manor of Ewelme, put up for sale by the Crown, was bought by the Earl of Macclesfield, and his heir is now the patron of the almshouse, and has the right of nominating the inmates; but the post of master was granted by King James I in 1617 to augment the stipend of the Regius Professor of Medicine, and since 1628 has been attached to that professorship.[7]

Masters of the Hospital of Ewelme

John Seyngsbery,[8] appointed 1442,[9] died 1454[10]
William Marton, appointed 1 February, 1455,[11] died 1494[9]
William Branwhaite, died 1498[10]
John Spence, appointed 1498 or 1499,[9] died 1517[10]
William Umpton, occurs 1526[12]
William Marshall, occurs 1535.[13]

The fifteenth-century seal is a pointed oval: in two carved niches with elaborate canopies and tabernacle work at the sides, on the left St. John Baptist, standing, with nimbus, holding the Agnus Dei in the right hand and pointing to it with the left hand; on the right a female saint with nimbus, holding in the right hand a sword. In base, under a flat-headed arch, a shield of arms—per pale, *dex.*, a fesse between three leopards' heads, William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; *sin.*, a lion rampant queue fourchée, Alice Chaucer, his wife, founders, A.D. 1437.[14]

SIGILLŪ COMUNE DOMUS ELEMOSINE : DE : EWELME

38. THE HOSPITAL OF EYNSHAM

This hospital is only known from a passing reference to it in the chartulary of the abbey,[15] but whether it was dependent upon the monastery is not known.

[7] Wood, *Hist. of Oxf.* ii, 860.
[8] Formerly rector of Ewelme; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 217.
[9] Napier, *Hist. of Swyncombe*, 454.
[10] From his brass in Ewelme church.
[11] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, 627.
[12] MS. at Lincoln.
[13] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 168.
[14] B.M. xxxvii, 9.
[15] *Eynsham Cartul.* 157.

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39. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, OXFORD

The Hospital of St. Bartholomew for lepers, which stands near Cowley Marsh, was founded by Henry I,[1] for twelve sick persons and a chaplain, and endowed by him with the sum of £23 0*s.* 5*d.* a year from the *firma* of the city of Oxford, being 1*d.* a day for each of the thirteen inmates, and 5*s.* a year for clothing. He also gave two loads of hay every year from the king's mead near Oseney.[2] Though close to Cowley it was in the manor of Headington, and the advowson of it did not belong to the Crown like the advowson of St. John's Hospital, but to the lord of Headington,[3] a manor nearly always in the hands of the king. It is said that the hospital was founded at the time when the king built his palace at Beaumont, Oxford; but it certainly existed in 1129, at which date it is mentioned on the Pipe Roll. King Stephen (1135–9) confirmed the thirteen 'prebends' and likewise Henry II[4] (1154–60); and the Pipe Roll of 1162 shows 60*s.* spent on the building 'of the infirm of Oxford.' In 1194 Pope Celestine confirmed the liberties and rents granted by Henry I, and in 1238 Pope Gregory conferred on them an immunity from paying tithes of garden produce, copse-wood, and the increase of their animals.[4] During the thirteenth century the hospital received various small gifts, as we learn from the Hundred Rolls, but a rent roll of about 1330 gives only £7 as the income of the hospital from land, apart from the farm of a few acres surrounding the hospital, which the brethren tilled themselves.

After the resignation of William de Westbury in 1312 there was a succession of wardens who mismanaged, or were accused of mismanaging, the hospital. Adam de Weston, clerk of the king, appointed warden in April, 1312,[5] was accused in July; and an inquest held in August reported that he had sold rye, malt, hay, and straw without the consent of the brethren and had kept the money; that he had dismissed the chaplain, so that mass was rarely said; he had also dismissed the servants who tilled the lands of the hospital; he had a concubine; he had turned Brother William de Westbury out of the house to which he had retired after being warden for forty-three years,[6] built by himself in the grounds of the hospital. In consequence Adam de Weston was deprived; but Peter de Luffenham appointed in 1315,[7] was also displeasing to the brethren,[8] who complained that he took more than his share of the hospital's income, neglected the sick and generally looked after his own interests rather than theirs. In 1316 the king made new regulations for the hospital. The number of the brethren was to be reduced from twelve to eight, and not the healthy, as was the custom by this time, but the infirm only were to be admitted until the house consisted of two healthy brethren, to do the work of the farm, and six infirm; each of them, as well as the chaplain's clerk, was to receive 9*d.* a week, and the master, who was also to be the chaplain, £4 a year; probably the 5*s.* a year for clothing remained as before; any surplus was to be used in repairing the buildings.[9] We learn, however, that these regulations were soon broken; for in 1321, when John, son of Lawrence Serche, one who was not infirm, asked to be admitted as a brother, promising to contribute ten marks to the repair of the chapel roof, the king gave permission.[10]

Under the new rule Robert de Sutton was appointed master in 1317, but in 1325 the brethren complained that he had allowed the hospital to fall into dilapidation.[11] It was ordered that a survey should be taken, and next year we find the wardenship granted for life to Adam de Brome, provost of Oriel.[12] Two years later the king decided to make new arrangements; he granted the hospital to Oriel College, not however (as was so often the case), entirely suppressing the old foundation; the eight brethren were still to receive their 9*d.* a week, and 5*s.* a year for clothing; there was also to be a chaplain for them apart from the warden; but after these expenses had been met the surplus was evidently to go to the college, and it is mentioned that the hospital would serve as a place where the sick members of Oriel might retire for change of air.[13]

In 1367 the provost and scholars of Oriel, complaining to the king that the brethren of the hospital were not obedient to them, asked for a commission to examine into its state. In consequence the king issued the following regulations, which probably were not new but represent the ordinary rules of a hospital:—The brethren were to live chastely; they were not to go outside the hospital without their habit; none were to be admitted who were married, or in debt, or not free; they were not to invite their friends into the hospital without the leave of the provost; each brother, when admitted, was to contribute

[1] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 725.
[2] Chanc. Misc. R. $\frac{8}{28}$.
[3] *Cat. of Mun. Oriel Coll.* by C. L. Shadwell, No. ix, 4.
[4] Chanc. Misc. R. $\frac{8}{28}$.
[5] Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 9.
[6] *Mun. of St. Bartholomew's* (privately printed by C. L. Shadwell, esq.).
[7] Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 22.
[8] For the complaints against him see *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 114.
[9] Close, 9 Edw. II, m. 18 *d.*; also Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 407 (old ed.).
[10] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 10; also Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 407 (old ed.).
[11] Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 34 *d.*
[12] Ibid. pt. ii, m. 19.
[13] Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.

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all his movable goods, which were to remain with the hospital even if he was expelled; consequently they might not make wills.[1]

In 1390, when William Coterell, clerk of the king, who was warden of the hospital of St. Lawrence without Bristol, was granted in addition the hospital of St. Bartholomew, the provost and scholars of Oriel petitioned against the grant, as being contrary to the ordinance of 1328. An inquiry was held, and the verdict was in favour of the college.[2] Subsequently the hospital was the subject of much litigation between Oriel College and the town, and the payment to the hospital was reduced from its original sum of £23 5s. to £19 a year.[3]

Masters of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Oxford

Thomas de Stanton, *c.* 1233[4]
Walter de Stanton, *c.* 1240[5]
William de Brackele (?), *c.* 1262[6]
John de Wotton, *c.* 1266[7]
William de Westbury, 1269–1312[8]
Adam de Weston, appointed April, 1312,[9] deprived 1313[10]
Peter de Luffenham, appointed warden 'during pleasure,' September, 1315[11]
Robert de Sutton, appointed warden 'for life,' June, 1317[12]
Adam de Brome, appointed warden 'for life,' March, 1326[13]
William de Leverton, occurs 1348[14]
William de Daventrie, occurs 1351 and 1356[15]
William Coterell, appointed February, 1390[16]

40. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. CLEMENT, OXFORD

In 1345 the prior of the Hospital of St. Clement by Oxford, 'who has not whereof to live,' was granted protection for two years to seek alms throughout the realm.[17]

[1] *Mun. of St. Bartholomew's.*
[2] Ibid.
[3] See Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 511–513.
[4] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, i, 54.
[5] Ibid. i, 322; *Godstow English Cartul.* 432.
[6] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii, 518.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Shadwell, *Mun. of St. Bartholomew's.*
[9] Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 9.
[10] *Mun. of St. Bartholomew's.*
[11] Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 22.
[12] Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 18.
[13] Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 19.
[14] *Mun. of St. Bartholomew's*, 7. According to Wood he ceased to be provost of Oriel in 1347; perhaps he had retired to the hospital.
[15] Ibid. 8. He was provost of Oriel 1347–73.
[16] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.
[17] Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

41. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, OXFORD

Licence to collect alms was given to the master and brethren of the Hospital of St. Giles of Rotherweye, in Oxford, in 1330, 1336, and 1346.[18] A bequest was made in 1390 to 'the poor in the spitel by St. Giles church,' and Wood suggests that it was also called Bethlehem Hospital.[19]

42. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, OXFORD.

We first meet with this hospital about 1180 in the Godstow Chartulary,[20] and about 1190 in the chartulary of the Templars of Sandford[21]; before 1194 we find it buying land, held of the honour of Wallingford by Hugh de Malaunay, but when and by whom it was founded is unknown. In 1231 a great change was made, when the king granted the garden of the Jews outside the East Gate, that the hospital might be erected there,[22] and a later entry implies that the hospital chapel was built at the king's cost.[23] By this step he secured the title of founder; and it is possible that the character of the institution was altered at this time; for subsequently the only purpose of the hospital seems to have been to nurse the sick, whereas in early times, like many other hospitals, it was a place for entertaining strangers, and was sometimes called 'herebergeria hospitalis extra portam orientalem.'[24] In 1246 Pope Innocent issued certain additions 'to the ancient statutes'[25]; he ordained that 'the hospital, built by the king for the relief of poor scholars and other miserable persons, and endowed by him,' should be governed by a master, to be elected by the brethren. There was also to be a cellarer, and a sacrist, the latter to have charge of the infirmary and to hear the confessions of the infirm; incurable cases were not to be received; the members or staff of the hospital were to consist of brothers and sisters, but not more were to be admitted than were necessary for waiting on the sick. Of the men it is assumed that several would be priests, and all were bound by the monastic vows. He further granted that it should be exempt from episcopal

[18] Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27; 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11; 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11.
[19] *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 497. Wood also thought that there was a hospital in Stockwell Street, but this was probably due to confusion with the tenements held in that street by the Hospitallers.
[20] *Godstow, Engl. Cartul.* 382.
[21] Wood, MS. 10, fol. 34.
[22] Close, 15 Hen. III, m. 14.
[23] Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 3; see Close, 16 Hen. III, m. 9.
[24] Wood, *City of Oxf.* (ed Clark), ii, 533.
[25] Bodl. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 8.

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and archidiaconal visitations; and in 1320, the archbishop was warned not to intermeddle with it when he was visiting the monastic houses of Oxfordshire.[1] If visitations were necessary, the king entrusted the work to any clerk he chose; in 1331 he sent two of his own clerks; in 1335 the archdeacon of Canterbury.[2] Unfortunately for us, as the hospital was exempt, there is no mention of it in the episcopal registers, and we know little of its history.

In 1245 the king granted various liberties, such as exemption from hundred courts, county courts, view of frank-pledge and even *murdrum* (i.e. the assessment on landowners of the hundred in which a murder was committed), and from all tolls at markets and bridges.[3] In 1294 the brethren had permission to enclose for a burial ground some vacant land, measuring 100 yds. by 30, on the south side of the road which passed their churchyard, provided that they left the road with a breadth of not less than 26 ft.[4]; no doubt this was the old burial-place of the Jews, reserved under the original grant of 1231,[5] but no longer needed now that they had been banished.

Of the internal affairs of the hospital we know very little. During the fourteenth century it was frequently excused[6] from the payment of subsidies because of its poverty, but its income, to judge from the amount of property it held in Oxford and elsewhere, must have been considerable. In 1335 it was said that the brothers and sisters quarrelled among themselves; and it is noticeable that most of the masters, instead of being elected by the brethren, were nominated by the king,[7] some of them being appointed only during the king's pleasure, while others had merely the custody of the hospital for a time. In 1341 complaint was made to the king by a certain Alice that whereas he had given her an order to receive her sustenance for life from the hospital, the master and certain citizens of Oxford had assaulted her and taken the document from her.[8]

The hospital came to an end in 1457, when it was granted with its endowments to William Waynfleet for the college that he was founding.

Wardens of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Oxford.

Elyas, resigned 1237[9]
Robert, appointed 1237[9]; occurs 1241[10]
Henry de Lewknor *alias* Thornton, appointed 1242; occurs 1246[11]
Adam, occurs 1246 and 1248[12]
Thomas, occurs 1251 and 1254[13]
Henry de Wingham, occurs 1254–7[14]
Henry de Wylebi, occurs 1258 and 1262[15]
Walter de Wylebi, occurs 1264[16] to 1281[17]
Nicholas de Shireveleye, appointed 1281[18]–1295
Robert de Scardeburgh, 1295–1301[19]
Nicholas de Shireveleye, re-appointed 1301,[20] occurs 1316[21]
William de Otyndon, occurs 1320,[22] died 1332[23]
Geoffrey Halyweye, appointed 1332[24]
Adam de Lodbrok, appointed 1335,[25] occurs 1348
John de Idbury, occurs 1353 and 1360[26]
Robert de Tywe, occurs 1362,[27] died 1384[28]
Adam de Merston, 1384,[29] died 1387
John Idbury appointed 1387, died 1392[30]
Richard Tywe, elected 1392[31] occurs 1434[32]
William Lodebroke, occurs 1435 and 1437[33]
Thomas Oxenford, occurs 1437[34]
Hugh Burton, occurs 1439, resigned 1442[35]
Richard Vyse, elected 1442, resigned 1457[36]

There are two seals of the hospital, both pointed ovals; the first[37] represents a cross with a dove above and a (?) nail below, the legend being:—

S. FRATRVM OSPITALIS S. IOHANNIS DE OXEN

The second seal[38] has the same emblems, but the legend is:—

[S. COMMVN]E DOMVS HOSPITALIS [SCI. IOH]IS BAPTISTE EXTRA [OXONIAM]

The former is evidently of the twelfth century, and was in use until after 1380.[39]

[1] Close, 13 Edw. II, m. 63.
[2] Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22*d.*
[3] Cart. Antiq. F. F. 4.
[4] Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 3. [5] See above.
[6] Pat. Rolls, *passim.*
[7] Their nominations are entered on the Patent Rolls.
[8] *Cal. of Pat. R.* (1340–3), p. 215.
[9] Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosteste, Inst.
[10] Feet of F. Oxon.
[11] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 1.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.; Macray (p. 2), gives Roger de Cranfield in 1252; Wood assigns him to 1245.
[14] Macray, op. cit. 2. [15] Ibid. [16] Ibid.
[17] Close, 9 Edw. I, m. 7*d.*
[18] Pat. 10 Edw. I, m. 20.
[19] Pat. 24 Edw. I, m. 24.
[20] Pat. 29 Edw. I, m. 19.
[21] Macray, op. cit. 2. [22] Ibid.
[23] Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30. [24] Ibid.
[25] Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. i. m. 23.
[26] Macray, 3. [27] Ibid.
[28] Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 6. [29] Ibid.
[30] Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 16. [31] Ibid.
[32] Macray, op. cit. 3. [33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid. [35] Ibid. [36] Ibid 4.
[37] Found on a deed of 1267 among the Ch. Ch. charters.
[38] Found on a deed of 1445 at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[39] On a deed at New Coll. Oxf.

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43. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. PETER, OXFORD.

Simon Islip, as vicar of the Bishop of Lincoln while abroad, issued a notice in 1338 that if the poor of the house of St. Peter in Oxford should ask money for the repairs of their house or their own maintenance the faithful should assist them.[1] Wood was of the opinion that it was in the parish of St. Peter in the East, and was demolished when New College was built.[2]

44. THE HOSPITAL OF HOLY CROSS, WOODSTOCK

The House of Lepers of the Holy Cross outside Woodstock is only known from the grants of royal protection made to its brethren in 1231 and 1232.[3]

45. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, WOODSTOCK

In 1339 the king granted protection to the lands and possessions of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalen of Woodstock, and licensed the master and brethren to seek alms.[6]

46. THE HOSPITAL OF WOODSTOCK

A royal grant of wood for fuel made to 'the leprous women' of Woodstock in 1235 is the only evidence of a house in this place for female lepers.[7] It may have been converted to the use of men, in which case it was possibly the origin of St. Mary's Hospital.

COLLEGES

47. THE CANONS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE, OXFORD

In 1074 Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivri built the church of St. George in the castle of Oxford, and established a college of secular canons. As it was absorbed by Oseney as early as 1149, not much is known of its history and constitution; but a confirmation by Henry I[4] gives a list of its possessions about 1130, viz. the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, with 3 hides in Walton, and the estate (*terra*) of Cutslow, the church and estate of Cowley, the church and estate of Stowe (Buckinghamshire), 2 hides in Morton (Buckinghamshire), 2½ hides in Cassington, a hide in Sandford, 2 hides in Arncot, a virgate in Hook Norton, and two-thirds of the tithe of the demesne of all the manors of the two founders, numbering nearly seventy, and scattered over Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and Northamptonshire. The number of canons is nowhere mentioned; but as Oseney in later times was bound to maintain five chaplains at St. George's to pray for the souls of the founders, it is possible that this was the original number of the canons. As was the case at Beverley, the head canon was called *prepositus*,[5] but unlike Beverley, the canons did not live in common, but had their separate prebends. Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford (*c.* 1110–51), held the prebend of Walton, and was provost in the year 1145, and probably long before. Robert de Chesney, as he tells us,[8] held the prebend of Stowe before he became bishop of Lincoln. Cowley with its church no doubt gave the title to another prebend. The canons themselves, unlike some secular canons, seem to have been men of learning and goodness. Henry of Huntingdon informs[9] us of the learning of both Walter the archdeacon and Robert de Chesney, and a certain 'Geoffrey Artur' who attests deeds which concern St. George's, and seems to have been a canon during the years 1129–51, is no other than Geoffrey of Monmouth, the historian, who in his book acknowledges the help and friendship of Walter the archdeacon. In considering the question, how it was that Oxford first became a place of learning, we must remember the presence of these learned men during the reigns of Henry I and Stephen.

That the canons were appointed by the representatives of the families of the two founders is clear from a dispute between Oseney and Reginald of St. Walery. The house of Ivri, which came to an end early in the twelfth century, was followed by the family of St. John, and in 1149 Henry d'Oilly and John of St. John granted to Oseney the chapel of St. George and all its possessions; the existing canons, however, holding their prebends for life. In 1151 Walter the archdeacon died; meanwhile John of St. John, it seems, had also died, and Reginald of St. Walery had been given his fief, and with it the right of filling up those prebends which belonged thereto.

[1] Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, Mem. fol. 332.
[2] *City of Oxf.* (ed. Clark), ii, 497.
[3] Pat. 15 Hen. III, m. 4; 16 Hen. III, m. 5.
[4] Preserved at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[5] Exch. Q. R. Misc. Bk. No. 26, fol. 78.
[6] Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 15; see E. Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock*, 414.
[7] Close, 18 Hen. III, m. 18.
[8] Cott. MS. Vitell. E. xv, fol. 169.
[9] *Hen. of Hunt.* (Rolls S.), 302.

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As Walton was an Ivri manor, and Reginald of St. Walery did not consider himself bound by his predecessor's agreement, he gave the prebend to his son Walter, afterwards archdeacon of Rouen. For many years a dispute was carried on between him and Oseney; the bishop of London[1] wrote to entreat that one who had engaged in earthly warfare against the infidels in Palestine should have more consideration for those engaged in spiritual warfare, but the matter was not settled until after 1166, when Bernard, his son, agreed that the prebend should be relinquished to Oseney, but that his brother, who held it, should receive £10 a year from it for his life.[2] The abbey subsequently maintained two canons and thirteen ministers to celebrate daily in the chapel,[3] but eventually refounded the college as a small educational establishment under their own patronage and, to a great extent, control.[4]

48. THE COLLEGE OF ST. GEORGE, OXFORD

The origin of this College is nowhere recorded, but in 1474 a charge was raised[5] against the abbey of Oseney, that it had received the manor of Walton from Edward III on condition that it should maintain in the church of St. George five secular priests and certain scholars; and that as Oseney did not perform this condition, the king might seize the land. The inquisition, which was held in consequence, decided that there was no truth in the story, that the land had not belonged to Edward III, and that there was no such obligation attaching to it; but the abbey may have thought it advisable to start such a college to put an end to all murmuring. Practically all we know about it is what we learn from its statutes.[6] It was to consist of five secular priests who were to pray daily in the church of St. George for the soul of Robert d'Oilly, and minister to those within the castle. Over them was a 'custos' or 'magister,' who was always to be a canon of Oseney. The scholars who were admitted were bound to observe the ordinary rules of an Oxford college, and at their admission they took an oath that they would leave something to the college by will, to help maintain before St. George's altar the light called the light of the scholars; but there was no obligation that they should be in any way connected with the Augustinian rule. It was more like a hostel or hall, where scholars could lodge under the supervision of those who would have a good influence on their morals, rather than their minds. The date of its foundation probably was about 1480. In 1523 the abbey of Oseney paid £8 a year in alms 'to six poor scholars in the castle of Oxford.'[7] As the priests were maintained from Oseney, receiving a daily allowance, the college came to an end at the dissolution.

ALIEN HOUSES

49. THE PRIORY OF COGGES

The alien priory of Cogges, near Witney, attached to the Benedictine abbey of Fécamp, was founded by Manasses Arsic in 1103. The original deed[8] gives the history thus; on 3 November, 1103, the charter which Manasses Arsic had previously granted to the church of Fécamp was renewed by him at Cogges in the presence of William, the third abbot,[7] his monks and servants; and there and then he gave them his house of Cogges to build a priory (*ecclesiam*): he gave them the church of Cogges, and two carucates of land; at Fringford (Oxon) the church, two carucates and two mills; two-thirds of the tithe of his demesne at Somerton (Oxon), Nutstead, Maplescombe, Farningham, Tunstall, Sheppey, and Combe (all in Kent), at Swindon (Wiltshire), Cassington and Wilcote (Oxon); all he had in Tew (Oxon); two-thirds of the tithe of the demesne in Newington, Barton, Fritwell, and Ledwell (Oxon), and of Toft, Owersby, and Fillingham in Lincolnshire.[10] Four years later Manasses and his wife, being present at Fécamp, granted also the church of Somerton; and King Henry confirmed the whole at Stamford, 5 July, 1110. It may be that Manasses was following the example of the foundation made by Robert d'Oilly at Oxford some thirty years earlier: the same patron saint, St. George, was chosen,[11] and the method of endowment was the same, namely, by giving two-thirds of the tithe of the demesne of the manors he held. The fee of Arsic came into his hands about ten

[1] Letters of Gilbert Foliot.
[2] An Oseney deed at Ch. Ch. Oxf.
[3] Anct. Pet. E. 904, printed in *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii, 94.
[4] See below.
[5] Oseney Chartul. MS. 66.
[6] Cart. Antiq., S. 9. It is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1003, but with several errors, especially in punctuation. It appears also in Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, 40, but from a chartulary which omits part of the deed.
[7] Among the Cart. Antiq. S. 1–8, are deeds which show that the abbot was in England in 1103.
[8] Rawlinson MS. Statutes 34.
[9] Subsidy of 1523, MS. Lincoln.
[10] The identifications are due to Mr. J. H. Round (Index to *Cal. Doc. France*).
[11] Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 8.

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years before this foundation, but as some of the manors, Balscott (Oxon) and Ramesham for instance, did not contribute tithes to Cogges, we may conclude that they had already been granted out to knights.

With this beginning Cogges might have become a great house, but it seems as if this was the only gift that was made to it. Moreover these portions of tithe in distant counties, as they could not be collected in kind by the prior, were granted away for small annual sums, and produced but little. Thus St. Frideswide's, Oxford, paid 2*s.* for the tithe at Fritwell ;[1] Oseney 10*s.* for the tithe of Barton Odonis ;[2] Jordan de Ros had the tithes of Farningham at 2*s.* a year for life ;[3] and those of Maplescombe were held by the rector for 2*s.*[4] In 1294 there was also a pension of 10*s.* a year from Eynsham Abbey,[5] no doubt for the tithes of Cassington. Also the possessions of the priory seem to have been gradually alienated. In 1233 the law courts decided that the advowson of Fringford did not belong to the priory ;[6] the church of Somerton also was lost ; and in 1291 the income was only £16, derived from rents in Fringford and Tew, and from the church of Cogges, with a pension from the church of Fringford.

In 1294 Cogges with other alien houses was taken for a time into the hands of the king, and on many subsequent occasions. In 1338 the king allowed the prior to hold it at a rent of £10, but in compassion of the poverty of himself and his house, and for the glory of God and St. George the Martyr, granted that he should be quit of that rent.[7] In the reign of Henry V the priory was seized by the king and was given to Eton College[8] in 1441.

Priors of Cogges[9]

Samson, *c.* 1160[10]
Michael, occurs 1195[11] and 1202[12] and 1205[13]
Roger, occurs 1221,[14] resigned 1226
Hugh, appointed 1226,[15] resigned 1227
John de London, appointed 1227[16]
Elerius, appointed 1238[17]
Gervasius, appointed 1248[18]
William de Esmerville, appointed 1251[19]
Hugh, resigned 1262[20]
William Barbeyn, appointed 1262,[21] resigned 1277
Hugh, appointed 1277[22]
Stephen de Alba Malla, resigned 1291[23]
Mathew de Ponte, appointed 1291,[24] resigned 1299
Roger Hardy appointed 1299,[25] resigned 1302
Vigor, appointed 1302,[26] resigned 1303
William de Limpeville, appointed 1303,[27] died 1333
Ralph le Frison, appointed 1333,[28] resigned 1341
Walter de Stauren, appointed 1341[29]
William Hamon, the king's surgeon, occurs 1347,[30] and in 1367[31]
Thomas Tynny, appointed 1377[32]
Nicholas Goyn, appointed 1380[33]
Richard de Byannay, appointed 1402[34]

50. THE PRIORY OF MINSTER LOVELL

The priory of Minster Lovell, attached to the abbey of Ivry in Normandy, was founded by Maud, widow of William Luvell, with the consent of William her son. She gave to the abbey of Ivry the church of Minster Lovell, and William, bishop of Lincoln (1203–6), confirmed the gift and instituted a vicarage there ; the abbey was to appoint the vicar, and they were to share equally the burdens and emoluments.[35] The priory therefore dated from 1200–6. In 1291[36] and 1294[37] it received £4 13*s.* 4*d.* from the church of Minster, and in the latter year

[1] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide*, ii, 222 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).
[2] Oseney Chart. No. 144.
[3] Rec. Transcripts, Ser. ii, 140 A, No. 373.
[4] *Cal. Doc. France*, 47, 49.
[5] Add. MS. 6164, 13.
[6] Bracton, *Note Bk.* (ed. Maitland), No. 798.
[7] Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 8.
[8] Bishop Tanner asserts that there were many deeds of Cogges preserved at Eton in drawer No. 2 ; there is a drawer labelled 'Coggs,' but a search among the muniments of the college, aided by the vice-provost, failed to discover any deeds of Cogges.
[9] The priors seem to have been the regular agents for the abbey of Fécamp in England. See *Cal. Doc. France*, 50, 51.
[10] *Eynsham Cart.* No. 131.
[11] *Feet of F.* (Pipe Roll Soc.).
[12] *Cal. Doc. France*, 50, 51.
[13] *Rot. de Finibus* (Rec. Com.), 319.
[14] Oseney Chart. No. 144.
[15] Roll of Hugh Wells.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Roll of Grosteste.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Roll of Gravesend.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton, Inst. fol. 128.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid. 140.
[26] Ibid. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 143.
[27] Ibid. 146.
[28] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. fol. 267.
[29] Ibid. 289.
[30] Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 7.
[31] Bodl. Chart. Oseney, 77.
[32] He was appointed by the bishop. 'The post belonging to the collation of the bishop by lapse of time.' Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, Inst. fol. 366.
[33] Ibid. 370.
[34] Ibid. Beaufort, Inst. fol. 210. He is called Richard de Beaumeney in *Acts of the P. C.* 4 Hen. IV.
[35] *Abbrev. Placit.* (Rec. Com.), 53*b*.
[36] *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 44.
[37] Add. MS. 6164, fol. 14.

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about £4 from land. It is not easy to understand how a priory could be maintained on such a small income; but probably it received rents from some of the possessions in England that belonged to the abbey of Ivry, such as the church of Asthall.

Its history is a blank; we do not even know the name of the patron saint. With the other alien houses it was repeatedly seized by the king, and finally in 1415. Eton College obtained it in 1441, but, contrary to the statement of Tanner, has no deeds relating to it.

Priors of Minster Lovell[1]

Robert, appointed 1226[2]
Geoffrey, appointed 1247[3]
Simon de Paris, resigned 1260[4]
Gacius appointed 1260,[5] resigned 1264
Jacobus, appointed 1264,[6] resigned 1266
Gacius, appointed 1266,[7] resigned 1270
John, appointed 1270,[8] died 1291
Stephen de Habitu, appointed 1291,[9] resigned 1293
Ralph de Montfort,[10] appointed 1293, resigned 1299
John de Monte Calneto,[11] appointed 1299, died 1305
Robert de Hodenco, appointed 1305,[12] resigned 1307
Geoffrey de Ruffeto,[13] appointed 1307, resigned 1309
Bertrand de Manderville,[14] appointed 1309
William de Rouge, appointed 1341[15]
Peter Curry, appointed 1352,[16] resigned 1361
Mathew de Nova Villa,[17] appointed 1361, died 1368
Vincent de Coueour, 1368[18]

[1] The priors were nominated by the abbot of Ivry.
[2] Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Bishop Hugh.
[3] Ibid. Rolls of Bishop Grosteste.
[4] Ibid. Rolls of Bishop Gravesend.
[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid. [9] Ibid. Sutton, Inst. fol. 126.
[10] Ibid. 132. [11] Ibid. 140.
[12] Ibid. Dalderby, Inst. fol. 147.
[13] Ibid. 152. [14] Ibid. 155.
[15] Ibid. Burghersh, Inst. 288. A monk of Ivry, appointed by the bishop, the abbot having failed to make any appointment during six months.
[16] Ibid. Gynwell, Inst. 205. [17] Ibid. 228.
[18] Ibid. Buckingham, Inst. 344.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

OXFORDSHIRE, one of the four English counties in which the census of 1901 showed no increase of population,[1] owes both its early importance and its later decline to those physical conditions which marked it out from the beginning as an essentially agricultural district.

An artificial division formed mainly by historical agencies, what natural definition it possesses is due to its character as 'a land of streams,' a tract of rich clay soil, shut in to the north-west and south-east by the limestone and chalk escarpments of the Cotswolds and the Chilterns, and watered throughout by the tributaries of the Thames, which separates it from Berkshire on the south. An economic truth underlies the poetic conceit by which Michael Drayton made his description of the 'Oxfordian fields' centre in the marriage of 'Isis, Cotswold's heir,' with 'Thame, old Chiltern's son.'[2] Lying almost entirely in the upper basin of the Thames, Oxfordshire is noted for its fertile arable ground, its woods and pastures, and the water-power on which the primitive wool-trade largely depended. Five of its market towns, Burford, Chipping Norton, Henley, Thame, and Witney, are on rivers, the city of Oxford has grown up near the head-waters of the navigation of the Thames,[3] and Dorchester marks the junction of Thame and Isis. 'That Oxfordshire is the best water'd county in England, though I dare not with too much confidence assert, yet am induced to believe there are few better,' wrote Plot, the Oxford historian,[4] in the seventeenth century. The distinction remains, but it has lost its economic significance. Water-ways and water-power have fallen into desuetude with the advent of steam and electricity, and Oxfordshire has none of those natural features and products which make for pre-eminence in modern industrial England.

The irregular form of the county has tended to emphasize its want of economic unity. The city of Oxford, in the narrow central strip, has developed owing to its position as the seat of a university, but the southern region, the Thames valley, is still almost entirely agricultural and pastoral. No great industrial centre, such as Reading, on the Berkshire side of the river, has sprung up within it. The wide expanse of north Oxfordshire has clung, it is true, to the skirts of the Cotswolds, and has shared the good and evil fortunes of the West-country wool-trade; but here, too, the towns have

[1] Mackinder, *Brit. and the Brit. Seas*, 336. Between 1891 and 1901 the population fell from 185,274 to 181,149.

[2] *Polyolbion*, Fifteenth Song, ll. 3, 4.

[3] Mackinder, op. cit. 243.

[4] *Nat. Hist. Oxf.* (2nd. ed.), 1705, ii, 18–19.

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dropped behind in the economic race, and have failed to rise above the level of local centres of secondary importance.

Yet the very lack of industrial progress in modern Oxfordshire lends greater interest to its early economic history. The social characteristics of mediaeval England, the feudal tenures and services, and the open-field methods of tillage, may here be studied to the best advantage, unobscured by the growth of great urban districts, and the consequent blotting-out of old traditions and customs. Two full records of mediaeval Oxfordshire in its economic aspect remain to us, which, with the scattered sketches in monastic chartularies and manorial court-rolls, make it possible to reconstruct, with some degree of accuracy, the social life of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Domesday Book represents the county when the feudal organization of English society had just been systematized. The Eyre and Hundred Rolls of 1254, 1274, and 1279, compiled from the evidence of the county landholders, show that organization in its maturity, on the eve of its slow decay.

Domesday Book gives the householders of Oxfordshire as 6,775 persons,[1] of whom 334 may be reckoned as free, and 6,441 as unfree. By 1279 the householders had increased to about 9,287, and the proportion of free to unfree had risen strikingly, since there were now some 3,461 free to some 5,826 unfree inhabitants.[2]

This calculation, which omits the city of Oxford[3] and the non-resident mesne lords, but includes the tenants in chief of the crown, gives only a rough idea of the total population of the county, but it may be taken as representing not unfairly the proprietary and agricultural population, the actual holders of the soil, exclusive of women and children and dependent people.

A comparison between the returns of 1086 and those of 1279 brings out clearly the spread of freedom and the changes in economic status which took place during the two hundred years which followed the Norman Conquest. But it must be remembered that the class-names of Domesday Book have a different connotation from their apparent equivalents in the Hundred Rolls. The villein of 1086, if economically dependent, was, in the eye of the law, a free man; the *servus* was personally unfree. In the thirteenth century, *servi* and *nativi* were, in both economic services and legal disabilities, practically indistinguishable from the *villani*, and all three terms were used interchangeably. In the following table, then, like terms do not imply an exact correspondence of meaning.[4]

Domesday Book, 1086[5]		Hundred Roll, 1279[6]	
Free Population		*Free Population*	
Tenants in chief of the crown . .	84	Tenants in chief of the crown . .	72
Other freemen (including under-tenants, occupiers, *burgenses*, *Francigenae*, *milites*, *homines*, *liberi homines* and priests)	250	Other freemen (including socmen, free socmen, burgage tenants, *libere tenentes*, *liberi homines* and priests)	3389

[1] Ellis, *Introd. to Dom.* ii, 477.

[2] This estimate is arrived at by counting the resident landholders and tenants named or mentioned in the Hund. R. of 1279.

[3] The population of the city is not returned with sufficient detail to allow of an estimate.

[4] Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, essay 1, ch. v; Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 26 et seq.; Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, i, 395 et seq.; cf. below, pp. 168, 169.

[5] Ellis, *Introd. to Dom.* ii, 477, et seq.

[6] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 688, et seq.

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DOMESDAY BOOK, 1086 (*continued*)

Unfree Population

Villani	3545
Bordarii	1889
Servi	963
Miscellaneous (*piscatores, homines habentes hortulos*)	27
Buri	17

HUNDRED ROLL, 1279 (*continued*)

Unfree Population

Villani	1969
Cotarii, coterelli, cotagiarii, &c.	1349
Servi and tenants in bondage	921
Nativi	620
Miscellaneous (*virgatarii*, &c.)	510
Custumarii, consuetudinarii, &c.	457

The density of the population increased from about 70 to 80 acres per head in 1086 to between 50 and 60 acres per head in 1279.[1] The free element was marked in 1279 at Woodstock, in the hundred without the north gate of Oxford, and in the Banbury hundred, where royal and urban influences were at work. Elsewhere, it constituted from a third to half of the population, save in the hundreds of Dorchester and Ploughley, where the unfree element predominated. More significant are the changes in economic terminology, and the growing complexity and interfusion of classes. The eighty-four Domesday tenants in chief of the crown had dropped by 1279 to seventy-two, among whom were conspicuous the king's kin and the great earls. Conspicuous too, were the religious houses of the neighbourhood: Abingdon, Eynsham, Godstow, Oseney, St. Frideswide, with the Templars and Hospitallers, and the bishops of Lincoln, Winchester, and Exeter. Below them came the mesne lords and their tenants in a bewildering tangle of tenures and obligations which shows how the old order was breaking up from its own weight and intricacy, and how the labour-services by which the whole life of the countryside had been sustained were being replaced by a system of money payments.

Yet the customary methods died hard. If personal military service were largely represented by payments of scutage, three-quarters of a knight's fee could still be held by following the earl of Cornwall on horseback for forty days, when he marched with the king against Scotland,[2] and a tenant of Roger Mortimer could be enfeoffed with an Oxfordshire manor[3] on condition of doing castle-guard at Wigmore with twenty horses for forty days when there was war with North Wales.

Tenure by serjeanty in varied and picturesque forms was not uncommon. Fiefs were held of the crown by finding an archer with bow and arrows for the king's host for forty days 'within the four seas,'[4] by bearing a pennon before the foot-soldiers of Wootton hundred at the royal summons,[5] by carrying spits to the king's dinner in the forest,[6] furnishing him with water or a tablecloth 'worth 3*s*,'[7] mewing his falcons and goshawks,[8] or acting as his chamberlain, doorkeeper, steward, or woodward.[9] To Oxfordshire also belonged the distinction of providing an usher for the king's exchequer at

[1] This is arrived at by dividing the modern acreage of the county by the population in 1086 and 1279 respectively. Cf. Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 19.

[2] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 693, *a, b*. [3] Idbury, ibid. 733*b*, 734*a*. [4] Ibid. 690*a*.

[5] Ibid. 46*a-b*. Cf. 862*a*; Assize R. P.R.O. 25 Hen. III, 697, m. 6, r°. By 1275 this serjeanty was divided into four holdings, and the service was commuted for a money rent. Mentioned in 1657–8, Oxf. R. Bodl. 61.

[6] Assize R. 697, m. 4, v°; 698, m. 1, r°, 'portandi veruta ad dinnerium domini Regis in bosco.'

[7] Ibid. 697, m. 8, v°; 698, m. 1 v°; 700 m. 1, v°.

[8] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 34*b*, 46*b*, 690*a*, 698*a*, 721*b*; Assize R. 697, m. 6, r°; m. 7, r°.

[9] *Rot Hund.* 44*a*, 727*a*; Assize R. 697, m. 6, r°, v°; m. 7, r°; m. 8, r°, v°; 700, m. 1, v°; m. 2, v°.

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Westminster.[1] The knight's fee, though much subdivided,[2] remained the unit of military tenure. Scutage was paid by ecclesiastics and freeholders, and even by villeins and nativi.[3] A good instance is found at Standlake, where four tenants held three-eighths of a knight's fee each, and three of them paid scutage to the fourth, who was responsible for the whole to the countess of Devon, from whom the township was held for a knight's fee and a half.[4] In other cases, the tax apparently fell on special tenants[5] or lay on the land itself, as at Cropredy, where every virgate held by a tenant of the bishop of Lincoln gave 2*s.* 6*d.* for scutage when the fee (*scutum*) gave 40*s.*[6]

Of the non-military free tenures, frankalmoign was well represented, and a grant in 'free alms' might include high franchises. At Arncot the abbot of Oseney held 'in free, pure and perpetual alms' with all royal rights except the Crown Pleas.[7] If scutage were paid, the word 'pure' seems to have been omitted.[8] A quit-rent often accompanied a gift in frankalmoign, as when Guy de Merton granted land to the Templars with his body and his best horse at his death, and received 15*s.*, two loads of wheat for his wife, and 12*d.* for his son 'to mend his hose.'[9]

Honorary tenures occur frequently, rents of pepper, cummin, ginger or wax, a rose, a clove-gilly-flower, gilded spurs, gloves, a buck, a sparrowhawk, a sword, or an arrow.[10] In one case, a new lord was 'recognized' by the offering of a sparrowhawk or half a mark.[11] Tenants also held by singing masses, giving wax to the church, or providing lamps for a particular chapel or shrine, and as late as 1806 lands in Heyford parish were called 'lamplights' from such an endowment.[12] Social status seems to have been determined by the service rendered by the landholder, but classes melted almost insensibly into one another,[13] and the line between free and unfree was hard to draw. The fiefs of the freeholders (*libere tenentes*) ranged from half an acre to one or two hides, held by lease or charter or by every variety of service, serjeanty, military service, alms, suit of court, peppercorn rents, money rents, scutage, hidage, tallage, payments in kind, and labour-services.[14] But money rents preponderated, and the change from villeinage to freeholding was marked by the rendering of rent, suit of court, and 'the king's service' (*regale*).[15] Certainty of service and conveyance of the tenement by feoffment with homage instead of by 'surrender and admittance' with fealty were also tests of liberty. Free tenants are rarely said to work or hold 'at the will of the lord,'[16] and it could

[1] Assize R. 697, m. 6, v°; 700, m. 1, v°. 'Rogg de Scaccario tenet 20/- redd. in Aston per seriantiam custodiendi hostium Scaccarii domini Regis apud Westm.'

[2] A sixth, a seventh, an eighth of a fee occur. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 713*b*, 719*a*, *b*, 770*a*.

[3] Ibid. 692*a*–*b*, 693*a*, 694*a*, 695*a*, 815*a*, *b*, 828*a*.

[4] Ibid. 702–3.

[5] Ibid. 695*a*, 704*b*.

[6] Ibid. 705*b*.

[7] Ibid. 715*b*.

[8] Ibid. 707*b*, 730*a*; cf. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Engl. Law*, i, 224.

[9] Sandford Chartul, Wood MSS. 10 Bodl. fol. 103, r°.

[10] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 689*a*, 690*a*, *b*, 713*a*, 728*a*, 736*b*, 739*a*,*b*, 766*b*, 777*a*, 782*a*, 858*b*.

[11] Ibid. 713*b*.

[12] Ibid. 713*a*, 738*a*, 841*b*, 843*b*; *Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. North Oxf.* 1856–7; *Rep.* 9. Sandford Chartul, fol. 19, r°, v°, 22, v°, 23, r°, v°.

[13] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 702*b*, 703*a*, *b*. William Miles, who held a messuage and a half virgate at Standlake from four different lords, is returned for half his holding as a serf and for half as a cottar.

[14] Ibid. 690*a*, *b*, 692*a*, *b*, 693*a*, *b*, 694*b*, 697*a*, *b*, 699*a*, *b*, 700*a*, *b*, 703*b*, 708*b*, 709*b*, 716*a*, 722*a*, 732*a*, 733*b*, 741*b*, 751*b*, 752*a*, 760*a*, 772*a*, *b*, 777*a*, 780*b*, 782*b*, 784*b*, 823*b*, 830*a*.

[15] Ibid. 771*b*. cf. Ct. R., P. R. O. 197, No. 26, m. 6, r°, 14–42 Edw. III 'one acre held freely for service of 16*d.* per annum.'

[16] Cf. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 728*b*, H. Abbod. An apparent case to the contrary.

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be contended in a court of law that land was held freely if the tenant were enfeoffed as a freeman.[1]

A link between freeholders and villeins was formed by the free socmen and tenants in socage, who had no place in Oxfordshire in the Domesday Survey, but numbered about seventy persons in 1279,[2] of whom forty-four are found at Bensington, a manor on ancient demesne.[3] The majority of them held immediately of the crown or of the church by suit of court, money-rents, or labour-services; they paid hidage, tallage and heriots, and even fines on the marriage of their children. Yet they were regarded as free,[4] and had free tenants under them,[5] and their services, if base, were fixed and certain.[6]

The *villani*, strictly so called, decreased between 1086 and 1279, the *bordarii*[7] and *buri* gave place to *custumarii*, *consuetudinarii*, *cotarii*, *cotagiarii*, and *coterelli*, and the serf class was largely increased by the addition to the *servi* of Domesday Book of a considerable number of *nativi*. But this changing terminology implied altered conditions and local developments rather than any real degradation of the peasantry. Of all the customary and servile tenants it is frequently said that they 'hold in villeinage,' and the *consuetudinarii* and *nativi* are probably but old villeins with new faces, the descendants of the Domesday *villani*, born into the servile state of customary labour. The salient point which stands out from contemporary records is the tendency to regard freedom less as a question of personal status than as a matter of economic and legal relations. The villeins proper still formed the essentially agricultural class, on whose work in the fields the village economy depended. 'Pure villeinage' seems, indeed, to have merely implied uncertain and forced labour-services for the whole year, with tallage and merchet at the lord's will.[8] The generic name *villani* covered and was interchangeable with the specific terms which were used to indicate particular economic distinctions or local custom. The *cotarii*, like the earlier *bordarii*, were primarily the holders of cottages, with or without land; in the case of the *servi*, stress was laid on the rendering of base services, *opera servilia*, while with the *custumarii* and *nativi* the antiquity of such services and their heritable nature were emphasized. Local nomenclature is also responsible for many differences. *Servi* and *nativi* seldom occur in the same manor as *villani* proper. *Custumarii* are found chiefly in central Oxfordshire,[9] and *consuetudinarii* in the north-west and south.[10] *Servi* are most common in the western hundred of Bampton, and *nativi* in Ploughley hundred, and a few tenants in bondage are mentioned in the hundred of Wootton.[11] Such combinations of terms as *liberi-consuetudinarii*, *servi-socmanni*, *servi-custumarii*, *servi-villani*, *servi-nativi*[12] show the transition from one stage of freedom to another, a transition which has left its mark upon the Hundred Rolls, and is connected with the

[1] Assize R. 695, m. 10*b*, 25 Hen. III.

[2] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 706*b*, 751 *et seq.* 763*a*, 774*b*, 822*a*, 831*a*, 846*a*, 849*a*, 871*b*.

[3] Ibid. 752–4. [4] Ibid. 749*a*, 'liberi quasi sokemanni.' [5] Ibid. 753*b*.

[6] Ibid. 871*b*, Hanborough. The custumarii 'redeem their children' at the lord's will. The socage tenants give 4*d*. or a lance, 'pro maritagio,' cf. 846*a*, . . 4*d*. or a sword to steward when daughter marries.

[7] Ante, p. 167. *Bordarii* are mentioned at Thame, Banbury, and Cropredy in the confirmation by Hen. II of a charter of Hen. I to Eynsham Abbey. Eynsham Chartul. ii, No. 704.

[8] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 822*b*. A *nativus* holds a virgate in 'pure villeinage,' pays a rent of 2*s*. 2*d*., and has to work all the year round, and pay tallage and redeem his children at the lord's will.

[9] Hundreds of Bullingdon and Wootton.

[10] Chadlington Langtree and Ewelme hundreds.

[11] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 842*b*, 868*a*. [12] Ibid. 755*b*, 769*b*, 778–780, 781*b*.

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commutation of labour-services for money-rents. In the Dorchester hundred, unfree tenants complained that their ancestors were free like socmen, and did the king service for forty days at their own cost, with pourpoint, lance, and steel cap, but the bishop of Lincoln had 'subtracted' that service.[1]

At Draycot, near Ewelme, the villeins protested that their old rent of 8*s.*, with six days' mowing and autumn work, had been unjustly raised by the lord who held the vill to farm.[2] In the hundred of Wootton, at Upper Worton,[3] the reverse process is seen taking place. A villein holding 7 acres paid 4*s.* rent to his lord and 1*d.* to the parson of the church 'who redeemed him from servitude.' At Newton Juwell, in the same district, the ancient services of a tenant in villeinage had been changed twelve years or more before 1279 into a yearly rent of 12*s.*, but he might not sell horse or ox or 'free tree' without the lord's leave.[4] The commutation of labour services had already gone far by 1279. In the Bampton hundred the change into money-rents had been very generally effected.[5] Elsewhere services were still rendered in kind,[6] but their money-value was often stated,[7] and the process of commutation can occasionally be traced. Thus certain customary services of the tenants of the abbot of Eynsham at Woodcote, near Dorchester, had been 'converted into money,' and the abbot received 12*s.* for each virgate.[8] At Ropeford and at Watlington, also in the south of the county, the villeins had commuted their labour-dues for rent, but their lord was left free to revert to the old customary services at his pleasure.[9] These services, in addition to payments in money and kind, comprised agricultural labour of every description, and the importance attached to the territorial tie is seen in the gradual shifting of burdens from the tillers of the soil to the soil itself. Virgates are said to perform services, to work, and to pay scutage.[10] *Virgatarii*, *dimidii virgatarii*, and *operarii* are mentioned, with *terra operabilis*, *terra consuetudinaria*, *terra custumaria*, and *terra vilenagia*.[11]

Oxfordshire was a land of villages, with dependent hamlets. The cottages, yards, and gardens, which clustered about the manor-house and the parish church, or lined the straggling street, were set in the midst of open arable fields, common pastures, woods, and wastes.[12] The open fields were divided into *culturae*, *quarentenae*, *furlongs*, or *shots*,[13] in which lay the scattered holdings of the lord and his tenants, in acre or half-acre strips.[14] The hide and the carucate of four virgates[15] were used indiscriminately

[1] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 748–9; i.e. the bishop had appropriated the royal rights. Cf. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, 204.

[2] Ibid. 757*a*.

[3] Or Upper Norton: Orton Major. Ibid. 843*a*.

[4] Ibid. 849*b*. Cf. 715*a*: Villeins have commuted, yet still do sundry 'works' at the lord's will; 720*b*, work or rent, as the lady of the manor chooses.

[5] Ibid. 688*b*, et seq. 'pro opere et servicio,' 5*s.* 10*d.*

[6] Ibid. 712*a*.

[7] Ibid. 727*a*.

[8] Ibid. 750*b*, 751*a*, 'modo eorum servicia convertuntur in denar.'

[9] Ibid. 755*b*, 815*a*, 816*b*.

[10] Ibid. 705*b*, 706*a–b*, 711*a*, 713*b*, 715*a*.

[11] Ibid. 726*b*, 730*b*, 734*a–b*, 755*a*, 758*a*, 771*b*, 776*a–b*, 787*a–b*, 828*a*, 845*a*, 866*a*.

[12] Cf. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 15, 380.

[13] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 707*b*, 718*b*, 811*a*, 'culturae'; 768*a*, 778*b*, 779*a*, 'quarentenae.' Sandford Chartul. fol. 18 r°, 'cultura'; fols. 16 r°, v°, 19 r°, 22 r°, 'quarentenae.'

[14] Ibid. fols. 15 v°, 16 r°, v°, scattered half-acres; fol. 22 r°, v°, acre . . . in demesne.

[15] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 708*a*, 4 virgates called La Hide; 709*a*, 4 carucates, containing 16 virgates; 709*b*, 1 carucate, containing 4 virgates.

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as measures of land, and there is evidence to show that in the Ewelme district a hundred acres went to the hide.[1]

Seliones, the ridges which alternated with furrows in the arable; *gores*, or sharpened strips; *butts*, or blunted strips; *forerae*, *capitales* or *headlands*, which gave access to the strips, are constantly mentioned, with odds and ends of land, *assarts*, recovered from the waste, *forlands*, *closes*, *crofts*, *tofts*, *corners* and *angles*, *cotlands*, *ferndels*, and *ferthinglands*.[2] The *lynches*, or uncultivated banks dividing the hillside strips of Bensington, which were destroyed at the time of the inclosure, dated back to Anglo-Saxon days.[3] The two-field system of cultivation was, not improbably, followed in central Oxfordshire, at Yulebury, Great Tew, and Newton Juwell, in the hundred of Wootton, but the evidence is too scanty for any certain conclusion.[4] The three-field system may more confidently be traced at Stoke Talmage, where mention is made of a grant of half a hide lying in the north field, the south field, and the west field,[5] and at Marston, where a certain *terra* in the open field (*campus*) paid rent to the lord of the manor in the year when it was sown, and always in the third year it rendered nothing because it lay fallow.[6] An interesting case is recorded, where the abbot of Eynsham was accused of disseising a free tenant of his common of pasture at Stoke and Woodcote, in the Dorchester hundred, by dividing into three parts lands which had always formerly been divided into two parts.[7]

Meadows, though sometimes held independently, were usually regarded as appurtenances of arable land.[8] In Oxfordshire they were often divided into portions for the hay season by lot,[9] and the term 'lot meadows' lingers still in the county.[10] The lord's demesne meadows might lie apart, or be intermixed with those of his tenants, and subject to the same method of apportionment,[11] and there were meadows held by the tenants in common.[12] After the hay was carried, the boundaries were thrown down, and beasts were turned out to graze.

[1] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 761*a*, 'continent predictae duae carucatae 200 acras'; 763*b*, 'duas hydas terrae continentes 200 acras.'

[2] For these terms cf. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*; Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*; and Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*. Sandford Chartul. fols. 22 v°, 42 r°, 57 v°. 'Selliones,' fol. 17 r°; 'cornerium,' 'hevidlonde,' 19 r°; 'toftos et croftos,' 24 v°, 'buttas,' 'foreras,' 'capitales.' *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com), ii, 704*a–b*, 'forlond,' 'cotlond'; 709*b*, 'assart'; 717*b*, 'ferthinglond' of 5 acres; 718*b*, 'close'; 735*b*, 'ferendel'; 831*a*, 'gores.'

[3] *Cod. Dipl.* vi, 136–8. Pearman, *Hist. of Bensington*, 8. Charter of Ethelred II, 'to hean lincan.'

[4] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 843*b*, 846*a*, 849*a–b*, 'utroque campo: in uno campo, in alio campo.' Cf. Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 25, Bicester, 19 Edw. I, m. 3 v°, 'in utroque campo.' For the probable interpretation of evidence of this nature, cf. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, 229; cf. Sandford Chartul. fol. 95 r°; Sibbeford, 'in uno campo' . . . 'in alio campo,' glossed 'campo boriali' . . . 'campo austral.' But on fol. 97 r° the 'campus oriental. de Sybbeford' is mentioned. Cf. fol. 38 v° Walecot, *Estfelde*, *Westfeld*. In later times a four-field system is found in Oxfordshire, and it seems possible that four fields, answering roughly to the points of the compass, were grouped in two 'campi' for the purposes of a two-course rotation of crops, as at Hitchin for a three-course rotation six fields were counted as three. Seebohm, *English Village Community*, 11.

[5] Sandford Chartul. fol. 53 r°.

[6] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 711*b*.

[7] Assize R. 695, m. 10*a*, 696, m. 14*a*, 25 Hen. III.

[8] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 691*a*, 714*a*.

[9] Sandford Chartul. fol. 56 v°, an acre in demesne granted 'sicut per perticam et sortem cadet.'

[10] Mowat, *Sixteen Old Maps* (Clar. Press), 1888, Maps of Whitehill, 1605, 'lotte meadowes,' and Cowley, 1605; cf. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 381. A. Young, *Gen. View of the Agric. of Oxf.* (1813), 91. Hampton Poyle, inclosed in 1726–7, saw a very great improvement in the tract that had been lot meadows. Cf. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, 259 et seq. Cf. *Three Oxford Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 308.

[11] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 781*b*.

[12] Ibid. 754*b*, 768*a*.

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Pasture was similarly 'adjacent' to the arable,[1] and was held either in severalty or in common,[2] and grants were frequently made of the amount requisite for feeding a specified number of animals.[3]

Although much of the lord's land was intermixed with the peasants' strips, the broad distinction between land in demesne, the *inlonde* and *inmede*, and land in villeinage was always maintained.[4] The cultivation of the demesne depended mainly on the customary services of the tenantry, which included the whole yearly round of rural labour. The land, whether for crop or fallow,[5] was ploughed in spring and winter[6] by men who owed one or more 'ploughings' (*arurae*) a year, varying in money-value from 1*d.* to 7*d.*, and constantly combined with harrowing.[7] The service was usually reckoned by the amount of land ploughed,[8] and free tenants, socmen, villeins, *custumarii*, and *servi* were alike liable to it.[9] Professional ploughmen, who had to 'hold the lord's plough' all the year round, were allowed to use it on their own land every Saturday, or every second or third Saturday, or to turn beasts into the lord's pasture.[10] Similar grazing-rights were granted in return for the special ploughing-service called *Grassearth*. At Chalgrove the villeins who ploughed 2 acres for their lord in winter with their own ploughs, and harrowed a proportionate amount, were free of the demesne pastures from 1 August to Lady Day, and of the demesne meadows after the hay was carried.[11] The peasants' ploughs were either private property or held in common,[12] and their services were commuted or rendered in kind according to circumstances.[13] The normal plough seems to have been drawn by four horses or oxen, and the harrow by one or two horses.[14] Certain tenants were responsible for supplying iron-work for the lord's ploughs and shoeing his plough-horses, and at Bensington rents of ploughshares were paid for pasture-land.[15] Hay-making and harvest, the central events of the rustic year, were regulated with elaborate care. All classes owed service in the hayfield, where free tenants and serfs might meet on equal terms,[16] but the exceptional character of these services was acknowledged by quaint traditional ceremonies. In central and southern Oxfordshire it was customary for each mower, after his day's work, to have the grass that he could lift with his scythe-handle, or with his scythe, without breaking it or resting it on the

[1] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 823*b*, 837*b*, 843*b*, 855*a–b*, 858*b*, 867*b*.

[2] Ibid. 713*a*, 721*b*, 723*b*, 751*b*, 778*b*, 851*b*, 857*a*, 864*b*. Sandford Chartul. fol. 46 r°, 'communitatem ville in pascuis et silvis'; 66 r°, 'communas tam in pratis quam in pascuis . . . et jacent commixtim.'

[3] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 710*b*, 721*a*, 722*a*, 738*b*, 764*a*. Each 'custumarius' had fold for his sheep in proportion to his land, 15 sheep to a virgate, and pasture. Sandford Chartul. fol. 42 r°, 'pasturam ad unam carucatam boum et tribus vaccis in dominica pastura.'

[4] Sandford Chartul. fol. 14 v°: 'in dominicis et villenagiis'; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 735*b*. 'Inlonde,' 849*a*, 'Inmede.'

[5] Ibid. 782*b*. 1 acre for winter-sowing, 1 acre 'ad warecam.'

[6] Ibid, 752*a*, 782*a*.

[7] Ibid. 727*a*, 746*a*.

[8] Ibid. 748*a*.

[9] Ibid. 754*b*, 772*a b*, 787*a*.

[10] Ibid. 727*b*, 758*a*, 762*a*, 776*a*, 'carucarii.'

[11] Ibid. 744*b*, 761*b*, 764*a*, 768*b*, 774*b*.

[12] Ibid. 731*a*, half a plough, 748*b*. 'Si habeat carucam integram vel cum aliis sociis conjunctim.'

[13] Oxford Rolls, 95, m. 1 r°, [Little Tew,] 9–10 Edw. I, 'de arrur. custumar. domini 11*d.* et non plus quia plures fecerunt arrur.' Assize R. 696, m. 17 v° 3 ploughings, winter, spring, and fallow.

[14] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 755*a*; harrowing 'cum duobus jumentis,' 775*a*; a customary serf to plough an acre if he have four horses or oxen, half an acre if he have two horses, 763*a*; 'herciabit . . . cum duobus equis,' 773*a*; 'cum . . . equo,' 788*a–b*; 'a man and a horse'; cf. 782*a*. If the villein have a whole plough he must 'warectare' an acre and plough 2 acres at the winter-sowing; if not, he must plough according to what he has in his plough.

[15] Ibid. 744*a*, 747*a*, 752*a*, 768*b*.

[16] Ibid. 851*a–b*.

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ground. A day's carrying was rewarded with as much hay as could be gathered up in the labourer's arms,[1] and at Iffley each cottar haymaker was entitled daily to a portion of hay raked together, 'which in English is called *Yelm*,' a term still used in Oxfordshire for straw or stubble.[2]

Money-payments 'from the lord's purse,' allowances of food, permission to the mowers to tether horses in the fields or on the headlands and pasture-rights are also found.[3] An acre was held by the service of sharpening scythes, and a croft by carrying water to the mowers.[4] The gathering in of the hay-crop was often celebrated by a feast, the *Medsipe*, the ancestor of the modern *Hay-home*, for which the lord provided bread and salt, mutton and cheese 'of second-best quality,' and wood to cook the meat, or money equivalents.[5] By 1279 both payments in kind and services were beginning to be converted into money-values. In the north-west of the county four half-day mowings were estimated at 6*d*., the hay which could be lifted with a scythe at ½*d*., three haymaking 'works' (*opera*) at 1½*d*., and a carrying 'work' at 2*d*.[6]

Harvest-services were also rendered by all classes of the community, and carried with them little or no implication of servitude. Traditional customs were observed, varying from manor to manor. There were *bedrips* or reapings at the lord's 'bidding,' *nedrips*, and the autumn *precariae* or boon-days, when almost the whole village turned out into the harvest-field, though wives, nurses, and shepherds were sometimes exempted.[7] At Elsfield, near Oxford,[8] the customary tenants had to ride, with saddle, bridle, and spurs, to see that their lady's corn was well and safely reaped. At Bensington, on the ancient demesne, a free socman and his tenant rode by the reapers to supervise their work and dined with the lord's steward.[9] Two free tenants in the Bampton hundred held by money-rents and the service of acting as *ripereeve* for four days 'at the lord's table.'[10] The lord often provided food for the harvesters,[11] and they, like the haymakers, received payment for their work in kind, a sheaf tied with a band of corn drawn from itself,[12] or with a cord of the length of 2⅓ ft. and a barleycorn,[13] a dish full of corn,[14] a sheaf from the last load,[15] common of pasture, and the right to turn beasts into the lord's stubble.[16] The *consuetudinarii* of Bensington, Warborough, and Shillingford had an acre of meadow called *Medaker* and 2 acres of wheat of medium quality called *Ripkowel* in return for their labour,[17] and at Stoke Basset the customary serfs who by the service called *Deywine* reaped half an acre a day for six days received a sheaf of corn every second day.[18]

But these special services by no means exhausted the obligations of the peasantry. They had to act as manorial reeves or bailiffs. They paid

[1] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 757*a*, 763*a*, 775*a*, 776*b*, 849*a*, 850*a*, 851*a*, 852*a*, 866*a*.
[2] Ibid. 712*a*. Wright, *English Dialect Dict.*: 'Yelm,' 'Haulm.'
[3] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 717*b*, 750*b*, 754*b*, 768*a*, 850*a*, 868*b*.
[4] Ibid. 768*a*, 753*b*; cf. 755*a*.
[5] Ibid. 714*a*, 717*b*, 720*b*, 721*a*, 722*a*, 750*b*, 775*a*, 776*a–b*, 779*b*; cf. *Jackson's Oxf. Journ.* 10 Aug. 1872. 'A substantial hay-home feast.'
[6] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 743*a–b*.
[7] Ibid. 717*b*, 718*a*, 748*b*, 752*b*, 754*a*, 815*b*, 817*b*.
[8] Ibid. 720*b*.
[9] Ibid. 752*b*; cf. 748*a*, 760*a*, 765*a*, 815*a–b*, 860*a*.
[10] Ibid. 693*b*.
[11] Ibid. 723*a*, 732*b*, 736*b*.
[12] Ibid. 754*b*, 755*a*, 757*a–b*, 759*b*, 766*a*, 768*a*, 775*a*, 787*b*.
[13] Ibid. 773*a*.
[14] Ibid. 757*b*.
[15] Ibid. 787*a*.
[16] Ibid. 764*a*, 768*b*; cf. 773*a*.
[17] Ibid. 754*b*.
[18] Ibid. 780*a*.

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hidage, sometimes as a common burden laid on the whole township, tallage, Peter's-pence, churchscot or *chirchett*, head-penny, and pannage for the right to feed their pigs in the lord's woods, and in one case a villein owed the 'ordinary aids' for knighting the lord's son and marrying his daughter. Heriots were given by the heirs of customary tenants, and the 'redemption of flesh and blood' was common, the payment of *merchet* on the marriage of a daughter, and occasionally of a fine on the tenant's own marriage or on his son's taking holy orders. Licence had often to be obtained to sell horse or ox, or to brew beer, *chepale* as it was called in the south of the county. There were payments also representing commuted labour, *cornbote*, *malt-silver*, *salt-silver*, a penny at Martinmas in lieu of fetching salt, or a *wood hen* at Christmas for the right of gathering dead wood. Offerings of poultry and eggs, and carrying services and labour-dues of every description, were customary; sheepshearing and washing, thrashing and winnowing, bean-planting, malt-grinding, and cider-making, thatching and building, with work in the stubble-field, the flax crop, the garden, and the sheepfold. Christmas-tide saw the peasants trooping to the manor-house, laden with poultry, bread, and ale, to share the lord's Christmas dinner, but these compulsory gifts, somewhat irksome probably to both sides, were soon commuted for money.[1]

Very slowly, from this chaos of manorial custom, fixed standards of value emerged. In the thirteenth century rents varied so greatly even in the same manor that it is impossible to reduce them to scale. The free tenants' rents were much lighter than those of the villeins, which represented commuted labour-services. To take one instance among many, at Weld, a hamlet of Bampton, the maximum rent paid for a messuage and a half-virgate by the villeins was more than double that of the free tenants.[2] There was a tendency to arrange the villeins in groups, each following one type, and to equalize their payments, while greater irregularity and independence distinguished the holdings of the free tenants. That the villeins' rents were supposed to be the exact equivalent of the services they replaced is shown by a case at Garsington,[3] where two virgaters paid 15*s.* for nine months and worked for the remaining three months, and their labour was worth 5*s.* Work and rent were here alike estimated at 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter per virgate. At Kingham[4] the villeins stated that their yearly rent of 16*s.* with tallage acquitted them from all further service, since it far exceeded their 'works and customs.' Where labour was in the main customary service, rewarded by traditional dues, the question of money wages hardly arose; but occasional money payments for piecework, or to artisans and farm servants not otherwise provided for, are found very early. These wages were generally paid twice a year, one-third on Lady Day and two-thirds at Michaelmas. Smiths, for looking after the iron-work of the lord's plough and shoeing the plough horses for a year, received from 5*s.* to 6*s.*, with an allowance of wheat or rye. Plough drivers (*fugatores*, *tentores*) had from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a year. A shepherd earned 3*s.* 6*d.* yearly, a cook who 'mowed and harvested' 2*s.* 8*d.*, and a miller 6*s.* 6*d.* Masons and carpenters were apparently often paid by the piece, though they also

[1] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 694*a*, 702*a*, 712*a*, 717*b*, 722*b*, 723*b*, 726*b*, 728*b*, 729*b*, 734*b*, 746*b*, 747*b*, 757*b*, 761*b*, 763*b*, 765*a*, 766*a*, 768*a*, *b*, 773*a*, 775*a*, 780*b*, 785*a*, 788*a*, *b*, 847*b*.
[2] Ibid. 688–9; 9*s.* 10*d.* and 4*s.* 9*d.* [3] Ibid. 720*b*. [4] Ibid. 733*a*.

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received yearly wages. Roofing a sheepfold cost 7*s.*, repairing the roof of the manor hall 3*s.*, building a wall 4*s.* 6*d.*, making two locks and keys 8*d.*[1] Ploughing was paid at 8*d.* an acre, mowing a meadow at 6*d.* an acre, carting the hay at 4*d.* an acre, and thrashing a quarter of grain at 2½*d.*[2] In the Chadlington hundred, in the north-west of the county, where the old labour-services and their new money equivalents were recorded with peculiar care, a local standard of wages for ordinary work had been approximately fixed by 1279 at an average of 1*d.* a day, ½*d.* from Michaelmas to the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June), 1*d.* from 24 June to 1 August, and 1½*d.* from 1 August to Michaelmas. Special work was paid at special rates, mowing at from 2*d.* to 3*d.* a day, haymaking at 1½*d.* a day, and bean planting and nutting at about ½*d.* a day.[3] How these estimates were arrived at it is hard to say, but a boon work or *precaria* was sometimes valued at 2*d.* without food, and at 1*d.* when meals were provided,[4] so that a day's food might be roughly reckoned at 1*d.*, and this might fairly be taken as an average day's wage. The purchasing power of a penny was not inconsiderable, since in 1279 a sheep sold for mutton was worth 1*s.*, and a cock or hen 1*d.*, while two pennyworth of cheese and from a halfpennyworth to a pennyworth of bread was the usual allowance per head at the hay-home or *Medsipe*.[5]

Indications of the cost of living are somewhat scanty in the early records, but a fair general idea of the price of necessaries and of the manner of life of the Oxfordshire peasantry and country landholders in the thirteenth century may be gathered from incidental entries. Wheat averaged about 5*d.* a bushel,[6] and in the southern district 100 loaves went to the quarter, or twenty 'little loaves' to the bushel. In other words, a bushel of wheat corresponded to about twelve and a half ordinary loaves, and the halfpenny loaf seems to have been taken as the standard.[7] In addition to bread, the peasants lived chiefly on soup, cheese, herrings, and ale, with beef, mutton, pork, bacon, and poultry occasionally. Fish of all kinds abounded in the rivers and ponds, and rents were sometimes paid in 'sticks of eels.' Weirs and water-mills fetched high rents. Windmills are also found, but more rarely, with a horse-mill in Oxford and a fulling mill at Sandford. At Sandford, too, there was a stone bridge, and other bridges are mentioned.[8] Around the thatched timber-framed houses, or 'fair halls' of wood and stone, were grouped the farm buildings, grange and dovecot, cowhouse, sheepfold and pigstyes. Timber for repairs and fencing was provided by the franchise of 'husbote and heybote,' and building stone came from the Bloxham, Burford, or Headington quarries. Within the houses a certain rude comfort reigned. Dishes, cups, and brazen vessels figure in the contemporary accounts, with woollen and linen stuffs, the hides from which white gloves were made, and the *Cordewan* or Cordovan leather which was used for boots and for purses. Candles were

[1] Oxf. Chart. 428, 1–2 Edw. I, m. 1 r°; Oxf. R. 95, 9–10 Edw I, m. 1 r°; v°; 97, 12–13 Edw. I, m. 1 r°; Little Tew. Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 955, No. 4, 12 Edw. I, m. 1 r°, Beckley; bdle. 955, No. 11, 25 Edw. I, m. 1 r°, Bicester.

[2] Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 955, No. 4, m. 1 r°.

[3] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 744*a*, *b*, 745*a*; Oxf. R. 97, m. 1 r°.

[4] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 743*a*.

[5] Ibid. 714*a*, 729*b*.

[6] Ibid. 743*b*, 6*d.*; Oxf. Chart. 428, m. 1 r°, 5*d.*; Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 955, No. 2, m. 1 r°, 6½*d. circa*; Oxf. R. 97, m. 1 r°, 3*d.* to 4½*d.*

[7] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 732*a*, two loaves 1*d.*; 768*b*, 772*b*, cf. 758*b*, two white loaves or 6*d.*

[8] Ibid. 688*a*, 694*a*, 699*b*, 710*b*, 722*b*, 751*b*, 752*a*, 764*a*, 768*a*, *b*, 781*a*, 839*a*, 843*b*.

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supplied to the Chalgrove villeins at their harvest supper, and the prior of Bicester bought 'Paris candles,' varying in price from 3*d.* to 9*d.*[1] Markets and fairs were held at Bampton, Radcot, Standlake, Witney, Charlbury, and Banbury, as well as at Woodstock and Oxford;[2] but though Burford and Oxford were already chartered and privileged, while Banbury, Chipping Norton, Deddington, Henley, Witney, and Woodstock sent twelve representatives each to the shire court as boroughs,[3] they were all rather markets for rural produce than independent industrial centres, and Oxford had already assumed the peculiar monastic and academic character of a mediaeval university town.

Country life in thirteenth-century Oxfordshire was, then, monotonous and restricted rather than squalid or stagnant. The political importance of the county reacted on its social condition, and there was a good deal of stir and movement and of intercourse with London and the outer world, while at home the responsibilities of local self-government gave public interests and occupation to both landlords and villagers.

Besides the shire-moot, which met at Oxford, there were the hundred-moots, held every three weeks, and the half-yearly great courts of the hundred, or views of frankpledge. These, with the seignorial courts proper, were to a considerable extent in private hands, as the result of grants from the crown. The soke of two hundreds belonged to the royal manor of Headington, and that of four and a half hundreds to the royal manor of Bensington.[4] The obligation of doing suit of court was apparently attached to particular tenements or laid on special tenants, such as the 'hundredors' of Aston or the men of the 'hall-moots' of Lewes and Clanfield.[5] The jurisdiction of these courts was chiefly civil, but many of the tenants in chief held high judicial franchises, *infongenethef and outfongenethef*, rights of life and death over thieves taken red-handed (*cum manuopere*), gallows and tumbril, and the cucking-stool for scolds, view of frankpledge and the assize of bread and ale.[6] The cases tried in the manorial courts by compurgation or by juries of villeins were mainly pleas of debt, trespasses committed by animals in the crops, the impounding of stray beasts and petty assaults and quarrels of the villagers. Here, to answer for their misdoings, appeared the villein who had shirked his work, and the bailiff who had been over-lavish in meat and drink, and had wasted the goods entrusted to his keeping, and sometimes the whole township was fined for neglecting common duties. Here the villeins elected the manorial reeve, paid their fines for their daughters' marriages, or for liberty to come and go freely with their families and chattels, rendered their heriots and were admitted to their customary holdings; and here, at the great half-yearly courts, they were sworn into their tithings or frankpledges. There can be little doubt, too, that though no 'by-laws,' such as were common in the fifteenth

[1] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 691*b*, 694*b*, 709*b*, 718*a*, 719*a*, 729*b*, 761*b*, 768*a*, *b*, 807*b*, 812*b*, 838*a*, 840*b*, 854*b*; Oxf. R. 95, m. 1 r°; Mins. Accts. bdle. 955, No. 11, m. 1 r°; Sandford Chartul. fol. 57.

[2] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 35–7; 688*a*, 699*b*, 702*a*, 703*b*, 705*b*, 709*b*, 839*b*.

[3] Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, i, 5, 10, 13, 14, 16, 65, 114–5, 195, 244–5, 248, 251, 254; ii, 28–9, 108–9; Assize R. 696, m. 8 r°; 697, m. 3 r°, v°.

[4] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 30 et seq. 688*a*, 710*b*. 751*b*.; *Dom. Bk.* i, 154, *a*, *b*. Cf. Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 92.

[5] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 689*a*, 690*a*, *b*; cf. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in Engl.* p. 450 et seq.; cf. Sandford Chartul. fol. 103 r°, a charter witnessed by the men of the hall-moot.

[6] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 32*a*, 699*b*, 702*a*.

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century, are found in this early period, they were issued by the hall-moot as need arose, to regulate the economic affairs of the village community.[1]

More serious offences were brought before the king's justices at the assizes which were held from time to time in the county. The pleas of the crown, *murdrum*, or secret slaying where the 'Englishry' of the slain man could not be proved, felonious assault, larceny, burglary, and the breaking of the assizes of wine and cloth were common, and occasionally an offender was hanged at Oxford or Mapledurham. But it was more usual for the criminal to fly to sanctuary and then abjure the realm, when he would be 'exiled and outlawed,' and forfeit all his goods and chattels. Instances of escape from prison were very frequent, and the burgesses of Oxford were held responsible for the 'evasion' of the men who had been immured in the castle gaol. Death by misadventure was of constant occurrence, and the instrument of the misfortune, the cart and oxen or the horse which crushed a child, the boat from which a man fell into the water and was drowned, were entrusted to the township, to be handed over as *deodand* to the royal officers. Cases occur in which the township is 'in mercy' for not producing a *deodand* before the justices, and in one instance the justice gives the price of the offending cart and horse to the mother of the victim, 'because she is very poor.' Civil assizes, possessory and proprietary, 'Utrum,' Novel Disseisin, Mort d'Ancestor and the Grand Assize, with disputes of all kinds over land rights and succession claims, also played an important part in the courts of the justices in Eyre.[2]

At the opening of the fourteenth century, Oxfordshire was one of the wealthiest and most prosperous of the counties of England.[3] But with the death of Edward I in 1307 the transitional tendencies in English society appeared more clearly. The economic inquest of 1279 and the mortmain and *quo warranto* legislation of Edward's reign had marked the anxiety of a strong king to define and retain rights which he felt to be slipping from his grasp. A similar anxiety on the part of the great landowners of Oxfordshire, lay and ecclesiastical, is seen in the carefully preserved manorial 'extents,' the court-rolls, and the accounts of bailiffs and monastic bursars of the early fourteenth century.

At first sight, the picture of mediaeval Oxfordshire in these local records seems to be almost identical with that in the Hundred Rolls, but a closer study reveals the first faint signs of the coming changes. Holdings are alienated, cottages are left 'ruinous' and revert into the hands of the lord, and the working class is beginning to dissociate itself from the land. At Bicester, in 1309, a tenant was allowed to 'serve where he would,' boarding himself, on condition of giving his lord, the prior of Bicester, two capons at Christmas every year, as long as he should 'stand without his service.'[4]

Fines were inflicted for conveying land 'to the disherison of the lord,' and in one case the *custumarii* witnessed against the lord's arbitrary resumption of such a tenement. The tenant, they said, had a right to the holding while he did the custom and suit belonging to it.[5]

[1] Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, 185–9. Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 5, m. 1 r°, v°, 15 Edw. I; No. 25, m. 1, 2, 3, 18–19 Edw. I; No. 26, m. 5 r°.

[2] Assize R. 695, 696, 697, 698, 25 Hen. III; 699, 700, 31 Hen. III.

[3] Professor Thorold Rogers places it in 1341, with Norfolk and Middlesex, among the three richest counties; *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, i, 110.

[4] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 6, m. 1 r°, 2 Edw. II. Et si fuerit in servicio prioris non dabit amplius dictos capones.' Cf. 197, No. 25, 19 Edw. I, a tenant gives 10*s.* to have his liberty, going and returning freely with all his *sequela et catall.*

[5] Ibid. Wretchwick.

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But this peaceful development was checked by a catastrophe, the great pestilence which in 1349 swept over England. That Oxfordshire suffered is certain,[1] but the precise effects of the plague on the economic condition of the county are not easy to estimate from the scanty evidence which survives. It is perhaps not without significance that there is a gap of seven years in the Bicester Priory accounts, between 1348 and 1355, while the court rolls of the priory manors are carried forward from 1344 to 1358, with a break for the intervening fourteen years. The last entry, too, for 1344, treats of bondage and *opera servilia*; the first entry for 1358, written on the same membrane, mentions a stranger (*extraneus*) in the manor for whom the reaper (*messor*) acts as pledge.[2]

There is also one important piece of direct evidence. The Eynsham Chartulary relates how 'in the time of the mortality of men or pestilence which befell in the year of our Lord 1349 scarce two tenants remained in the manor [of Woodeaton], and they would have departed had not brother Nicholas of Upton, then Abbot . . . . . made an agreement with them and the other tenants who came in afterwards.'[3]

By comparing the terms of this agreement with the earlier conditions of labour on the manor, it is possible to trace the gradual emancipation of the Woodeaton villeins from their compulsory labour-services, and the reaction which followed when the pestilence had made labour scarce and dear. The obligations of the typical villein or virgater are given for three different periods: before the plague, when he held '*ad firmam*' or by rent, and when he held '*ad operacionem*' or by labour; and after the plague, when the new compact was entered into with Abbot Nicholas. The holding included a messuage, eighteen acres of arable land, and two acres of meadow.

SERVICES OF WALTER DOLLE, *virgatarius*

(a) *Ad operacionem*	(b) *Ad firmam*	(c) *By new agreement*
Work from Michaelmas to Martinmas for five days a week: from Martinmas to St. John Baptist's Day, four days a week.	Rent 5*s*.	Fine for entry on tenement.
Carrying on Sundays to Eynsham, if necessary. Pannage: aid: toll for brewing at the tavern: ox and colt not to be sold, daughter not to be married without the lord's leave.	One ploughing with food: a hen to the lord and eggs at Easter: pannage: harrowing one day, if *ad deywinam* three roods: mowing (*sarculare*) one day with one man: carrying hay one day: three *bederipes* in autumn with three men without food: a fourth with food.	Suit to all courts.
Work included thrashing a *deywina* of corn (defined as a measure of which four went to seven bushels), two measures of barley, three of oats, and one of beans or pease, hedging and ditching.		Heriot of best beast. Ox and colt not to be sold, daughter not to be married without the lord's leave.
		Three *precariae* or ploughings at the two sowings with 'as many (beasts) as he has in his plough,' with food: three *bederipes* with two men without food: a fourth with food: mowing (*falcare*) twelve days the lord's meadows or cornfields, without food.
		Rent 13*s*. 4*d*. while it pleases the lord, and the scribe thinks that it will please him, for he notes that 'the aforesaid services were not worth so much.'

Whether '*ad operacionem*' or '*ad firmam*,' nutting in the lord's wood one day and carrying two loads of wood to the lord's court (hall) for Christmas, or four bundles of wood.

[1] Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Oxf. City Doc.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xviii), 4.

[2] Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 956, No. 6, 20–21 Edw. III; bdle. 956, No. 7, 28–29 Edw. III [Bicester]; Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 7, m. 3 v°.

[3] Eynsham Chartul. Ch. Ch. Oxf. Chapter House II, fol. 11 r°.

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The revival of the servile 'merchet' by Abbot Nicholas, and the large sum claimed for commuted service, illustrate the reluctance of the landlords to part with their cherished privileges. The enhanced value of labour, indeed, though it enabled the emancipated villein to earn higher wages, made it harder for him to win his freedom, since the 'rent' which represented his customary services might exceed their market worth. Thus at Aston a *virgatarius* commuted for 12*s.* a year a rent of 5*s.* with labour-services which, estimated separately, were only valued at about 3*s.* 9*d.* In the majority of cases, as is seen in the chartularies of Eynsham and St. Frideswide, the old services were continued without further commutation, and the great ecclesiastical landlords were even careful to insert in their records the passages in the Hundred Rolls which referred to their labour dues.[1] It is no wonder that in the Peasant Revolt of 1381 the manorial extents and court rolls were destroyed wholesale. In that revolt the discontented Oxfordshire peasants probably played their part, but, except for the city of Oxford, no details of their doings have been preserved.[2] Some seventeen years later, in 1398, when the dissatisfaction with the government of Richard II was rising to its height, Oxfordshire was the scene of serious riots. Bands of armed men met together at Bampton, chose captains and leaders, and on Palm Sunday paraded the country, proclaiming as they went: 'Aryseth, aryseth all men and goth with us: whoso will not he schal be ded,' and wounding and ill-treating those who would not join them.[3] It is interesting to note that the chief malcontents came from Bampton, Witney, and Eynsham, that western district which, all through the history of Oxfordshire, has shown a restless and independent spirit.

If the Oxfordshire landlords of the fourteenth century were conservative in their enforcement of their rights over their tenants, they seem to have been progressive and enterprising in the management of their estates. The extents show a remarkable variety and irregularity in systems of cultivation, and an appreciation of the capacities and possibilities of different soils. At Shifford, near Bampton, in the low-lying country about the Thames, both a three-course and a four-course rotation of crops are found. The four-fold course included barley, pulse or pease, wheat, and fallow, and the fields on which it was used were valued at from 4*d.* to 8*d.* an acre, while the three-course fields were only worth from 3*d.* to 4*d.* an acre.[4] At Piddington, near Bicester, a five-fold course seems to have obtained on the demesne, of wheat, beans, drage,[5] oats, and fallow, and the acre was valued at 6*d.* a year.[6] The three-field system was followed at Stoke Abbot, with a three-course rotation of two crops and a fallow.[7] This was the district in south-western Oxford-

[1] Eynsham Chartul. ii, ff. 6 v°, 7 r°, 21 r°, 77 r°.

[2] Cf. map in Trevelyan, *Age of Wycliffe*, 254, 366. 'The city of Oxford sent a detachment to London to coerce the king.' *Cal. of Pat.* 1381, p. 16.

[3] Anc. Indict. P.R.O. K.B. bdle. 99, 21 Ric. II, m. 1 r°; cf. Trevelyan, *Age of Wycliffe*, 255.

[4] Eynsham Chartul. ii, ff. 1, 2.

[5] A mixture of various kinds of grain, sown together; Murray, *New Engl. Dict.*. (Clar. Press), *Dredge*, *sb.* 2.

[6] *Cartul. of St. Frideswide's* (ed. Wigram; Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxxi), ii, 111, No. 813. 'Quelibet acra valet per ann. vj*d.* tam warectata quam seminata et quelibet acra poterit seminari tempore suo cum ij bussellis frumenti, de fabis iij bussellis, de dragiis vj bussellis, et de avenis vj bussellis.' There were 320 acres in demesne, so that a five-field system would be possible, with fields of about 60 acres (half a hide) each. In Arthur Young's time a four-course rotation of fallow, wheat, beans, and barley was usual in this district before the inclosure; A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire* (ed. 1813), c. vii, sect. 3, p. 127.

[7] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 83 v°. 'Campus australis, campus medius et campus aquilonaris, unde duo seminantur annuatim, tercius vero jacet Warectus.' Extent of Stoke Abbot (South Stoke), 1366.

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shire in which in the thirteenth century the abbot of Eynsham had introduced the three-field system. From another Eynsham manor, in the north-west of the county, comes an admirable example of the two-field method of cultivation. At Little Rollright there were two fields held in demesne and by the tenants, which were not measured for the inquest taken in 1363, because in those times they were not sown, but they had formerly been sown in alternate years.[1] Now the lord held them in severalty (*separale*) in alternate years until 1 August. Here, immediately after the second great plague of 1361–2, the lord is seen inclosing open fields, and thus encroaching on tenant-rights which may have lapsed during the years of suffering. This, the policy of the future, was destined to a more lasting success than the attempt of Abbot Nicholas to revive the old system, with its complicated rights of ownership and possession and its wasteful and cumbrous methods of tillage.

But even the landlords were not strong enough to break the bonds of custom and tradition whenever it suited them to do so. At Shifford, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the meadow and pasture land were annually divided into twelve equal portions 'by the rod,' and the lord and tenants respectively took the odd and even portions in alternate years, the first, third, fifth, &c., falling to the lord in one year, and the second, fourth, sixth, &c., in the following year.[2] A still more curious and elaborate arrangement was in use at Eynsham. A meadow was divided into six parcels; the first and sixth were held by the lord in the odd years, and parted out by lot among four tenants in the even years; the second and fifth, much larger portions, always belonged to the lord; the third and fourth went to the lord in the even years, and were divided by lot among the tenants in the odd years.[3]

Another meadow was similarly cut up into four parcels, of which the lord's bailiff (*bedellus*) had one 'by custom' (*de consuetudine*), the second fell to the lord in odd years and in even years was divided by the tenants into seven portions, the third was always occupied by the lord, and the fourth was held by the lord in even years and by the tenants in odd years. Out of three parcels of meadow, in two other cases, the tenants had the second and the lord the first and third; but two of these portions, one in each instance, he had acquired from the almoner, sacristan, and *nativi* of Tilgardesley, a 'member' or hamlet of the manor of Eynsham.[4] The system of intricate division was, then, no new thing, and here again a movement may be traced towards greater concentration of land in fewer hands.

The carefully recorded rentals in the manorial extents of the later fourteenth century are indicative of the demand for land, the tendency to alienate estates, and the rapid changes of possession which characterized the period. Four of these rentals, dating from about 1360 to 1366, and referring to different parts of the county, may serve to illustrate the relative values of

[1] Eynsham Chartul. fol. 46 r°, 47 v°, 48 r°. Rolendryght. Inquisicio. 'Unus seminabatur uno anno et alius alio anno.'

[2] Eynsham Chartul, ii, fol. 2 v°, Shyfforde: Inquisicio: about 1360.

[3] Ibid. fol. 23 v°. Cf. Vinogradoff: *Villainage in England*, 259.

[4] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 24 r°, v°. Cf. fol. 49 r°, where the lord, the rector, and the tenants share a meadow, divided into 'pieces' [*peciae*]. Cf. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 859*b*. *Tilgardesle membrum de Eynesham.*

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arable, pasture, and meadow in the years immediately succeeding the second pestilence.[1]

Manor	Date	Value per Acre			Average Value per Acre		
		Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Arable	Pasture	Meadow
Shifford [West] .	1360 *c.*	3*d.* to 8*d.*	3*d.* to 1*s.*	1*s.* to 2*s.*	5½*d.*	7½*d.*	1*s.* 6*d.*
Rollright [NW.] .	1363	2*d.* to 8*d.*	4*d.* to 6*d.*	1*s.* 4*d.*	5*d.*	5*d.*	1*s.* 4*d.*
Piddington [SE.] .	1363 *c.*	6*d.*	—	2*s.*	6*d.*	—	2*s.*
Stoke Abbot [SW.]	1366	1*d.* to 4*d.*	8*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*	5*s.* 8*d.*[2]	2½*d.*	1*s.*	5*s.* 8*d.*

Average Value per Acre for the County

Arable	Pasture	Meadow
4¾*d.*	8⅛*d.*	2*s.* 7½*d.*

If these calculations are to be trusted as representative of the county at large, the commutation of servile dues for a money-rent of 4*d.* an acre, which was one of the concessions made by Richard II to the rebels of 1381, and afterwards retracted, would, in Oxfordshire, have been favourable to the peasantry. The Woodeaton virgaters paid a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* in addition to certain labour-services,[3] and elsewhere rents of 8*s.* 3*d.* and 8*s.* 6*d.* per virgate were exacted,[4] with heriot, suit of court, merchet, and a fine on admittance to the tenement. The high values of meadow and pasture were probably due to the peculiar fertility of the water-meadows of Oxfordshire, and this is borne out by the exceptional meadow and pasture rents at the riverside manors of Stoke Abbot and Shifford, which were much in excess of the arable rents. The rise in wages, which was one of the most striking results of the great pestilence of 1349,[5] is but dimly discernible in the somewhat disconnected returns of the Oxfordshire bailiffs, provosts, and bursars, but the few facts that can be established point to a decided increase in the value of both skilled and unskilled labour in the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1327 carpenters employed by Bicester Priory were paid from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* a week, or between 1½*d.* and 2*d.* a day. In 1377 they received 5*d.* a day.[6] In 1355–6, between the two visitations of plague,[7] the Bicester plough-drivers and teamsters (*tentores*, *fugatores*) had 3*s.* 6*d.* each at Michaelmas, a rise of from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a head on the Oseney wages of seventy years earlier, while the Shifford drivers (*tentores*) and carters at the end of the reign of Richard II had 10*s.* each a year, and the teamsters (*fugatores*) from 8*s.* to 9*s.* In 1355–6, too, hired labourers appear, earning about 4*s.* a year. The lord's immediate servants were paid at much the same rate, woodwards 4*s.* to 5*s.*

[1] Eynsham Chartul. ii. *Cartul. St. Frideswide's* (ed. Wigram : Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxxi), ii, 111 [Piddington].

[2] The value is estimated by the annual worth of the hay crop and aftermath. It was evidently a water-meadow, for its yearly value is returned at 5*s.* 8*d. nisi diluvium impediat:* Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 87 v°.

[3] By the agreement made with Abbot Nicholas after the pestilence : Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 11 v° ; cf. fol. 5 v°, 8 r° ; the same rate at Shifford.

[4] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 50 v°, 51 r° [Brokende].

[5] Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, i, 265 et seq.

[6] Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 956, No. 2, 1 Edw. III ; bdle. 955, No. 6, 47 Edw. III to 4 Ric. II, m. 4 (Beckley). In 1398 two carpenters were only paid 4*d.* for a day and a night, Harl. R. L. 2. Cf. Mins. Accts. bdle. 958, No. 26, 15–16 Edw. III. Two carpenters 3*d.* a day each for felling, carrying, and working up timber. A carpenter for making a garden-door 3*d.* a day.

[7] The second visitation lasted from Aug. 1361 to May 1362. There was a third outbreak in 1369; cf. Sir H. Nicolas, *Chronology of Hist.* 389.

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a year, park-keepers (*parkmanni*) 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, a bailiff (*bedellus*) and his boy 5*s.* a year 'by custom' (*ex consuetudine*).[1] A thatcher could earn from 2*d.* a day to 4*d.* a day with food, a 'dauber' or plasterer 5*d.* a day, a slater[2] employed in mending a pigstye 10*d.* for a week's work, a plumber 7*s.* for three weeks and three days, or about 4*d.* a day, a washerwoman (*lotrix*) 8*d.* to 16*d.* a year. A smith, for looking after and repairing a plough for a year, received 9*s.* with a bushel of wheat. Journeymen tailors, who came to Bicester Priory to make and mend the monks' habits, had 2*s.* a week, and their cutters (*cissores*) or assistants from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a week. Educated workers were not more highly paid than manual labourers. The annual stipend of 'Robert the clerk' was 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the doctor, *Johannes medicus*, was given only 4*s.* for frequent attendance at Bicester.[3] In the wages of agricultural labour the same development is perceptible; a steady rise with occasional fluctuations, and an utter disregard for the restrictive provisions of the Statute of Labourers, which had been enacted in 1349, in the vain hope of checking the economic changes that followed the great pestilence. A typical case is afforded by the manor of Shifford, where the records of the labour-services and their money-values have been preserved for two critical periods, the time between the first and second pestilence (about 1360) and the troubled year 1398, when the spirit of revolt was abroad amongst the Oxfordshire peasants.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES AT SHIFFORD.

1360 *circ.*[4]	1398.[5]
Mowing: *per diem*, 4*d.*	Mowing: 6*d.* *per diem*, paid to ten and a half labourers (i.e. ten for a day and one for half a day) brought in to replace ten and a half Aston tenants who had this year commuted their services for a fixed rent, at the lord's pleasure. The remaining customary tenants had an allowance of food in return for their work.
Carrying hay, two men: four cartloads a day, *per diem*, 2*d.*	Haymaking: 2*d.* *per diem*, paid to ten and a half labourers as above.
Reaping: *a bederipe*, 3*d.*	Reaping (*sarclare*): 2*d.* *per diem* paid to labourers brought in from outside.
Ploughing an acre and sowing it with the lord's seed [an *arura*], 6*d.*	Carrying straw: 2*d.* *per diem* paid to women workers.
Ploughing called *grassearth*, 3*d.*	
Harrowing: an acre 1*d.*, *per diem* 4*d.*	

These entries are brief, but suggestive. They reflect the growing importance of the hired day labourer, called in to fill the gap caused by commutation of customary service, and the increasing value of labour, which enabled even women to earn good wages.[6] Nor were these favourable con-

[1] Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 956, No. 7, m. 1 v°, 28–29 Edw. III. Cf. Oxf. R. 97, Oseney [Little Tew], 12–13 Edw. I. *Tentores*, 3*s.*; *Fugatores*, 2*s.* 6*d.* at Michaelmas. This would represent the summer wages, which were usually higher than the winter wages, paid at Lady Day. Harl. R. L. 2, Shifford, 21 Ric. II. Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 27 r°. Cf. Mins. Accts. bdle. 958, No. 26, Henley, 15–16 Edw. III. Ploughman 5*s.* 6*d.* *per ann.* *Tentor* 7*s.* (extra because he had to do carpenter's work on the plough); *Fugator* and shepherd 6*s.* each *per ann.*; shepherd and cowman 4*s.* each; a *daie* (dairyman or woman) 3*s.* *per ann.*

[2] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, c. xv. 'Oxford . . . from the very earliest times had used Stonesfield slates for roofing purposes,' p. 276.

[3] Harl. R. L. 2, Shifford, 21 Ric. II. Mins. Accts. P. R. O. bdle. 955, No. 6, m. 4, m. 7 r°; bdle. 956, No. 7, 28–29 Edw. III; bdle. 956, Nos. 13, 14, 17; bdle. 958, No. 26, 15–16 Edw. III. A thatcher and boy 4*d.* a day; a smith 6*s.* 8*d.* for a year; shoeing oxen 1*d.* a hoof (a team of four oxen); mending a wheel 1*d.*; a ploughshare 10*d.*

[4] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 1 et seq. [5] Harl. R. L. 2.

[6] On women's labour cf. Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, 266. Mins. Accts. bdle. 958, No. 26, 15–16 Edw. III. Women for collecting straw for thatching 1*d.* a day.

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ditions counteracted for the working-classes by a corresponding fall in the purchasing power of money. It has often been pointed out that in the period immediately succeeding the great pestilence prices were low.[1] Unfortunately the Oxfordshire records are not sufficiently full or consecutive to allow of a detailed comparison between different years, though the Cuxham and Bicester Priory accounts are valuable; but enough evidence exists to show remarkable stability in the prices of the chief objects of daily expenditure. Wheat, which stood at *6d.* a bushel in 1355–6,[2] was estimated at *8d.* a bushel in the Shifford and Aston extent, which dates from about 1360;[3] and as twelve loaves could still be reckoned to the bushel,[4] this would mean a rise in the value of the standard loaf from ½ to ⅔ of a penny. By 1360 the mowers of Shifford had commuted the daily loaf per head, which had been their traditional due, for four bushels of wheat which would be worth *2s. 8d.*, and in 1366 the mowers of Woodcote received *4s.* yearly in lieu of bread. In 1398, the year of the Oxfordshire rioting, the reeve of Shifford sold wheat at *10d.* a bushel, pulse at *7d.*, and malt at *7½d.*, *9d.*, and *10d.* a bushel.[5] Beer remained steadily at *1d.* a gallon,[6] wine varied from *8d.* to *1s.*, and oil from *10d.* to *18d.* a gallon. Sheep could still be bought for from *9d.* to *1s.*,[7] beef was sold at from *8s. 10d.* to *10s. 1d.* the carcase; pigs at from *3s.* to *3s. 5½d.* each, and sucking pigs at from *5d.* to *6d.* A 'bacon' (*1 bacone*) fetched the high price of *6s. 2½d.*, while venison was relatively cheap, and cost from *1s. 6d.* to *4s.* the 'beast' (*bestia*). Fish was largely eaten on fast-days, and at *bedripes* and *benherthes*,[8] and many kinds appear in the accounts—salmon, pikerel, ray, mackerel, mulvell, eels, congers, stockfish, plaice, codling, merling, haddock, gurnard, roach, herrings, hard or dried fish, sea-fish, 'sea wolves' (*lupi aquatici*), and, very frequently, oysters. Herrings at *6s. 8d.* a thousand are mentioned, and pikerel at *6d.* and *1s. 8d.* each; but purchases of fish were generally entered on the roll with no indication of quantity, hence their precise value is difficult to determine. The spices and condiments which were such important ingredients in mediaeval cookery occur constantly. Sugar-loaves cost from *8s.* to *10s. 1d.*, or as much as the carcase of an ox; rice sold at *8s.* the cwt., and almonds at *14s. 8d.* the cwt. The Bicester roll for 1327 gives a typical list of spices which shows their relative values very clearly:—

Sanders,[9] *per lb.* .	*4s.*	Liquorice, *per lb.* .	*1s. 2½d.*
Alkanet . . .	*1s. 8d.*	Canel . . .	*1s.*
Ginger . . .	*1s. 2d.*	Anise . . .	*4d.*

Cummin, saffron, pepper, mustard and salt, which are omitted here, are found elsewhere in the accounts. Salt was used in large quantities for

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, 270 et seq.

[2] Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 956, No. 7, Bicester, 28–29 Edw. III.

[3] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 8 r°. Mins. Accts. bdle. 958, No. 26, 15–16 Edw. III. Henley, wheat *4s. 4d.* a quarter, mixtil *3s. 4d.*, barley *3s.*, drage *2s. 8d.*, beans, *2s. 8d.* pulse *2s. 4d.*

[4] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 88 v°, Extent of Stoke Abbot, 1366.

[5] Ibid. fol. 6 r°, 92 v°. Harl. R. L. 2, 21 Ric. II.

[6] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 89 r°, Stoke Abbot, 1366. Ibid. fol. 91 r°, Woodcote, 1366. Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdle. 956, No. 2; 1 Edw. III, m. *1b*, 5; 19 Edw. III, m. *1a*.

[7] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 6 r°, 92 v°. Cf. Mins. Accts. bdle. 958, No. 26. Milk and calves of seven cows let to farm, *5s.* per ann. for each cow. A sheep's milk, *1½d.*

[8] Mins. Accts. bdle. 956, No. 2, m. 1 v°, 1 Edw. III, Bicester. Beef for two *bedripes*, *5s. 6d.*; eels, *4d.* Beef for two *benherthes*, *4s.*; mulvell for one *benherthe*, *2s. 6d.*

[9] Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, 631; ii, 545 (ii).

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curing the meat which served for the winter store. In 1317–18 the Bicester bursar paid 61*s.* for the purchase and conveyance of 17 quarters of salt, bought at *le Wyhc*.[1] Six bushels of salt were bought for 1*s.* in 1392–3, and one bushel for 4½*d*.[2]

A barrel of tar cost 7*s.* in 1327; lime varied from 5*d.* to 6*d.* a quarter; charcoal is found at 8*d.* a quarter, and wax at from 6*d.* to 7½*d.* a pound. Candles were 1½*d.* a pound, and 'Paris candles' 2*d.* a pound. Hanging-lamps also occur, torches, and the wax tapers used in the church, which were made by a special workman employed by the day. The prices of clothing throw curious side-lights on the social history of the time. Blanket sold at 1*s.* 4*d.* a yard, and linen at 5*d.*, 6*d.* or 10*d.* a yard. Worsted for two cloaks,[3] for the prior of Bicester cost 15*s.* 6*d.*, and the thread and silk for making them up 1*s.* 8*d.* Cloth was cheaper; the material for two cloaks only came to 10*s.*, and the cloth for a tunic to 3*s.* 6*d.*, while two cloaks of frieze (*frisum*) could be made for 6*s.* Dyeing wool for the prior's cloak at Aynho cost 6*s.*, his hood (*capellus*) 3*s.* 4*d.*, his gloves 6*d.* for four pairs, his boots 1*s.* 10*d.*, 2*s.*, 2*s.* 4*d.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* a pair, his shoes (*soculae*) 2*s.* a pair, and his *galoches*, probably some kind of slipper, 5*d.* or 6*d.*[4] He had also 'night-socks' (*soculae nocturnae*) which cost 1*s.* and a cloth *cappa pluvialis*, the mediaeval mackintosh, for which he paid 13*s.* 4*d.* Sevenpence was charged for making a pair of cordwain boots, 3*d.* for mending boots, and 5*d.* for mending shoes. The 'prior's boys' were provided with robes at from 9*s.* 2*d.* to about 11*s.* 9*d.* each, with boots at 2*s.* a pair and with shoes at 6*d.* a pair. The prices of cloth for two pairs of breeches or *gaskins* [*caligae*][5] ranged from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.*, and linen for the same purpose was 7*d.* the piece.

Wool was sold by the sack, the stone, and the tod, at prices varying from four sacks for £28 8*s.* 4*d.*, or three and a half sacks for £31 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1327, to £5 6*s.* 8*d.* per sack in 1346. Expenditure on tanning is a common item in the rolls.[6] To dress (*coriare*) forty-two lambskins cost 1*s.* 6*d.*; to tan (*tannare*) the hides of an ox and seven calves 1*s.* 5*d.*, and to dress four horse-hides for white leather (*dealbare*) 1*s.* 7*d.*

Live-stock fetched high prices. Oxen were worth 12*s.* 6*d.* to 17*s.* 3*d.* a head, cows 5*s.* 1*d.* to 8*s.*, lambs and calves 1*s.*, pigs 2*s.* to 5*s.*, and geese 2¾*d.* Horses, of course, varied greatly in value; from 13*s.* 4*d.* to 32*s.* and more. In 1327 two colts were bought for 72*s.* 8*d.* The miscellaneous articles which are entered in the accounts indicate a general rise in the standard of living and an appreciation of comfort and even luxury. Dishes and plates, silk purses, parchment and ink for writing, silver-gilt vessels for the church, all occur, with nails and hinges, and barrels and brass dishes, and household utensils of many kinds. Millstones, a costly item in the manorial economy, are seldom found, but in 1346 two are entered at £1 3*s.* 2*d.* Considerable sums were disbursed for the travelling expenses of the prior, his

[1] Mins. Accts. bdle. 955, No. 17, m. 1*a*; 9–10 Edw. II; bdle. 956, No. 2, m. 1*a*, 1 Edw. III. *In sale empt. apud le Wych*, 44/10.; probably Droitwich; cf. Cunningham, op. cit. i, 169.

[2] Mins. Accts. bdle. 958, No. 26.

[3] *Cappae* = cloaks, copes, also hoods; cf. Murray, *New Eng. Dict.* Clar. Press, *Cap.*; cf. Chaucer (ed. Skeat), *Cant. Tales*, Prol. l. 260, 'Of double worsted was his semi-cope.'

[4] Cf. Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat. Zocholae . . . . Patins, galoches, soques.*

[5] Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, 581; *Caligae*, that is, *gaskins* or *gaiters*; cf. the worsted *caligae* of the Warden of Merton College, Oxford; ibid. ii, 538, i, 1320, Oxford.

[6] Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, 402.

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officials and the monks, and also in the entertainment of the various distinguished visitors who came to the priory, and the record of *6d.* paid to *Taylefer menestrel*,[1] and of *15s.* to *Roger Pictor* for painting 'the image (*pictura ymaginis*) of the Blessed Mary,' are significant of a time when music and painting were beginning to be recognized among the pleasures of life. The constant use, too, of English words in the records, *Shephous*, *Malthous*, *Bakhous*, *ovensled* (*oven-lid*), *endnayl*, *pronge*, *whip-cord*, &c., shows the persistence and the spread of the vernacular in the age of Chaucer and Langland.[2] In the following century the Latin register of the nunnery of Godstow was translated into English, that 'relygyous women . . . myght have, out of her latyn bokys, sum wrytynge in her modyr tongue, where-by they myht have bettyr knowlyge of her munymentys.[3]'

The legislation of the fourteenth century shows a valiant if futile effort to grapple with the labour problem. Attempts were made to fix both wages and prices by statute,[4] and when it was found that 'a Man cannot put the Price of Corn and other Victuals in certain,' the assessment of the rates of labourers' wages and of the gains of victuallers was entrusted to the justices of the peace in their Easter and Michaelmas sessions.[5] Two statutes of the reign of Richard II are peculiarly significant of the disturbance in social relations consequent on a period of economic transition. The 'first English Poor Law,' which provided for the punishment of able-bodied beggars and for the maintenance of the impotent poor, was passed in 1388, the 'first English Game Law' in the following year.[6] The same economic movement which produced the tenant-farmer and the free labourer produced also the pauper, the vagrant and the poacher. All through the fifteenth century the emancipation of the peasantry from predial servitude went on apace, while the rapid development of industry and the growth of towns gave an opportunity to ability and an outlet to the labour which had been set free from the soil. The Oxfordshire court rolls of this period are full of indications of the break-down of the manorial organization. Free tenants pay fines instead of doing suit of court, customary tenants are amerced for neglecting their labour-services, houses and granges fall into disrepair, land is left uncultivated, and hedges are not kept up. In one instance, as early as the reign of Richard II, a tenant has to be forced to live on his holding by threats of forfeiture. Questions of title constantly arise, the old services and rents have been forgotten, and occasionally the jurors of the hall-moot report that a much lower rent than is due is being paid for a tenement.[7] Juries of neighbours

[1] Mins. Accts. bdle. 956, No. 5, m. 1 : Had the name of William the Conqueror's famous 'minstrel' who sang the song of Roland after the battle of Hastings, become traditional among his successors? cf. Oman, *Art of War*, 158.

[2] Cf. Mins. Accts. P.R.O. bdles. 955–6, 958, for prices in Oxfordshire in the fourteenth century ; cf. the Cuxham, Oxford, and Bicester entries, and the references to other Oxfordshire places in Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, ii.

[3] *Eng. Reg. of Godstow* (ed. Clark, Early Eng. Text Soc. orig. ser. 129), pt. i, 25.

[4] 23 Edw. III, cap. 3, 6, 8 ; 25 Edw. III ; 12 Ric. II, cap. 4. By 4 Hen. V, cap. 4, the penalty for giving or taking excessive wages was imposed on the taker only.

[5] 13 Ric. II, stat. i, cap. 8. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (3rd. ed.), i, 449. Cf. *Engl. Hist. Rev.* ix, 305.

[6] 12 Ric. II, cap. 7 ; 13 Ric. II, stat. i, cap. 13. None shall hunt but they that have a sufficient living.

[7] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 16 (21 Ric. II) ; 197, No. 26 ; 197, No. 38 (21 Edw. IV to 2 Ric. III) ; 197, No. 62 (21 Edw. IV to 1 Hen. VII), m. 2ro. A third of a toft and a virgate held freely, by what service unknown, m. 3ro. Aston : tenant only pays *6s. 8d.* and was wont to pay *13s. 4d.* m. 4ro. New tenant to be warned by bailiff to do the lord service *ex antiquo debit.*

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are called on to decide whether or not a tenant is a *nativus* and liable for *merchet*, or a villein is presented for fleeing from the manor. The records of such flights, however, are exceedingly rare in the Oxfordshire rolls, and it appears probable that the peasants were prosperous, and that they had almost entirely commuted their labour services for rent by the second decade of the fifteenth century.[1]

The 'lawful English money' (*legalis moneta Angliae*) in which rents are to be paid, is frequently insisted on, and reference is made to the rentals which become common in the fourteenth century, and are often added to the earlier custumals and extents.[2] Perhaps the most interesting feature in these court rolls is the first appearance in definite form of what was, doubtless, no new thing, the 'by-law,' 'precept,' or 'ordinance,' issued by the hall-moot, with the consent of the village community.[3] These injunctions are chiefly concerned with the regulation of the manorial economy; they deal with common rights, common duties, and common nuisances:—injury to the crops in the open fields, the 'ringing' of pigs, the minding of ducks and geese, trespass, poaching, fencing and ditching, the upkeep of the 'common Pinfold,' the repair of roads and bridges, houses and barns. They are usually issued with the consent of the whole 'homage,' coupled occasionally with a mandate from the lord. The ordinance is enforced by penalties and, not infrequently, half the fine for disobedience goes to the lord, and half is devoted to the removal of the grievance, or bestowed in charity. Often, however, the amount of the amercement is simply mentioned, with no provision for its application.[4] Good examples of fifteenth-century by-laws are found in the manor of Shifford. By an 'ordinance' of 1481–2 it was agreed, with the consent of the whole 'homage,' that no man henceforward should tie or fasten up horses and mares in the cultivated fields, from the time of the sowing to the carrying of corn and hay, on pain of a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* for each offender.[5] Again, in 1484–5, fishing in the Thames and its tributaries with '*coupes*,[6] nets, and unlawful Engines' without leave from the water-bailiffs (*ballivi aquarum*) was forbidden by common assent.[7] 'No man henceforward,' runs another 'precept,' from the court of the manor of

[1] T. W. Page, *The End of Villainage in Engl.* (American Economic Assoc. Third Series), No. 2, pp. 44–83. Dr. Page works out from the court rolls the following table of commutation for Oxfordshire:—

1325–50	1370–80	1410–20
Two Manors	Three Manors	Eight Manors
In one predial services abolished	Predial services insignificant	In six predial services abolished
In one predial services insignificant	——	In two predial services insignificant

[2] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 1, m. 2ro (48–9 Edw. III); 197, No. 38, m. 2ro.

[3] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 38; 197, No. 62. Cf. Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, 185–9; 268–71. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, i, 613 et seq.

[4] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 62, m. 4ro (2 Ric. III). Half a fine for poaching to the church of St. Laurence, half to the lord: half a fine for neglecting to mend a path to the lord, and half *ad Reparacionem viarum in villa solvend.*

[5] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 62, m. 1ro (21 Edw. IV).

[6] Dr. Wright gives a local (Scottish) use of *Cup* for a net or trap for fish, *Engl. Dialect Dict.* '*Cup*' *sb.* 6.

[7] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 62, m. 4ro (2 Ric. III).

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Eynsham, 'shall trap, angle for, or catch fish in water held in severalty (*separal. aqua*), nor ferret, nor catch conies, pheasants (*ffesinitz*),[1] partridges, larks, or other "preserved" birds (*volucres warrenal.*), on pain of 4*d.* for each offence.'[2] This order, half an enforcement of the old feudal franchise of 'free-warren,' and half an echo of the Game Law of 1389,[3] where the penalty is a year's imprisonment and the justices of the peace are empowered to punish offenders, illustrates admirably the way in which the manorial courts were first supplemented and then superseded by the royal officers. The supervision and repair of roads and bridges, here regulated by the hall-moot and carried out by the villeins, passed also, in later times, into the hands of special officials.

But these ordinances come from courts held late in the century, from which the free tenants constantly absented themselves, and if the lord were still a 'constitutional king,'[4] he was becoming more and more of an absolute monarch, though a monarch shorn of much of his power by the gradual centralization of local government. The lord of the manor himself was often a justice of the peace, a royal delegate, and the manorial court-leet could be used to enforce Parliamentary statutes.[5]

Much of the activity and energy which had once centred in the village community had, by the middle of the fifteenth century, been transferred to the towns, which developed rapidly under the stimulus of the increasing importance of English industry and manufactures. In Oxfordshire, as elsewhere, the towns henceforward took a more active and distinctive part in public life, though their prosperity remained closely bound up with that of the country districts. The woollen and cloth manufactures of Witney and Chipping Norton, the plush of Banbury, the saddlery and leather of Bampton and Burford, the gloving industry of Woodstock, and the malt trade of Henley,[6] all depended on agriculture for their raw material. Oxford, early chartered and enfranchised, with its municipal organization, its merchant gild and craft gilds, and its elaborate market system, stood somewhat apart from the lesser towns, as the political, intellectual, and social centre of the county.[7] But even Oxford was, from an economic point of view, a country town. The wares sold in its market were mainly country products, and leather and cloth were its chief manufactures. Its earliest craft gilds, which date from the twelfth century, were those of the cordwainers and the weavers, and the 'Drapery,' where cloth was sold, is mentioned in the reign of Henry III.[8]

Oxfordshire was, indeed, noted for the excellence of its wool, the raw material of the cloth manufacture. When in 1343 Parliament fixed the minimum price at which English wool might be sold, Oxfordshire was

[1] Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, i, 33, 65. 'Pheasants were, it seems, unknown.'

[2] Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, No. 38, m. 1[m] (2 Ric. III).

[3] 13 Ric. II, stat. i, cap. 13. 'Nor shall they use fyrets Heys nets Harepipes nor other Engines for to take or destroy Deer Hares nor Conies nor other Gentlemen's Game.'

[4] Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, i, 615.

[5] Cf. 2–3 Edw. VI, the statute against 'Conspiracies of Victuallers and Craftsmen,' which gives authority to 'Justices of Assise, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and Stewards of Leets' to inquire, hear, determine, and punish offences committed against the statute.

[6] Meade Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 217–8; cf. *V.C.H. Oxf.* 'Industries.'

[7] *V. C. H. Oxf.* 'Boroughs.'

[8] Ogle, *The Oxf. Market* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xvi); *Collectanea*, ii, pt. 1, 21; Wood, *City of Oxf.* i, 220 et seq. (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xv); Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Ind. and Com.* i, 191; Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, 114, note 1.

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placed among the first five counties, with a minimum of 10 marks to 16 marks per sack.[1] A hundred years later, in 1454, its wool was assessed at seven marks or 93*s.* 4*d.* the sack, and in 1503 it ranked as the second richest county in England.[2] These natural advantages, and the great profits to be made by laying down land to grass, tended to strengthen the movement towards the conversion of arable land into pasture which had begun in the later fourteenth century, and had been accelerated by the rise in the value of agricultural labour. Thus the way was prepared for the 'agrarian revolution' of the sixteenth century, the systematic inclosure of the open fields, and the development of pasture farming. The movement seems to have included 'ingrossing,' or throwing together two or more holdings, with the consequent destruction of dwelling-houses, 'inclosure' of the open fields by hedges, ditches, or fences, and the conversion of arable land into pasture. The Acts of 1490[3] and 1515 'agaynst pullyng doun of Tounes,' and the proclamation of 1514 against ingrossing farms and converting tillage into pasture,[4] proved powerless to check these abuses, and in 1517 Royal Commissioners were appointed to inquire by sworn juries of the neighbourhood into the whole question of inclosure and depopulation. The Oxfordshire Commissioners held six sessions, at Culham and at Henley, in August and October, 1517. Their returns, which have been preserved, are of first-rate importance for the economic history of the county in the critical period of the early sixteenth century, though, consisting as they do of answers to a definite set of questions, they have necessary limitations and omissions which make them an unsafe basis for wide generalizations. The Commissioners had to collect information on three main points: the number of houses and buildings thrown down since the fourth year of King Henry VII, the amount of land then under tillage and now converted to pasture, and the amount of land inclosed for parks.[5]

From the returns it appears[6] that 124 messuages, 2 *mansiones*, and 14 cottages were 'destroyed,' ruined, or uninhabited, 83 ploughs had been put down, and 626 persons had been evicted or thrown out of work. About 4,016 acres are distinctly said to have been converted from arable into pasture, and 69 acres had been inclosed for parks. Acreage is so often omitted in the jurors' statements that it is difficult to arrive at the total amount of land inclosed,[7] and only 7,523 acres are definitely returned as inclosures for arable, pasture, or parks, or as appurtenant to 'decayed'

[1] 16 marks for the best wools, 10 marks for Chiltern wool. Rymer, *Foedera* (London, 1821), ii, 1225; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 119, No. 10; Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Ind. and Com.* i, App. D.

[2] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, iii, 704; iv, 89. *Rot. Parl.* v, 275, 32 Hen. VI.

[3] 4 Hen. VII, cap. 19, so entered in *Stat. of the Realm*. It actually received the royal assent in the Parliament which sat from Jan. 1488 to Feb. 1490. Cf. Leadam, *Dom. of Inclosures*, i, 6–7; Gay, 'Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517,' *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xiv, 232.

[4] 6 Hen. VIII, cap. 5; 7 Hen. VIII, cap. 1; Gay, op. cit. 233–4.

[5] Leadam, op. cit. i, 81–2, 327; cf. the English articles of inquiry; Gay, op. cit. 248, note i, 250, note i.

[6] For the whole question of these returns, and their statistical interpretation, see Leadam, *Dom. of Inclosures*, i, and the criticisms of Mr. Gay, with Mr. Leadam's answer, in *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xiv, 231 et seq. The following figures are obtained by adding the actual acres and numbers returned, omitting all conjectural figures. Hence they probably err on the side of under-statement.

[7] Cf. the case of Sandford, where one tenant of the Knights Hospitallers seems to have farmed more than 6,000 acres, but nothing is said of inclosure, 'decay' of houses, or putting down of ploughs. Mr. Leadam treats this as a case of 'ingrossing'; *Dom. of Inclosures*, i, 362–3.

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messuages. This, about 1·5 per cent. of the county area,[1] is, it can hardly be doubted, too small a proportion, but all the evidence points to the comparative unimportance of the inclosure movement in Oxfordshire.[2] Leland, who was rector of Haseley from 1542 to 1552, and knew the neighbourhood well, notes the uninclosed arable land, the 'marvelus fair Champain and fruteful Ground of Corn' in the south of the county between Dorchester and Wallingford and between Ewelme and Haseley, in the northern district about Banbury, in the north-east between Bicester and the Northamptonshire border, and in the west beyond Wychwood Forest.[3] Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century nearly a hundred Oxfordshire parishes remained uninclosed.[4] Still, the inclosures of the sixteenth century, which extended to all parts of the county except the hundred of Banbury,[5] must have caused much immediate suffering to the evicted peasants, suffering none the less keenly felt and resented because it was on a relatively small scale. The inclosures varied in size from 10 to 300 acres,[6] and tenants in chief of the crown, lay and ecclesiastical, freeholders and leaseholders, were all concerned in the movement.[7] The majority of the Oxfordshire landlords seem to have inclosed with the intention of converting arable into pasture. That the temptation to abandon the old system of tillage was strong is shown by the remarkable case of Churchill,[8] near Chipping Norton, where the inclosure of 300 acres for pasture increased their annual letting value from £15 to £41. If to the 4,016 acres for which the fact of conversion to pasture is expressly stated be added the cases of 'ingrossing' in which ploughs had been put down, and a few instances of inclosure of land already in pasture,[9] a total of 5,714 acres will be obtained, and the inclosed pasture will stand to the inclosed arable in the ratio of 76 to 24 per cent.[10]

Though these statistics are by no means conclusive, they tend to confirm the view that in Oxfordshire inclosures for pasture were much more frequent than inclosures for arable, for the purpose of higher farming, of which, indeed, there are few unequivocal traces in the records.[11]

The religious houses, which were directly interested in the wool trade, appear prominently among the Oxfordshire inclosers, and the jurors' returns show a tendency to dwell particularly on the misery caused by evictions on ecclesiastical holdings. At Little Rollright, when the abbot of Eynsham converted 200 acres to pasture, the twenty dispossessed tenants are said to have left their houses 'in tears' (*lacrimose*).[12] When the prior of

[1] The acreage of the modern county is 483,626.

[2] Prof. Ashley places Oxfordshire among the counties 'scarcely disturbed' by inclosure; *Economic Hist.* i, pt. ii, 287–8, 304.

[3] Leland, *Itinerary* (ed. Hearne, 1769), ii, 32, fol. 5; 34, fol. 7; iv, 61, fol. 163*a*.

[4] A. Young, *Gen. View of the Agric. of Oxf.* (1813), chap. vi, 87–8.

[5] Leadam, op. cit. 320.

[6] Ibid. 360, 369.

[7] Ibid. 324. No copyholds are mentioned. Mr. Leadam thinks that they are probably included among the leaseholds.

[8] Ibid. 360. Mr. Leadam estimates the average rental value of pasture at 10½*d.*, of arable at 7½*d.* an acre per annum. Op. cit. 326.

[9] Ibid. 327 et seq. 818 acres where ploughs had been put down, 880 acres of pasture inclosed.

[10] 76·65 to 23·34. Mr. Leadam reckons inclosed arable in Oxfordshire at 25 per cent. of the whole inclosed area; op. cit. 321. In the above calculation the 69 'imparked' acres are omitted.

[11] Mr. Leadam thinks that much land was inclosed, and that farms were 'ingrossed' or thrown together 'with the object of improved cultivation'; Leadam, op. cit. and Gay, *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xiv, 231 et seq.

[12] Leadam, op. cit. 328.

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St. Frideswide put down three ploughs at Binsey and evicted fifteen persons, they 'led an evil and wretched existence, until life ended.'[1] The labourers whom the prior of Bicester turned out of their homes at Wretchwick 'withdrew sadly (*dolorose*), wandering about and seeking their bread elsewhere.'[2] No such clear note of sympathy with the distressed peasantry is struck in the business-like account of the evictions carried out by Sir Richard Empson on the lands of the suppressed priory of Cold Norton, which deprived twenty persons of 'habitations and occupation,' or in the description of the inclosure at Churchill by a tenant of the Earl of Warwick, when sixteen agricultural labourers were driven from their holdings, and 'withdrew, and remain idle.'[3] Yet there seems little to choose among these various cases, and there is really nothing to prove that the ecclesiastical landlords in Oxfordshire treated their tenants with exceptional harshness.[4] But the doom of the religious houses had been pronounced, and already their destined supplanters were in the field. In the Inquisition of 1517 three Oxford colleges—Oriel, Lincoln, and Brasenose—are returned as holding land converted from arable into pasture.[5] The corporate character of Oxfordshire land-tenure, which had been a marked feature of its early history, was to be continued in a new form in its later development.

By 1550 the great change was completed. The Oxfordshire monasteries had been dissolved, and their estates had passed into lay hands. There can be little doubt that this transference of landed property to 'new men,' bent on profiting to the utmost by their bargain, was accompanied by an extension of the inclosure movement and a further development of sheep-farming. Those 'sturdy beggars' the clergy were replaced by 'a sturdy sorte of extorsioners,' as a contemporary pamphleteer puts it.[6] The futility of the Acts against 'Decaying of Houses of Husbandry' is seen by the repeated legislation on the subject,[7] and the commission appointed by the Protector Somerset in 1548 did nothing to alleviate the prevailing distress.[8] High rents, renewal of leases on the forfeited abbey lands, the oppression of 'improving' landlords, and the increase of want, beggary, and crime are bitterly inveighed against in the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*,[9] and the same cry is echoed in another anonymous tract on the *Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Shepe*, written probably about 1550, and referring chiefly to Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire.[10] The author states that, as he thinks, forty ploughs had been put down in Oxfordshire since the time of Henry VII,

[1] Leadam, op. cit. 387, 'ociosam et miseram vitam extunc duxerunt et sic vitam finierunt.'

[2] Ibid. 340. [3] Ibid. 360, 384.

[4] Mr. Leadam concludes from the percentage of evictions to the acre on ecclesiastical land that 'in Oxfordshire the ecclesiastical landlords were more ruthless than lay landlords in their treatment of the unfortunate tillers of the soil'; op. cit. 324.

[5] Leadam, op. cit. 355, 361, 369, 384. Brasenose held the lands of the suppressed priory of Cold Norton.

[6] *A Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546. *Four Supplications* (Early Engl. Text Soc. Extra Ser. 1871, xiii), 79. 'Ther is in sted of these sturdy beggers, crept in a sturdy sorte of extorsioners'; cf. Ashley, *Economic Hist.* i, pt. ii, 317; Cunningham, op. cit. i, 531.

[7] 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 13; 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 22; cf. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 28, § 9. [*Statutes at Large.*]

[8] There is evidence of other inquisitions in 1518 for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire, and in 1519 for Nottinghamshire; Gay, *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xiv, 238, *n.* 2.

[9] *A Supplication of the Poore Commons* (Early Engl. Text Soc. Extra Ser. xiii), 79–82.

[10] *Four Supplications*, 'Certayne causes . . . wherin is shewed the decaye of England' (Early Engl. Text Soc. Extra Ser. xiii), xvii, xviii, 95 et seq.

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each of which was able to keep six persons,[1] but 'where that the sayde twelf score persons were wont to have meate, drynke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God and to our Kyng, now there is nothyng kept there, but onlye shepe.' The twelvescore persons must wander from shire to shire, and be driven to steal or beg. Each plough, moreover, representing a yearly rent of £6, £7, or £8, gave thirty quarters of grain a year for sale. Hence there was a shortage of 1,200 quarters in Oxfordshire, which would have kept 300 persons, allowing each person two quarters of wheat, and two quarters of malt a year for bread and drink. The total loss of population in the county, then, is nearly 540 persons, and if, as the pamphleteer suspects, the number of ploughs has been reduced by eighty rather than by forty,[2] this loss will be doubled. He traces the evil to two main causes: conversion of arable to pasture, and deliberate withholding of the supply of wool, in order to raise prices. Many worshipful men of Oxfordshire, he says,

> sette no store nor pryse, upon the mayntenaunce of tyllage of theyr landes, as before tyme hath been used, neyther breadyng nor feadynge of catle, but many of them doeth kepe the most substaunce of theyr landes in theyr owne handes. And where tillage was wont to be, nowe is it stored wyth greate umberment (*number*) of shepe. . . . And we do partly knowe that there be some dwellynge within these thre shyres [Oxon. Bucks. Northants.] rather then they wyll sell theyr woll at a low pryse, they will kepe it a yere or twayne, and all to make it deare, and to kepe it a deare pryse.[3]

The effect on the cost of the necessaries of life is to raise the price of mutton, because it is eaten instead of beef, and 'so many mouthes goith to motton, whiche causeth motton to be deare'; to make beef dear, because it is scarce, and to cause eggs to be sold for four a penny, 'by reason cottages go doune in the contre, whereas pultrye was wonte to be breade and fedde.' The decay of households also implies the loss of cows, milk, butter and cheese, hogs, pigs, bacon, capons, hens, ducks, and fruit.[4] In the final appeal to the king to provide a remedy, the new classification of society is unconsciously reflected—

> Craftsmen dwellyng in cyties and townes, daye laborers that laboreth by water or by lande, cottygers and other housholders, refusyng none, but only them that hath al this aboundaunce, that is to saye, shepe or wollmasters, and inclosers.

In statements such as these, much must be allowed for political bias and rhetorical effect, but if the statistics of the author of the 'Sheep-tract' can only be accepted with caution, he probably represents the popular feeling towards the inclosures not unfairly. Perhaps the pinch of poverty was specially galling to the Oxfordshire agricultural labourer by contrast with his former well-being. It seems to have been a peculiarity of the county that cottages often had land, varying from 7 to 15 acres, attached to them,[5] and the *custumarius*, now practically identical with the copyholder,[6]

[1] Leadam, op. cit. 325. 'The Oxfordshire plough-land averaged 54 (53·7) acres on lay and 42 (41·8) acres on ecclesiastical land, each maintaining a household of five persons.'

[2] There is evidence that in 1517 at least 83 ploughs had been put down in Oxfordshire.

[3] *Four Supplications*, 'Certayne Causes,' &c. (Early Engl. Text Soc. Extra Ser. xiii), 96–7.

[4] An 'ordinance,' or by-law of the manorial court of Taynton, of about the same date as the 'Sheep-tract,' provides for the planting of apple-trees on the tenants' holdings; Oxford R. 64, m. 1[m], Taynton and Fifield (4 Edw. VI).

[5] Leadam, op. cit. 51, 325–6. As a rule the 'cottage,' properly so called, was a house without land.

[6] Cf. Eynsham Chartul. ii, No. 678. Rental of South Stoke, 1530, *circ.* *Custumarii tenentes ibidem: . . . copia sibi tantum: . . . non habet copiam.*

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was a substantial householder, who could afford to pay a heavy fine on admittance to his tenement, and considerable sums as compensation for remitted dues and obligations.[1] Rents, too, appear to have maintained a steady level, and the complaints of their excessive rise would seem to apply mainly to cases of conversion to pasture, which had long been more highly rented than arable. The following instances, taken from all parts of the county, and from both lay and ecclesiastical tenancies, show how slight were the changes effected in rental values through long periods of time :—

Manor	Lord	Date	Average Value per Acre			Area of Virgate
			Arable	Pasture	Meadow	
Rollright[2] [N W.] .	Eynsham Abbey .	1363	5½*d.*	7½*d. c.*	1*s.* 4*d.*	—
		1517	—	6*d.* (conversion to pasture; messuage 'decayed')	—	—
Piddington[3] [S E.] .	St. Frideswide's Priory	1363 *c.*	6*d.*	—	2*s.*	—
		1517	—	8½*d. c.* (conversion to pasture; messuage 'decayed')	—	—
South Stoke[4] (Stoke Abbot) [S W.] (Yardland let at 9*s. c.*)	Eynsham Abbey .	1366	2½*d.*	1*s.*	5*s.* 8*d.*	—
		1530 *c.*	3⅝*d.*	— (allowing 30 ac. to the yardland)	—	—
			2 7/10*d.*	— (allowing 40 ac. to the yardland)	—	—
Yarnton[5] [Central] .	Rewley Abbey .	1517	—	9 7/10*d.* (conversion to pasture; messuages and cottages 'decayed')	—	—
Taynton[6] [W.] . .	Lord Cobham (John Brooke)	1530 *c.*	6 8/10*d.*	—	—	Yardland of 32 ac.
		1517	3*d.*	— (messuage 'decayed')	—	Virgate of 40 ac.[7]
		1549–50	3*d. c.*	— (higher rents when pasture or meadow attached to arable)	—	—
Bloxham[8] [N.] . .	Lord Saye and Sele (William Fiennes)	1550–51	2½*d. c.*	—	8½*d.*	—

The second half of the sixteenth century was a period of economic disturbance throughout England. The debasement of the coinage by

[1] Harl. R. L. 1, Shifford. The Aston tenants pay 59*s.* 1*d.* for 'works and aid and Churchscot.' Cf. *A Supplication of the Poore Commons* (Early Eng. Text Soc. Extra Series xiii), 80 : 'Than a man myght within few yeres be able to recover his fyne, and afterwards lyve honestly by hys travel. But now these extorsioners have so improved theyr landes that they make of xl*s.* fyne xl pounde, and of v nobles rent v pound.'

[2] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 46ro. In the Hund. R. of 1279 a virgate of *terra operabilis* held in demesne on this manor was valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* This, with the 30-acre virgate, would be 5⅜*d.* per acre, or 4*d.* per acre with the 40-acre virgate. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 744*a*. Leadam, op. cit. 328.

[3] *Cartul. St. Frideswide's* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxxi), ii, 111. Leadam, op. cit. 353.

[4] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 46ro et seq. No. 678. [Rental of 1530, *circ.*]

[5] Leadam, op. cit. 386. *Three Oxfordshire Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 214.

[6] Leadam, op. cit. 358. Oxf. R. 64, m. 1ro, m. 2ro, 2–4 Edw. VI.

[7] Virgates or yardlands of the following sizes are found in Oxfordshire in the 16th century: Burford (W.) and Curbridge, 20 acres; Taynton (W.) and Chadlington (W.), 40 acres; Gildon (S.), 15 acres; Yarnton (Central), 32 acres. At Asterley near Kiddington a carucate of 60 acres occurs, and at Warborough a hide of 96 acres. Leadam, op. cit. 344–5, 347, 358–9, 371, 381. *Three Oxfordshire Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 263. Pearman, *Hist. of Bensington*, 10–11.

[8] Oxf. R. 8, 4 Edw. VI.

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Henry VIII and Edward VI aggravated the distress caused by changing conditions of labour and land cultivation. In many parts of the country actual revolts broke out, and the comparative tranquillity of Oxfordshire may be taken to imply the prosperity of the working-classes. When, in the troubled time between 1569 and 1571, the Privy Council, through the agency of the justices of the peace, rigidly enforced the statutes against vagrants, the report from Oxfordshire was frequently: 'All things be well.'[1] But the last two decades of the century were marked by seasons of extreme scarcity, when corn rose to famine-prices,[2] and stringent measures for the relief of want became necessary. In 1587 the Privy Council issued orders to the justices of the peace to appoint juries in each county, to return the number of persons in the household of every owner of grain in barns and stacks or sown in the fields, the amount of such grain, the 'badgers, kidders, broggers[3] or cariers of corne,' the 'malte makers, bakers, comen brewers or tiplers,'[4] and the 'greate buyers of corne.' The justices were then, after deducting an allowance of corn for the food of the family and for seed, to bind owners to bring the remainder to be sold 'in open markett.'[5] The Oxfordshire returns for the hundreds of Wootton, Dorchester, Thame, and Bullingdon, and for the four and a half 'Chiltern Hundreds' of Binfield, Langtree, Lewknor, Pyrton, and Ewelme, are extant, and incidentally prove the fertility and wealth of the county. In the Wootton district the farmers were ordered to bring certain definite quantities of grain, wheat, barley, malt, 'maslin,' pease, beans, rye, winter-corn, and in one case oats, at specified times to the various markets at Oxford, Woodstock, Witney, Banbury, Deddington, and Chipping Norton. In the Dorchester Hundred the 'some (*sum*) of winter corne to be weakely brought to Oxford market' was 65 quarters, the sum of barley and malt 549 quarters, the sum of beans and pease 79 quarters, and Thame market is also mentioned. The care with which the instructions of the Council were carried out is seen in the subjoined specimens of returns from the Chiltern Hundreds and from New Woodstock.[6]

Hundred	Store found and presented	Allowance for provision and seed	Surplus for the relief of the market	Hundred	Store found and presented	Allowance for provision and seed	Surplus for the relief of the market
	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.		Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
Half Hundred of Ewelme	Wheat, 943	633	310	Pyrton . .	Wheat, 711	475	236
	Rye, 145	111	34		Barley, 944	844	100
	Barley, 1,942	1,414	528		Malt, 170	165	—
	Malt, 210	210	—		Pulse, 280	280	—
	Pulse, 509	456	43				

Returns for New Woodstock:—

G. W. in his barne wheate and unthrashed 10 qrs. Ys to spare none; in house and barnes in malt and barley 54 qrs.

16 persons in house.

J. P. alderman in his barns and uppon his malt floor barley and malt 24 qrs. 8 persons. Ys to furnish the markets weekly from Midsummer to Michaelmas with 4 bushels of malt. Recognisance £3.

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxxi, 36, 40, 42, 43, Hundreds of Bullingdon, Dorchester, Ploughley, and Pyrton. But cf. 32, 37, 45, 46, 47, 51, 56, 57, 58. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief*, 82.

[2] Corn was specially scarce in 1586, and from 1594 to 1597. Leonard, op. cit. 85, 119. Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 268, Table I; 276, Table II.

[3] Dealers in corn. [4] Publicans. [5] Leonard, op. cit. 85 et seq. 318, App. v.

[6] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxcviii, 27, [Chiltern Hundreds and New Woodstock]: 42, [Wootton]: 56, [Dorchester]. 1587. Cf. Leonard, op. cit. 88, *n.* 3.

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Further, in accordance with the orders of the Privy Council, the numbers of 'victuallers and innholders,' 'malters' and dealers in corn, or 'badgers' in each district were ascertained, with the amount of grain used in baking, brewing, and malting. Apparently these trades were usually combined with others. At Thame the three 'malters' were respectively a bricklayer, a shoemaker, and a butcher. A weaver who was also a victualler baked 4 bushels weekly, brewed 2 bushels, 'and hath,' say the jurors, 'used it 20 yeares.' A 'daie laborer' baked 1 bushel and brewed 2 bushels weekly, and had done so for 20 years. A cooper, a glover, a tailor, a mason, a shoemaker and a labourer are all returned as 'victuallers,' and there is mention of a 'comon bere brewer' who brewed 5 quarters weekly in the winter time and 10 quarters in the summer. An unlicensed 'badger' at South Stoke had bought 40 quarters of barley at £17 the score, and had not paid. Another, who was also an ingrosser, had bought 'on the grounde' 4 acres of winter corn, 10 acres of barley, and 2 acres of pulse, for £20; 4 acres in another place for £4, and 16 acres for £11. The 'badgers' seem to have bought barley at prices varying from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 22*s.* a quarter, and averaging about 16*s.* (15*s.* 11½*d.*). They bought beans at 16*s.* a quarter and pulse at £1 a quarter.[1] These prices tally fairly well with the market prices given by Professor Thorold Rogers for this year, and leave a good margin of profit for the dealers.[2]

In their returns for the hundreds of Bampton and Chadlington the justices make use of a significant phrase. The store of corn and grain, they say, 'falleth out to be verie skantt,' 'by reason of the barrenness of this our cotsold (*Cotswold*) Soile (*being more usuallie ymployed for sheepe than for graine*).[3]' Eleven years later the people of western and central Oxfordshire were plotting to murder inclosing landlords.

The year 1591–2 was the last in which the average price of wheat fell below 20*s.* a quarter. Wet seasons followed by bad harvests led, in 1596 and 1597, to actual famine. The average price of wheat rose from 37*s.* 7½*d.* a quarter in 1594–5 to 56*s.* 6½*d.* in 1596–7, and 52*s.* 4½*d.* a quarter in 1597–8. In the Oxford market wheat was quoted at 64*s.* a quarter at Michaelmas, 1596, and at 72*s.* a quarter at Lady Day, 1597.[4] In the winter of 1596 an armed rising was planned. The insurgents were to meet at Enslow Bridge,[5] attack the chief houses in the neighbourhood, murder the gentry, take the corn from the barns, and 'cast downe the hedges and diches.' 'It would never be merrye,' one of the leaders is reported to have said, 'till some of ye gent were knocked downe.' The plot was discovered in time and the ringleaders were arrested and imprisoned by one of their intended victims, Sir William Spencer, who had incurred odium by his recent inclosures at Yarnton.[6] 'They have confessed little,' wrote Sir William to the lord-lieutenant of Oxfordshire, 'but might do more, if sent for and more sharply examined.'[7] The examination of the prisoners brought out clearly

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxcviii, 56.

[2] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 268; vi, 7; 1586–7. Barley, 5*s.* 4*d.* to 22*s.* 8*d.*; Beans, 16*s.* 6*d.* to 18*s.* Oxford average for barley, 17*s.* 10*d. circ.* General average of barley, 1586 (the returns were made in Feb. 1587), 14*s.*

[3] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxcviii, 55.

[4] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 178–81, 268; vi, 113, ii.

[5] Or at Enslow Hill; both are mentioned as the place of meeting.

[6] *Three Oxfordshire Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 61, 287.

[7] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cclxi, No. 10. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 14 Dec. 1596, p. 316.

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the connexion of the revolt with the inclosure movement. The rebels petitioned for 'Relief for corne and putting downe of inclosures.' The witnesses when asked, 'What gentlemen in that Countrey have inclosed or converted theire lande from tillage,' replied that 'Mr. Frere had destroyed a whole town called Water Eaton,' that about Banbury 'verie manie have inclosed, in everie place somewhat.' Mr. Power of Bletchingdon had also inclosed the commons. Corn, it was said, 'would not be better cheap till hedges thrown down.' Were there not, it was asked, 100 good men who would rise and knock down the gentlemen and rich men who made corn so dear, and who took the commons? Even Lord Norris, whose arms and horses were to have been seized, asked the Council for 'commands and order to be taken about inclosures on the western part of the shire, where the stir began, and that the poor may be able to live.' Though the rebels are described as 'yonge men unmarried and in noe necessitie for want of livinge,' 'no base fellows,' in their own words, 'but husbandmen and such as had a plougheland of their own,' the poverty in the district was evidently extreme. Roger Ibill, a loader at Hampton Gay mill, and one of the instigators of the revolt, had 'heard people say . . . that the prices of Corne weare so deere that there would be shortlie a risinge of the people and more adoe than had beene a great while ffor that the poore sorte of people coulde not tell how to make shifte to Compasse the yeare aboute.' James Bradshaw 'had been at Bicester and wheat was at 9*s.* a bushel' [72*s.* a quarter]. The town of Witney was 'full of poore people,' who, it was hoped, would join the rising. The Government evidently feared an extension of the spirit of revolt and a combination of the discontented in various parts of the country. The Oxfordshire malcontents had planned a march on London and had looked for support from the 'prentices.' The witnesses were also to be carefully examined as to the connexion of the rebels with gentlemen 'that doe favour the Comunaltie,' and with 'certen persons calling themselves Egiptians.' No doubt there was another side to the picture. The ringleader of the revolt, a carpenter called Bartholomew Steere, seems to have been a typical demagogue. Other men might live like slaves, but for himself 'happ what would, he could die but once, and he would not always live like a slave.' 'We shall have a merrie worlde shortlie,' he said, 'for there are goode fellowes abroad that will have both corne and Cattaill,' and he urged his friends not to work 'nor take anie Care for Corne this dear yeere.' At least one of his hearers replied to these specious arguments that 'he needed not to use anie such unlawfull courses, for he myght live well and be honestly maintayned by his worke.'[1]

The revival of the inclosure question is recognized in an Act passed in 1597 which repealed the Statutes against the destruction of Towns and Houses of Husbandry, but provided for the restoration to tillage of all land converted to pasture since the accession of Elizabeth, and forbade further conversion of arable to pasture.[2] In Oxfordshire the distress attendant on an agricultural crisis was intensified by the coincident depression in the cloth-trade. In 1546 a scheme had been on foot for making the deserted abbey buildings

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cclxi, cclxii; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 14 Dec. 1596, p. 316 et seq.; 7 Jan. 1597, p. 342 et seq.; Leonard, op. cit. 126.

[2] Stat. 39 Eliz. caps. 1, 2; Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, ii; [*Modern Times*] 53.

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of Oseney the centre of a local cloth-making industry which should give employment to 2,000 persons,[1] and in the Cloth Act of 1585 Oxfordshire was included among the cloth-making counties.[2] But in the seventeenth century the cloth-trade declined owing to war and other causes. Complaints of want of work among weavers, spinners, and fullers reached the Council, and in February, 1621–2, the justices of ten counties, including Oxfordshire, were ordered to 'deale effectually' with the clothiers, for the employment of their workpeople. If weavers and spinners still remained unemployed, the justices were to raise a public 'stock' or fund to find them work. Wool-dealers were also bidden to sell at a moderate price. In the following month the Oxfordshire justices reported that the clothiers had dismissed their workmen because they could not sell their cloth, and this was confirmed by a statement signed by six Oxfordshire clothiers, in which they gave four causes for the stagnation in their trade: (1) The decrease in the number of clothiers; the trade had passed into the hands of young inexperienced men, and was dull; 'many have stoode with Clothe from Markett to Markett and cannott sell in any sorte, but have been constreyned to take money at interest to paye theire poore workfolkes ther wages.' (2) Secret transportation of wool beyond sea for the foreign cloth-trade. (3) Competition of the Low Country. (4) Taxation: the great imposition laid on cloth both in England and beyond the seas. They craved as a remedy that the cloth-duty might be made uniform in all counties, 'that other Clothiers of all places may give the same rates that wee in the County of Oxon do give whereby our Clothe may come as cheape to the Markett as other Clothiers of this kingdom do bringe yt,' and further that 'the Brogger of Woolle may not buy any Woolle but what shall be first weyed by a man that shall be sworne to deale truly betweene the buyer and the seller.' A few days after the presentation of this statement to the Council, five of its signatories were returned by the keeper of Wiltshire Hall as having cloths still unsold.[3]

The action of the Privy Council in this matter was characteristic of a period of paternal government and state interference. The great Poor Law of 1601 was only one of a long series of experiments in poor relief, in which the justices of the peace supplied the local machinery for the enforcement of Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council.[4] The impotent poor had long been the objects of private charity. The towns and villages of Oxfordshire are rich in benefactions, dating back to the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and varying in importance from the famous 'God's House' of the Dukes of Suffolk at Ewelme, to the petty doles of bread, cakes, and pence, which are common throughout the county. The foundation of almshouses or hospitals was a favourite form of philanthropic activity, and landed property was sometimes bequeathed for charitable uses by the heirs of former 'inclosers.'[5] County rates were levied for the relief of maimed soldiers and poor prisoners in the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and private bequests were often made for the benefit of prisoners in local gaols,[6] who sorely needed help.

[1] Turner, *Oxf. Rec.* 184; Ashley, *Economic Hist.* i, pt. ii, 230. [2] Stat. 27 Eliz. cap. 17.
[3] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxxvii, 76; cxxviii, 20, 51 (No. 110); 76 (No. 136); Leonard, op. cit, 146 et seq.
[4] Cf. Leonard, op. cit; Ashley, op. cit.; Cunningham, op. cit.
[5] Cf. the 'Spencer Charity' at Yarnton; *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 33, 135, 270.
[6] Ibid. 277–8. Yarnton Churchwardens' Book, 1637. Paid to maimed soldiers and Marshalsea and House of Correction, 6*s.* 6*d.* Leonard, op. cit. 220–1; *Char. Com. Rep.* vi, 403–4, Oxf.: bequests to the poor in Bocardo.

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A tablet still commemorates the terrible 'Black Assize' of 1577, which was held in the old shire hall at Oxford, when a disease caused by the smell of the gaol where the prisoners had been 'long, close, and nastily kept,' carried off about 300 persons, including 'Judges, Sheriffs, Justices, Gentry, and Juries.'[1]

In the relief of the able-bodied poor, private and public enterprise went hand in hand. Funds or stores called 'stocks' were formed by the justices of the peace, in accordance with the Statute of 1575–6, to give work to the unemployed. In April, 1630, the Oxfordshire justices reported to the Council that they had not omitted to provide such stocks, to 'sett able poore on worke.'[2] The Statute of 1575–6 also ordered houses of correction to be built in every county for the idle rogues who would not work.[3] Other expedients were adopted to meet temporary distress, such as lending money without interest,[4] supplying fuel in winter, selling corn to the poor below market price, or suppressing alehouses and restricting the output of malt, to keep up the supply of barley for the barley-bread which formed the staple food of the working classes. The mayor of Banbury wrote to the Council early in 1623 to state that he had suppressed a third part of the alehouses formerly allowed, and restrained the making of malt. The market, he added, was well supplied with grain; wheat at 6*s.*; barley, 3*s.* 8*d.*; beans, 2*s.* 4*d.*; peas, 2*s.*; oats, 1*s.* 6*d.*; malt, 4*s.*[5] Collections in churches, in response to 'briefs' authorized by the king or bishop, were made for most miscellaneous objects, sufferings by flood or fire, repairs of churches and bridges, the ransom of Christians taken by the Turks or the Moors, assistance to foreign Protestants, and the relief of Irishmen, Scotchmen, and poor travellers.[6] A special rate called 'mileway money' was levied after the Act of 1575–6, which provided that every person holding a yard-land or more within five miles of Oxford should contribute to the repair of bridges and highways.[7]

But in spite of public organization and private benevolence poverty increased, prices were high and wages low,[8] and in the ship-money assessment of 1636 Oxfordshire had fallen from the second to the seventeenth place among English counties ranked in order of wealth.[9] The Stuart policy of monopolies affected the wool trade, and civil war completed what misgovernment had begun.[10] Yet, such force has economic tradition, the old customary methods of land-cultivation were carried on and the customary

[1] Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxf.* (ed. 2), 24–5; Wood, *City of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xv), i, 269, *n.*2. The tablet is on the wall of the passage leading to the office of the Clerk of the Peace, in the County Hall.

[2] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, clxxxviii, 96 (19 April, 1630); Leonard, op. cit.; Index: *Stockes.*

[3] Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 3; 39 Eliz. caps. 3, 4, 5. At Oxford, St. Mary's College became a charity school and almshouse called Bridewell. It was supported by a rate levied on the city, which maintained ten poor children and ten poor persons 'to be set on worke.' Wood, *City of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xvii), ii, 236.

[4] *Char. Com. Rep.* vi, 381, Oxf. 1639.

[5] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxxxix, 4 (1 March, 1623); Cal. 506.

[6] *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 256.

[7] Ibid. 282; Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 20; 35 Eliz. cap. 7, xxvi.

[8] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v. 629, 631, 640–1. Prof. Rogers' conclusions for Oxfordshire are based chiefly on College accounts. He suggests that 'the various Colleges who hired labour must have appealed to an assessment which has not been discovered.' Wages were at this time assessed by the justices of the peace under an Act of 1563, itself only a modification of the Act of Ric. II; but no assessments for Oxfordshire have as yet been discovered; Cunningham, op. cit. i, 449; Leonard, op. cit. 161 et seq.; Thorold Rogers, op. cit. vols. v, vi.

[9] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 69, 104–19.

[10] In 1641 the Witney Blanketers petitioned the House of Lords against 'a patent for the Sealing of their Blankets'; Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 65–6.

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courts were held through all the turmoil and distraction of the time. The office of king was abolished, but the sheriff still accounted for 'the rent of the Soakemen in the late king's Mannor of Combe.'[1]

The estate maps made for Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1605–6 illustrate this continuity of agrarian custom.[2] At Whitehill, in the parish of Tackley, four fields were divided into shots and strips, held in equal portions by a yeoman and by the College. The estimated area of the strips, generally 2 acres each, was considerably less than their real size, which was noted on the map. In the reign of James I, as in former days, the terms 'acre,' 'half-acre,' 'two acres,' were evidently used to describe holdings in the open fields without precise reference to actual acreage.[3] At Lower Heyford the land was in the hands of many small holders, and the map shows the village street, with the churchyard and the 'town house.' There were four irregularly shaped fields, and much of the lord's demesne lay in scattered strips. There were heaths, on which the 'fursen' were divided by 'knowne lottes,' and the herbage was 'common sheep's pasture,' and at Whitehill Lammas ground is mentioned, while at Cowley, further south, there were three fields and 'lot meades.'

The economic legislation of the Tudors quickened the activity of the manorial courts by widening their sphere of usefulness.[4] They still exacted fines for breaking the assizes of bread and ale, often at the old rate of 2*d.* to 3*d.* for each offence,[5] but they also fined the millers who took excessive toll, the common butchers, bakers, brewers, fishmongers, chandlers, and innkeepers who took 'excessive gayne contrary to the Statute,' or bought bread of 'foreign' bakers, and sold it again 'with excessive Lucre.' They continued to issue by-laws, 'with the assent of all the tenants,' and fined those who failed to observe them.[6] In the Courts Baron and Courts Leet of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[7] customary tenants were given seisin of their holdings 'by the rod,' the oath of allegiance was taken by the villagers when they were admitted to their tithings at the View of Frankpledge,[8] the constables and tithingmen were elected, and the 'haywards' were sworn in. At Aston, in 1657, sixteen men, chosen out of those who had rights of common, and called the 'Sixteens,' were accustomed to meet at the Town Cross, and there 'to make orders, set penalties, choose officers, and lot the meadows, and do all such things as are usually performed or done in the Courts Baron of other manors.' From the 'sixteens' four grass stewards were elected to represent the sub-manor of Aston and Cote at the court of the superior

[1] Oxf. R. 61 [Box 3] (1657–8).

[2] *Sixteen Old Maps of Properties in Oxf.* (ed. J. G. Mowat, Clar. Press, 1888); Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 381.

[3] Cf. Eynsham Chartul. ii, fols. 8–9, Woodeaton, *c.* 1360: ten *seliones*, five short and five long: in the short *seliones* the acre contains 0 A. 1½ R. 13 P.; in the long *seliones* it contains 2 A. 1½ R. 7½ P.

[4] Ct. R. P.R.O., 197, Nos. 15, 20–4, 46, 49 (Hen. VII to Eliz.); Oxf. R. 64, 2–4 Edw. VI. The Elizabethan rolls are in English.

[5] Exceptionally, 1*d.* and 4*d.* For earlier rate, 2*d.* or 3*d.* Ct. R. P.R.O. 197, 1–4, 40 (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).

[6] Ct. R. P.R.O., 197, No. 49, 8–21 Hen. VII, 14–15 Hen. VIII.

[7] Collection of MS. documents relating to the manor of Eynsham and Newland in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace, Oxon. *Southley:* Court Baron and Court Leet, 1658: elections of constable and tithingmen; 1662: Oath of Allegiance. *Newland and Eynsham:* 1679, 1734 et seq. Seizin by the Rod. 1745, hayward.

[8] 'The Auncient Oath of Legeance' is copied out *verbatim* in the book containing the above collection of documents.

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manor of Bampton.[1] But the Civil War, if it left the ancient village organization practically untouched, threw out of gear the new machinery for the relief of the poor, and though efforts were made under the Commonwealth to provide remedies for pauperism, the restored Stuart dynasty was confronted by serious social problems.[2] Anthony Wood in his chatty pages constantly refers to the scarcity and want in Oxfordshire at the close of the seventeenth century. In April, 1693, 'the poore in Oxford by clamoring brought the price of corne from 9*s.* to 6*s.* 2*d.*' In May, poor women in Oxford market pelted millers, mealmen and bakers with stones. In November, after a wet August, which spoiled much grain, the mob rose at Banbury, at Chipping Norton, and at Charlbury, and 'took away the corne by force out of the waggons, as it was carrying away by the ingrossers, saying they were resolved to put the law in execution, since the magistrates neglected it.' In the following December corn sold for 9*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, and the poor were eating turnips instead of bread. In March, 1694, Wood wrote:—'All things exceeding deare—corne at 10*s.* per bushell, mutton 4*d.* a pound, butter 8*d.* a pound, apples 2 a penny and 3 at 2*d.*'[3]

The famous Settlement Act of 1662[4] was intended to restrain the poor from going from parish to parish and settling 'where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and when they have consumed it, then to another parish.' The Act provided for the removal of a new-comer within forty days, if there were danger of his becoming chargeable to the parish, to the last place where he had been legally settled.[5] The earliest extant records of the sessions of the Oxfordshire justices of the peace[6] show that in the eighteenth century one main function of the rural justices was the issue of orders for the transference of vagrants from one parish to another, and the decision of disputes arising out of such orders. That the system was costly and wasteful is evident from the ill-written and ill-spelt bills sent in by the village constables who were entrusted with the execution of the justices' orders. Such entries as the following are common in the Sessions Rolls[7]:—

Cared (carried) 4 vaggrants with a pass from Salford Oxon to West Wycombe in Bux. 2 women and 2 children with 2 doble horses 33 milles fforward	£1	2	0
Vaggrants pay for 3 days	0	4	0
My constable's pay for 3 days	0	4	6
A horse for myselfe to ride on	0	8	3
May 28th, 1716.	1	18	9

The usual rate of 'pay' seems to have been 4*d.* a day for a vagrant, and 1*s.* 6*d.* a day for the constable.

Bills for bread at 7*d.* the loaf for the 'felons' in the Oxford Castle Gaol are filed with the Settlement Orders, and piteous appeals for an allowance of bread are made by prisoners 'in a Miserable poore Condition and in verry

[1] Gomme, *The Village Community*, 158 et seq.; Giles, *Hist. of Bampton*, 75 et seq.; *Arch.* xxxiii; Vinogradoff, *Villainage in Engl.* 392–3; Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 354.

[2] Leonard, op. cit. chap. xiii.

[3] Wood's *Life and Times* (ed. Clark, Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxvi), iii, 319, 421, 422, 431, 434, 437, 446.

[4] Stat. 13–14 Chas. II, cap. 12. [5] Cunningham, op. cit. [*Modern Times*], ii, 206 et seq.

[6] The records now in the office of the Clerk of the Peace at Oxford do not go back beyond 1690.

[7] Sess. R. Oxon. Trinity, 1716, m. 2–5, 10, 13, 14.

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greate Want,' appeals generally answered by a grant of 1*d.* a day to each petitioner. Lists of prisoners in the house of correction and in the castle gaol occur: thieves, sheep-stealers, vagrants, 'idle incorrigible and dissolute persons,' who had been public nuisances in their villages. In 1716 a man was imprisoned for drinking the Pretender's health, and two others for killing a deer in Wychwood Forest. The offences presented by the grand jury at quarter sessions include building a cottage without four acres of land attached, dividing a tenement for sub-letting, and thus encouraging pauperism; selling ale without licence; neglecting to repair the roads and keep up mounds, 'whereby the Cattle come thro' . . . from the comon field,' obstructing the public ways, and not clearing out water-courses.[1]

The economic history of the later eighteenth century is the history of two revolutions—one industrial, the other agrarian. The failure of Oxfordshire to respond to the appeal of the new industry gave additional importance to the far-reaching agricultural changes in the county in the hundred years between 1760 and 1860, the central period of the modern inclosure movement. Increasing population, and the growing demand for corn, made farming profitable, and the enterprise of capitalist landowners produced a great improvement in methods of tillage, and led to the inclosure both of the remaining open fields and of large tracts of waste and common land.[2] In Oxfordshire 68,840 acres were inclosed between 1760 and 1800, and Arthur Young, writing about 1810, stated that, proportionably to the extent of the county, more land had been inclosed during the past forty years than in any county in England, though nearly a hundred parishes remained uninclosed.[3] From the dates of the Oxfordshire Inclosure Awards, it appears that the movement was particularly active in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. The whole aspect of North Oxfordshire was transformed, and great changes also took place in the west and south. But the customary methods passed away very gradually. The inclosures of the 'sixties' are still fresh in living memory, and old men in Oxfordshire villages can even recall the riots which attended the draining and fencing of Otmoor in 1830.[4]

To Arthur Young and the thriving farmers and landowners from whom he sought information, the change seemed wholly good, 'the capital improvement of the county.' Inclosure, they said, had doubled and trebled rents, doubled the produce of the soil, freed husbandry from hampering restrictions, and prevented loss of time 'in travelling to many dispersed pieces of land.' Even the poor profited. The new system was 'far better for their morals,' there was 'less pilfering,' and they received allotments in return for their 'cottage common.'[5] In the Inclosure Awards an attempt was, indeed, always made to give compensation for existing rights,[6] and estates were much

[1] Sess. R. Oxon. 1715–17.

[2] Cunningham, op. cit. ii [*Modern Times*], bk. vii, chap. v; bk. viii, chap. v. There were 3,209 private inclosure bills in the reign of Geo. III, besides a general Inclosure Act in 1801. Cf. M. Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 305 et seq.; M. Sturge Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* 107.

[3] A. Young, *Gen. View of the Agric. of Oxf.* (ed. 1813), chap. vi, 87–8.

[4] For list of Inclosure Awards for the county see App. No. 1.

[5] A. Young, op. cit, 4, 35, 38, 42, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100.

[6] At Hampton Poyle George Knapp got 1 R. 2 P. as 'reasonable compensation' for his 'right and interest of, in, and to ½ part of the soil of all the waste within the said manor.' He had to keep up and make the mounds and fences on the north-west, 'against the Turnpike Road.' Hampton Poyle Inclosure Award, Office of Clerk of the Peace, Oxford.

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subdivided even after inclosure.[1] The Hampton Poyle Award of 1796–7 is a case in point. Here 593 acres 1 rood and 17 perches were allotted to four private owners, to the Glebe to Merton College, the Woodstock Corporation, the Poor of Islip, and the Poor of Hampton. There was also a 'manorial allotment' and about 11½ acres with 'stone pits' were assigned for the repair of the public roads. But the estates of the individual proprietors lay in separate plots scattered about the parish, some of them less than an acre in extent, and only one containing more than 100 contiguous acres.[2] Though the later inclosures were usually for the purposes of better farming, and did not imply conversion of arable into pasture, a good deal of land in Oxfordshire was laid down to grass, and Arthur Young notes the prevalence of dairy-farming.[3] Where the new ideas had been adopted there was 'a revolution in the arrangement of crops.' Turnips, sainfoin, and clover were grown, and there was often a six-course, or even a seven-course, rotation.[4] But the old-fashioned system was slow to yield to improved methods. At Baldon, in the early eighteenth century, questions of encroachment in the open fields were settled by jury, and men would plough their land in the night to steal a furrow from a neighbour.[5] At Kidlington there was 'a large open field upon which every man sows just what he pleases, which occasions such a confusion of headlands and abutments in tillage, &c., as can hardly be conceived.'[6] There were also 'a very large common, which feeds 300 cows from May 16 to Michaelmas, all by farmers according to their yardlands and their cottages,' and 'a sheep common with adjistment shepherds. . . . Both sheep and shepherds miserably poor.' These common rights could be let and hired.[7] At Aston and Cote, as late as 1848, there were a Common Field, cultivated on the four-course system, a Common Meadow, and a Common Pasture. The whole was supposed to be divided into sixty-four yardlands, of about 30 acres each, and each holder of a yardland had about 20 acres of arable in the Common Field, 4 or 5 acres in the Common Meadow, and the right of feeding either eight cows or four horses in the Common Pasture, and sixteen sheep on the portion of the Common Pasture set apart for them. The system was beginning to break up in 1848, but the Common Meadow was still apportioned in the hay season by an intricate method of lot-drawing, carried out under the superintendence of the four Grass Stewards.[8] The villages of Aston and Cote 'intercommoned' with Yelford and Shifford from Michaelmas to Martinmas.[9] At Yarnton a somewhat similar system of division is still observed in the 'Lot Meadows,' which are 'drawn' every year by the 'Meadsman.' Here, too, other parishes, Begbroke, Water Eaton, and Wolvercot have shares in the meadows; there is 'intercommoning.'[10]

[1] Inc. Award, Kidlington, Thrupp. At Great Haseley 494A. 3R. 28P. were divided into sixty-two allotments.
[2] Hampton Poyle Inc. Award: 345A. 3R. 6P.
[3] A. Young, op. cit. 12, 89, 91, 94 'very observable that grass produce higher in price than corn,' 205, 216.
[4] Ibid. 110, 117 (in the Chiltern district an eight-course rotation), 123, 127.
[5] Ibid. 239.
[6] Ibid. 127.
[7] Ibid. 127, 231; *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 171.
[8] Giles, *Hist. of Bampton*, 75 et seq.; Gomme, *Village Community*, 158 et seq.
[9] *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv).
[10] Eynsham Chartul. ii, fol. 3 v°: Dominus et villata de Shyfforde intercommunicant cum villatis de Stanlake, Brythamptone, et Herdewyke a gula Augusti usque festum Sancti Martini, cum villatis vero de Astone, Cote et Eleford a festo Sancti Michaelis usque dictum festum Sancti Martini. Cf. Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 355. *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 307 et seq. A full account of this interesting survival of ancient custom.

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When Arthur Young wrote, ploughing with oxen was common in Oxfordshire, and 'increasing attention was being paid to oxen as beasts of labour.' Breast-ploughing was used for stubbles, and was paid at the rate of 6*s*. an acre. It was a matter of regret to Arthur Young that while inclosing had 'changed the men as much as it had improved the country,' a great deal of 'ignorance and barbarity' remained. 'The Goths and Vandals of open fields,' he said, 'touch the civilization of inclosures.'[1] Yet this champion of the inclosing movement himself admitted that incidentally the new methods pressed hardly on the cottagers,[2] who were too ignorant or short-sighted to make good bargains, and often parted with customary rights without realizing their value.[3]

The trebling of the poor rates in forty years[4] is sufficient evidence of the distress in Oxfordshire at the opening of the nineteenth century. In 1803 the average poor-rate of the county was returned as 4*s*. 8*d*. in the pound, but at Thame it was never less than 6*s*. in the pound, at Crowmarsh it was 6*s*. to 7*s*., at Burford 10*s*. to 11*s*., at Witney 10*s*., and in years of scarcity it rose to 12*s*. and 14*s*. and even as high as 29*s*. and 50*s*. When Arthur Young drew up his Report, thirty-eight parishes or places were maintaining all or part of their poor in workhouses, and about five in 100 of the resident population belonged to friendly societies. The poor of seven parishes or places were farmed, or maintained under contract. The increase of pauperism was partly due to the decline of industry in the county. At Witney, the introduction of machinery had revived the decaying weaving trade, but the number of hands employed fell between 1802 and 1807 from 400 to about 150, while wages only rose slightly. 'Masters and fabric may flourish,' wrote Arthur Young, 'but it cannot be contended that labouring hands do the same.' From the shag weavers of Bloxham and the velvet manufacturers of Banbury came the same complaint: 'their fabric had travelled to the North,' and the unemployed, wandering about in search of work, 'were beginning to riot, had not the yeomanry come in.'[5] High rents and prices and low wages were also doubtless responsible for much of the social and moral degeneration which was, perhaps, inevitable in a period of transition. The poor, living mainly on bread and water, were constrained to run into debt, and were tempted to eke out their scanty pittance by petty thefts; they became demoralized, and felt no shame in applying to the parish for help.[6] The rise in wages in the closing years of the eighteenth century was accompanied by a more than proportionate rise in the prices of the necessaries of life. Mutton went up 64 per cent., beef 50 per cent., veal 114 per cent., bacon 25 per cent., and butter 76 per cent.,[7] while the average rise in the wages of agricultural labour between 1790 and 1803 was only 37 per cent. and the rise in artisans' labour[8] 35 per cent. Rent rose in the same period 20 per cent., tithe 33 per cent., and rates no less than 169 per cent.[9]

It is to the credit of the Oxfordshire landlords and employers of labour that they were fully alive to the sufferings of the working classes. Many

[1] A. Young, op. cit. 104–5, 108, 291, 295–6.
[2] Cunningham, op. cit. ii [*Modern Times*], 488.
[3] Mrs. Sturge Henderson mentions a tradition that at Charlbury common land was bartered for ale, *Three Cent. in North Oxf.* 107.
[4] A. Young, op. cit. 71 (*c.* 1769–1809)
[5] Ibid. 43–4, 46–7, 59–61, 71, 325–7.
[6] Ibid. 335 et seq.
[7] Ibid. 327–8.
[8] i.e. the labour of carpenters, masons, and thatchers.
[9] *Ret. made to the Board of Agric.* A. Young, op. cit. 72–4.

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schemes for the relief of the poor were mooted in the columns of the *Oxford Journal*, and private charity was active throughout the county. Subscriptions were set on foot to provide the poor with bread at reduced rates or with coals in winter.[1] Ardent agricultural reformers advocated the cultivation of the potato, the granting of plots of land to labourers,[2] reduction in the size of farms, commutation of tithes, and 'general inclosure, securing at the same time the interest of Cottagers.' Moralists preached philanthropy in the press and from the pulpit, and central and local authorities alike encouraged the formation of friendly and provident societies.[3] In January, 1794, the chairman of the Oxfordshire quarter sessions in his charge to the grand jury 'recommended it to the Farmers to increase their Labourers' Wages, which should keep Pace with the increased Price of Provisions.' The winter of 1794–5 was extremely severe, and at the end of January, 1795, 4,200 'necessitated Persons' were receiving charitable assistance in Oxford. In July the prices of all sorts of provisions, particularly corn, were extraordinarily high, and the quartern loaf was selling for 9*d*. The chairman of quarter sessions urged economy in the use of wheaten flour, and resolutions were signed by the county magistrates and gentry engaging to use bread made of flour with 'only the broad Bran taken from it.'[4] An address of the Common Council of the city of Oxford to their representatives in Parliament[5] sums up the main causes of that 'disastrous malady,' the 'excessive high Price of Corn,' as the Consolidation of Farms, 'Jobbers' or middlemen, [a 'new species of Locusts,'] and selling grain by sample. A load of corn, it was said, was now rarely seen in Oxford market, whereas fifteen years earlier it was difficult to find room for the corn waggons: the poor were no longer able to buy small quantities at first hand, and the farmer was not induced to lower the price by the prospect of carrying the corn home again. Subsidiary causes were the high price of meat, which forced the poor to live almost entirely on bread,[6] and the country banks, which lowered the value of money by circulating 'amazing quantities of imaginary specie.' Amongst the remedies proposed were the prohibition of distilleries, bounties on the importation of wheat, and restricting bakers to making one common sort of wheaten bread.

The great scarcity and distress of 1795 further led the Oxfordshire magistrates to adopt the system of allowances in aid of wages which was organized by the Berkshire justices in this same year.[7] At the winter quarter sessions—

> it was unanimously agreed, that the following weekly Incomes were at this time absolutely necessary for the support of the poor industrious Labourer; and that when the utmost

[1] *Oxf. Journ.* 22 Jan. 1763; 6 Feb. 1773; 25 Jan. 15 Nov. 27 Dec. 1794; 3, 10, 22, 31 Jan. 7 Feb. 1 April, 11 July, 1795.

[2] 21 Mar. 1765; cf. A. Young, op. cit. 23. Nine-tenths of the cottages he had seen in Oxfordshire had good gardens. 'A few years ago, they had no potatoes; now all have them. Formerly they did not like that root with their bacon, only cabbage; at present they are generally eaten.' The farmers whom Arthur Young met agreed that it was highly beneficial for cottagers to have half an acre each.

[3] *Oxf. Journ.* 19 July, 11 Oct. 1794; 7 Feb. 1795.

[4] Ibid. 18 Jan. 1794; 31 Jan. 1795.

[5] Ibid. 18 July, 1795.

[6] Ibid. 7 and 14 Nov. 1795. 'It is indeed a melancholy truth, that by far the greater part of the Labourers of this Country, especially in the Villages, live wholly on Bread, and have so done for many months without any possible means of buying a bit of Meat, owing to the scantiness of their wages, and the excessive high price of every article of life.'

[7] The resolutions of the Berks justices, nick-named the 'Speenhamland Act of Parliament,' were passed in 1795, Cunningham, op. cit. ii [*Modern Times*], 494 et seq.

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Industry of a Family cannot produce the undermentioned Sums, it must be made up by the Overseer, exclusive of Rent.

A single Man according to his Labour	per Week.
Man and Wife, not less than six shillings	
Ditto, with one or two small Children, not less than seven shillings .	
And, for every additional Child 1/-	

The evil effects of this policy were not long in showing themselves. As early as October, 1795, poor persons were beginning to demand the allowance as a right, whereas it was intended to be 'an indulgence to be bestowed only on the orderly and industrious.'[1] By 1830 it could be stated that Oxfordshire farmers were accustomed to pay only half the wages earned by labourers and to send them to the parochial authorities for the other half out of the poor rates.[2] The customs of farming out the poor and of employing them by the yardland were also productive of much evil. The parish let the maintenance of the poor at the cheapest possible rate, and the keeper made his profit by 'squeezing and oppressing' his unfortunate charges. Advertisements such as the following abound in the *Oxford Journal*:—

> Wanted.—A proper Person to farm the Poor of the Parish of Chipping Norton, either by the head, or altogether, at an annual sum. There is a convenient Workhouse, and necessary Accommodations. Any Person, properly recommended, who can find Employment for the Poor, may apply to the Overseers of the said Parish.[3]

Able-bodied unemployed labourers were apportioned among the landholders in a parish at the rate of one day's work for every yardland. This was called 'going the Rounds,' and the 'Roundsmen' were often paid wages insufficient for the necessaries of life.[4]

Attempts were made to render the workhouses self-supporting by teaching the inmates trades and selling the products of their labour. A similar system was applied, with great success, to the prisons. In 1794 the Oxford Castle gaol and house of correction had a balance in hand of £64 5*s*. 6*d*., derived from the labour of prisoners, 'the County Allowance for whose Bread would have been £68 4*s*. 10*d*. had they, as heretofore, remained unemployed.' The prisoners were employed in canal and river navigation, and in road-mending and stone-sawing. The Oxford gaol seems to have been remarkably well managed, and the county generally was noted for its freedom from crime.[5]

But the condescending philanthropy which treated the 'industrious Poor' as 'a highly useful Class of Men' rather than as self-respecting individuals, could not check the rising tide of popular discontent.[6] In the pages of the *Oxford Journal*, side by side with notices of florists' feasts and penny clubs and subscriptions for soup and coals, are the records of poaching and burglary, and threatening letters and rick-burning.[7] Wages

[1] *Oxf. Journ.* 24 Jan. 10 Oct. 1795.

[2] Ibid. 8 May, 1830. Woodstock Petty Sessions, Parish accounts. £100 had been spent on agricultural labour. The magistrates agreed that this was contrary to the Poor Laws.

[3] Ibid. 23 Oct. 1793; 18 Jan. 1794.

[4] Ibid. 18 Jan. 11 Oct. 1794. Cf. *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv). 278–80, Yarnton, 1831. 'Yardland' labourers paid wages usual in parish.

[5] Ibid. 18 and 25 Jan. 1794; 28 Mar. 1795.

[6] Ibid. 11 Oct. 1794.

[7] Sess. Rec. 1765, 5 Jan. 9 Feb. *Oxf. Journ.* 1 May, 1773 (Letter from 'One Hundred of the Oxford Lads' posted up at Carfax threatening violence if the price of provisions were not lowered); 26 July, 8 Nov. 1794; 31 Jan. 1795; 16 Jan. 1812 *passim*; 13 and 20 Feb. 1830.

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were high between 1763 and 1815, during the French war, but the price of corn continued to rise. In 1821 wheat was selling in the Oxfordshire markets at from 13*s.* to 20*s.* the bushel, and the half-peck loaf at from 2*s.* 3½*d.* to 3*s.* 1*d.*[1] After the peace of 1815 wages fell, while prices remained high, and the new machinery deprived the agricultural population of those home industries by which they had supplemented their regular earnings. The Witney woollen trade revived, but the hand-loom weaving of the rural districts rapidly declined. The introduction of threshing machines and other agricultural machinery was viewed with distrust by the labouring classes, and the inclosures which the landlords regarded as so great a benefit were disliked, not only by the villagers, but by many of the farmers. In May, 1830, the bells of Benson 'rang a merry peal on the death of the late projected Inclosure Bill, and the ringers were plenteously regaled by the opulent farmers in that neighbourhood.'[2] Later in the year, the 'Moormen' of Otmoor and the surrounding townships, who had been deprived of their rights of free pasturage by the recent inclosure, went 'possessioning' round the Moor, and destroyed every fence which obstructed their course. Troops were brought up, the Riot Act was read, and a number of Moormen were arrested and sent to Oxford. As they passed through St. Giles', where the annual fair was going on, cries of 'Otmoor for ever' were raised, the soldiers were pelted with stones and mud, and the prisoners slipped out of the waggons and escaped, only to be recaptured, and committed for trial. The Moormen had a tradition that their common had been given to them by 'Queen Elizabeth or some other Lady.' In reality the right of common was attached to certain cottages, each of which had received an allotment in the Inclosure Award.[3] The same somewhat unreasoning but deep-seated sense of wrong was seen in the winter of 1830–1 in the 'Swing' riots against agricultural machinery, which resulted in rick-burning and destruction of threshing machines, outrages heralded by anonymous letters to the farmers signed 'Swing.' It was said that strangers traversed the country to excite the labouring poor to revolt. Special constables were sworn in, troops were called out, and many of the rioters were transported or imprisoned. In several districts of Oxfordshire, however, the villagers refused to rise and even helped to repress disturbance, while some of the landlords met their tenants half-way by a considerable reduction of rents.[4] Inadequate means of communication intensified the general distress. In the winter of 1794–5, when the Oxford Canal froze, coal, brought by land from Birmingham, rose to 4*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. and fell to 1*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. when the thaw set in.[5] Arthur Young complains that the canal, which was in course of construction from about 1770,[6] had spoilt valuable meadow-

[1] The price of the quartern loaf would be half this.

[2] Cunningham, op. cit. ii [*Modern Times*], 651 et seq. Sturge Henderson, op. cit. 102 et seq. 257–8. *Oxf. Journ.* 11 and 18 Jan. 22 Feb. 11 and 18 April, 1812; 29 May, 12 June, 1830.

[3] *Oxf. Journ.* 11 and 18 Sept. 1830.

[4] Ibid. 27 Nov.; 11, 18, 24 Dec. 1830; 8 and 9 Jan. 1831. In 1830 it was calculated that a labourer's wages would procure half as much bread and a quarter as much beer as a hundred years earlier. Rent had increased fourfold since 1732. Wheat had risen from 2*s.* 9*d.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* or 8*s.* the bushel, and malt from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* or 9*s.* the bushel, while agricultural wages had only risen from 6*s.* or 7*s.* to 7*s.* or 9*s.* a week, *Oxf. Journ.* 6 Feb. 1830.

[5] *Oxf. Journ.* 7 Mar. 1795.

[6] First Act relating to the canal 1769; last Act 1829. Branch from Coventry to Oxford as far as Banbury opened 1778.

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land; but the importance of cheap water-carriage for coal was great, since much timber had been cut down in the Civil War, wood was dear, and the poor used peat and furze for fuel.[1] The badness of the Oxfordshire roads was proverbial. In 1848 the bedel of Bampton stated that in his father's time 'there was no stoned road of any kind leading from Bampton to the neighbouring towns and villages, and travellers were in the habit of striking across the common . . . and finding their way to Witney, Burford, Oxford, or any other place, in the best way they could.[2] Arthur Young could remember the roads of Oxfordshire 'in a condition formidable to all who travelled on wheels . . . the cross-roads impassable but with real danger.' The Turnpike Act of 1763, by which tolls could be levied for road-mending, was a real boon to the county.[3] The first Oxfordshire railway was opened for traffic in 1850. The *Oxford Journal* is full of advertisements of its eighteenth-century predecessors, the 'Oxford Post Coaches,' the neat Postchaises with fresh able horses, 'Bew's Flying Machine,' 'The Worcester Fly,' performed by Samuel Manning,[4] and the 'Burford, Witney, Oxford, and Thame Fly.'[5] Anthony Wood went to London in a stage-coach in 1667, but took two days on the journey. The first 'flying' coaches, which performed the journey from Oxford to London 'commodiously in one day,' were set up in 1669.[6] Highway robberies were frequent on the coach roads, and the *Oxford Journal* and other contemporary sources give amusing details of these encounters, and of everyday life in Oxfordshire in the Georgian period. Cockfighting and horse-racing were the chief amusements of the gentry, while their humbler neighbours diverted themselves with lamb ales, Whitsun ales, morris-dancing, spinning feasts, venison feasts, 'hay-homes,' harvest-homes, and fairs. Inoculation has a prominent place in local newspapers, and it was usual for doctors to take country houses to which their patients could retire for the operation. 'Eloping' apprentices are advertised for, and ill-used apprentices are freed from their masters.[7] Suggestions of modern developments are found in the opposition of the Woodstock glovers to the truck system, in Arthur Young's description of the bishop of Durham's village shop and cottage weaving industry at Mongewell, and in the formation of an emigration committee at Bicester.[8] After 1830 a new and more hopeful era opens. In 1848 there is mention of a Chartist meeting at Banbury, and complaints are made that bread, bacon, and fuel are dear, and that labourers' wages, 9*s*. or 10*s*. for six days, do not keep pace with the rise in prices.[9] O'Connor's National Land Company purchased a

[1] A. Young, op. cit. 205. Cf. pp. 14, 15. Cox, *Magna Britannia Oxf.* (wood selling about 1725 at 1*s*. the cwt. in Oxford, and 7*d*. the cwt. in the Chiltern country.) Cf. *Three Oxf. Parishes* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv), 168; Plot, op. cit. (1677), 65.

[2] Giles, *Hist. of Bampton*, 17.

[3] A. Young, op. cit. 324. Sturge Henderson, op. cit. 96.

[4] *Oxf. Journ.* 7 Sept. 1754; 16, 23 Oct.; 13, 20 Nov. 1762; 22 Jan. 1763; 11 May, 1765.

[5] Ibid. 20 Nov. 1773; Burford to London 15*s*.; Oxford to London 10*s*.; Thame to London 9*s*.; Witney to London 13*s*.; outside passengers half-price; *Collectanea*, iv (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xlvii), 267, pt. vi.

[6] Wood's *Life and Times*, ii, 109 (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxi); J. M. Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 301–2.

[7] *Oxf. Journ.* 2, 16 Oct. 1762; 1 Jan. 1763; 10 May, 1766; 4 Sept. 13 Nov. 18 Dec. 1773; 11 April, 1774; 2 Dec. 1780; 24 Sept. 1793; 31 May, 12 July, 1794; 24 June, 1848. Sessions Rec. 1781. *Three Oxf. Parishes*, (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxiv) 279.

[8] *Oxf. Journ.* 22 May, 10 Dec. 1830. A. Young, op. cit. 25. Cunningham, op. cit. ii [*Modern Times*], 650.

[9] *Oxf. Journ.* 23 Jan. 29 April, 1848.

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farm at Minster Lovell in 1847, and in 1848 started the artisan colony of 'Charterville.'[1]

In the labour movement inaugurated by Joseph Arch, which led to the organization of the Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1872, Oxfordshire took an active share. Meetings were held, and branch societies were formed. The farmers and employers of labour retaliated by establishing the 'Oxford Association of Agriculturists,' to resist the demand for increased wages,[2] and to pledge themselves not to employ union men. It is a curious fact that in this disturbed time the Oxford city gaol was empty from 20 July to 18 August, 1872. When the unionists struck work soldiers were employed to gather in the harvest, to the great indignation of the strikers, who protested that 'when the sword assumed the sickle it was time to be up and doing.' Still, on 26 October, Professor Thorold Rogers could declare that he knew of no combination 'that had been so temperate and so hopeful as this one.' Unfortunately the peaceful, orderly character of the movement changed in 1873, when sixteen women of Ascot under Wychwood were sentenced to imprisonment for assaulting the labourers brought in to replace the unionists on strike. There was rioting when they were committed to gaol and great rejoicing when they were released. The *Times* and *Daily News* sent commissioners to inquire into the affair, and the Ascot farmers published a statement of the case for the employers, in which they asserted that the full weekly income of an agricultural labourer from all sources was nearer £1 than 12*s*.,[3] 'while the interior and exterior of their cottages, the smartness and finery on all occasions,' indicated ease and comfort. But the men had a strong case also, and it was probably due in part to the action of the Union that their main point was eventually won, and agricultural wages rose in Oxfordshire to 12*s*. or 14*s*. a week.[4]

The social and economic history of Oxfordshire for the last thirty years has been uneventful. The flood of modern progress has overwhelmed the city of Oxford, but the rural villages have slept on, undisturbed in their peaceful seclusion. Yet still, on market days, the flocks and herds obstructing the narrow mediaeval Oxford streets, and the carriers' waggons clustered about the church of St. Mary Magdalen, recall the fact that only a few miles from that busy centre of activity lies a country of archaic survivals and old-world traditions, 'a fertile country and plentiful, the plains garnished with cornfields and meadows, and the hills beset with woods.'[5]

[1] *Oxf. Journ.* 5 Aug. 1848. Sturge Henderson, op. cit. 175.

[2] The men generally demanded a rise from 12*s*. to 16*s*. a week, or a minimum of 13*s*. a week, and extra pay for overtime.

[3] They said that 'no one . . . could appear in the village unfavourable to Union principles without being annoyed and assailed with Ba, Ba, Black Legs; old black legs; Ba, Ba, Ba!'

[4] *Oxf. Journ.* Mar. to Oct. 1872; 24, 31 May, 7 June, 1873. *Roy. Com. on Labour, Rep.* v, 206. The Agricultural Labourer, 1894.

[5] Camden, *Britannia, Oxf.*

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APPENDIX No. I

Inclosure Awards, Oxfordshire[1]

1622 Bletchingdon
1715 Charlbury (Agreement for inclosing open Fields)
1758 Bicester (Market End); Piddington
1759 Northleigh
1760 Neithrop and Wickham
1762 Wardington, Williamscot and Coton
1766 Horley and Hornton; Shutford; Somerton (as to the Roads)
1767 Steeple Aston; Kencott
1768 Adderbury and Bodicote; Sandford (Wootton Hundred); Bampton
1769 Caversham (Shrub Coppice)
1770 Black Bourton; Westwell; Chipping Norton; Salford; Wootton
1772 Swalcliffe
1773 Handborough; Hethe; Upton
1774 Hook Norton and Southrop; Stanton Harcourt
1775 Cropredy
1776 Burcot; Sibford Broad; Claydon; Great Rollright; Rousham (as to the Roads)
1777 Alkerton; Blackthorn; Brize Norton; Tadmarton; Broadwell
1778 Bourton; Stanton St. John
1779 Dean
1780 Bucknell; Shenington
1787 Cogges
1788 Goring; Sarsden and Churchill
1789 Chamber's Green
1790 Sibford Ferris
1791 Oddington
1792 Green Dean Wood, Mapledurham
1793 South Leigh
1794 Bicester (King's End); Dunstew; Milcombe; Stoke Lyne and Fewcott; Little Tew
1795 Burford; South Newington
1796 Barton (Westcot and Middle); Wigginton
1797 Hampton Poyle; Alvescot
1799 Kelmscot; Newney Green, Mapledurham
1801 Wendlebury
1802 Bloxham; Brightwell; Drayton (near Banbury); Eynsham
1803 Eynsham; Swerford; Spelsbury
1804 Cassington and Worton; Headington; Stonesfield
1805 North Newington; Wroxton and Balscot
1806 Shirburn; Whitchurch
1807 Eynsham
1808 Deddington and Great Barford; Fritwell; Islip
1812 Goring
1813 Culham; Swinbrook; Stoke Talmage; Whitchurch Common; Wheatley
1814 Asthall; Launton
1815 Kirtlington; Lewknor; Watlington
1816 Arncot (Ambrosden); Newington and Berrick
1817 Godington
1818 Kidlington
1819 Fulbrook; Littlemore
1823 Garsington; Taynton
1824 Hailey; Shotover
1825 Chadlington and Chilson

[1] A printed list compiled by T. M. Davenport, Clerk of the Peace, 1869.

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1826 Thame and Sydenham
1827 Great Tew
1829 Otmoor; Noke
1830 Iffley
1832 St. Giles
1834 Caversham; Wolvercot
1835 Aston Rowant
1837 Baldon; Leafield; Shiplake
1838 Ascot under Wychwood
1839 Clanfield; Ducklington; Little Milton
1840 Baldon
1842 Upper Heyford
1843 Enstone (Neat)
1844 Enstone (Church); Northmoor; Great Milton
1845 Britwell Prior and Britwell Salome; Chalgrove; Curbridge
1846 Cuxham; Grafton; Hempton Winnall
1848 Denton
1849 Fencot and Mercot; Milton under Wychwood
1850 Kingham
1851 Burroway; Pyrton
1852 Barton (Westcot and Middle)
1853 Botley Meadow, Oatlands, and Oseney Meadow; Brighthampton and Hardwick; Cowley; Crawley and Hailey; Shipton under Wychwood; Standlake; South Stoke and Woodcote; Warborough
1854 Chinnor; Cottisford; Fencot and Mercot
1855 Aston and Cote, Queenborough; Bampton in Mead and Shilton Meadow
1856 Cowley; North Stoke and Ipsden; Weston (South); Souldern; (Meadow and Common)
1857 Wychwood Forest
1858 Charlton on Otmoor; Chalford; Horsepath
1859 Ascot and Wychwood (Ascot Common); Bigmore and Pound Commons; Warborough
1860 Chilson and Wychwood; Rotherfield Greys, etc.; Leafield and Wychwood
1861 Dorchester and Overy; Stokenchurch; Wychwood; Asthall, &c.
1862 Asthall; Wychwood and Fulbrook; Finstock Common; Ramsden
1863 Benson, Berrick Salome and Ewelme; Fulbrook, Shipton and Taynton; Pudlicot Common; Stoke Row
1864 Checkendon
1865 Caversham (Gallows, Free Common, &c.)
1867 Binfield Heath; Shiplake Bottom, &c.

APPENDIX No. II

WAGES, &c., IN 1769 AND 1808 *circ.*[1]

Winter labour *per diem*	10*d.* to 1*s.*	1*s.* 6*d.*
Mowing grass	1*s.* 4*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Reaping	5*s.* 6*d.*	8*s.* to 10*s.* 6*d.*
Carpenter and wheeler	1*s.* 4*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Horse-shoe	4*d.*	6*d.*
Taxes	£1 8*s.* 6*d.*	£30 to £40
Labour per week[2]	6*s.*	9*s.*
Blacksmith, horse-shoe	4*d.*	6*d.*
Mason *per diem*	1*s.* 8*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Carpenter *per diem*	1*s.* 8*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Poor-rates		trebled

[1] *Return made to the Board of Agric.*, A. Young, op. cit. 71. Statement by Mr. Secker King.
[2] Statement by Mrs. Latham of Clifton.

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General Average of Agricultural Wages in 1810 *circ.*[1]

	s.	d.
Day labour in winter	9	6
„ „ „ spring and hay	11	6
„ „ „ harvest	19	0
Women *per diem* in harvest	1	2
Reaping wheat	10	0
Mowing barley	2	4
Thrashing wheat, per quarter	3	7
„ barley „	1	10
„ oats „	1	6
„ beans „	1	5
Mowing grass	2	8
Hoeing turnips	6	6

Prices of Provisions in 1768 and 1807[2]

Mutton per lb.	4*d.* to 4½*d.*	7*d.*
Beef „	4*d.* to 5*d.*	6½*d.* to 7*d.*
Veal „	3½*d.*	7½*d.*
Bacon „	8*d.*	10*d.*
Butter „	6*d.* to 7*d.*	10*d.* to 1*s.* 1*d.*

Prices of Provisions in 1810 *circ.*[3]

North.—Banbury :—

	s.	d.
Bread, quartern loaf	0	9
Butter per lb.	1	3
Beef „	0	8
Mutton „	0	7
Coals per cwt.	1	2
Wood „	1	0
Common cottage	£3 a year and taxes	

East.—Bicester and Wendlebury :—

	s.	d.
Beef per lb.	0	7½
Mutton „	0	7
Pork „	0	8½
Butter „	1	2

In 1789 butter was 7*d.* and 8*d.* in winter and summer: it had risen to 1*s.* 3½*d.* in winter and 1*s.* 1½*d.* in summer. Coals 1*s.* 3*d.* per cwt., allow them to the poor in winter at 1*s.*

Central.—Baldon and Oxford :—

	s.	d.
Beef per lb.	0	7½
Mutton „	0	7
Bacon „	1	0
Butter „	1	4
Quartern loaf	0	9
Coals per cwt.	1	6
Wednesbury coals out of boats	1	2
Potatoes per peck	10*d.* to 1*s.*	
Cheese	0	9
Billet wood per cwt.	1	2

[1] A. Young's Statement, op. cit. 322.

[2] A. Young, op. cit. 327.

[3] Ibid. 322 et seq. Cf. prices of provisions at Oxford fixed by the Vice-Chancellor in 1680. Wood's *Life and Times*, ii, (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxi) 520, note 2: Butter per lb. 5*d.* and 6*d.*; beef, 2½*d.* to 3*d.* per lb.; mutton, 3¼*d.* to 3¾*d.* per lb.; veal, 2½*d.* to 3*d.* per lb.; bacon, 4½*d.* per lb. (flitch); rib-bacon, 6*d.* per lb. &c.

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	s.	d.
South-west.—Clifton :—		
Coals per cwt.	1	3
Bread, quartern loaf	0	8½
Beef per lb.	0	7
Mutton „	0	7
Bacon „	0	11
Butter „	1	3
South-east.—Thame :—		
Coals per cwt.	2	2
Bread, quartern loaf	0	9½
Butter per lb.	1	4
Bacon „	1	0
Beef „	0	8
Mutton „	7½*d.* and 8*d.*	

APPENDIX No. III

In accordance with the Acts for regulating 'the Price and Assize of Bread,'[1] the clerks of the Oxford market from time to time set 'Assizes of Bread,' fixing the price of the bushel of wheat and the weights and prices of loaves of various kinds. Specimens of these curious documents are worth preserving, if only as illustrations of a long-abandoned policy. They were published in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, the first Oxfordshire newspaper, which began to appear weekly in 1754.[2]

Assizes of Bread.[3]

9 March, 1765 :—

On Wednesday last a new Assize of Bread was set forth by the Clerks of our Market, when the second-best Price of Wheat was fixed at 6*s.* per Bushel,[4] and the Weight of Bread, according to Avoirdupois, was settled as follows, viz. :—

		lb.	oz.	dr.
The 1*d.*	White loaf	0	6	10
	Wheaten	0	9	15
	Houshold	0	13	4
The 2*d.*	White	0	13	4
	Wheaten	1	3	14
	Houshold	1	10	8
The 6*d.*	Wheaten	3	11	9
	Houshold	4	15	7
The 12*d.*	Wheaten	7	7	3
	Houshold	9	14	4

26 February, 1774 :—

By the new Assize of Bread, delivered out by the Clerks of our market on Monday last, and which takes place this day, the following Weights and Prices are fixed, viz.

		To weigh lb.	oz.	dr.
The Penny Loaf	Wheaten	0	8	3
	Houshold	0	10	11
Two-penny Loaf	Wheaten	1	0	6
	Houshold	1	5	6

[1] Stat. 8 Anne, cap. 18 ; 1 Geo. I, stat. 2, cap. 26, sect. 4 ; 5 Geo. I, cap. 25 ; 10 Geo. I, cap. 17 ; 3 Geo. II, cap. 29, sect. 1 ; 12 Geo. II, cap. 13 ; 22 Geo. II, cap. 46. Cf. Cunningham, op. cit. ii [*Modern Times*], 355 et seq.

[2] This newspaper, which still flourishes, was first published in 1753 as an electioneering skit, *News, Boys, News, or the Electioneering Journal.* On Saturday, 1 June, 1754, it appeared as *Jackson's Oxf. Journ.*

[3] Cf. Ogle, *The Oxf. Market*, p. 44 et seq. 123 et seq. *Collectanea* ii (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xvi).

[4] In 1760, 'the second-best price of a Bushell of Wheat was 3*s.* 3*d.*' ; Ogle, op. cit. 130.

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		To be sold for s.	d.
The Peck Loaf	Standard Wheaten	2	6
	Houshold	2	2
Half-peck Loaf	Standard Wheaten	1	3
	Houshold	1	1
Quartern Loaf	Standard Wheaten	0	7½
	Houshold	0	6½

N.B.—The Peck Loaf must always weigh 17 lb. 6 oz. Av.; the Half-peck Loaf, 8 lb. 11 oz.; the Quartern Loaf, 4 lb. 5 oz. 8 drachms.

[Another Assize was set on 26 March.]

5 December, 1795 (Oxford Market) :—

Second-best Price of Bushel of Wheat 10*s.* 6*d.*, according to which Price and a due allowance made to Baker, Assize and Price of Bread are as follows :—

		lb.	oz.	dr.	s.	d.
1*d.* Loaf	Wheaten	0	5	13	0	1
	Houshold	0	6	13	0	1
2*d.* Loaf	Wheaten	0	11	9	0	2
	Houshold	0	13	9	0	2
Peck Loaf	Standard Wheaten	17	6	0	4	0
	Houshold	17	6	0	3	5
Half-peck Loaf	Standard Wheaten	8	11	0	2	0
	Houshold	8	11	0	1	8½
Quartern Loaf	Standard Wheaten	4	5	8	1	0
	Houshold	4	5	8	0	10½

The Assize took place on Wednesday 2nd December.

Prices of Grain in Oxfordshire Markets[1]

March, 1765 (Oxford) :—

Wheat, per Load	£10	to	£13
Old Beans „	£6	to	£6 10*s.*
New Beans „	£5	to	£6
Barley, per Quarter	18*s.*	to	21*s.* 6*d.*
Old Oats „	16*s.*	to	20*s.*
New Oats „	14*s.*	to	18*s.*
Pease, per Bushel	2*s.* 10*d.*	to	3*s.*

March, 1765 (Henley) :—

Wheat, per Load	£12	to	£14 5*s.*
New Wheat „	£10 10*s.*	to	£12 17*s.*
Barley, per Quarter	20*s.*	to	23*s.*
Old Beans	26*s.*	to	28*s.*
New Beans	26*s.* 6*d.*		
Pease	26*s.*	to	28*s.*

4 November, 1775 (Oxford) :—

Wheat, per Bushel	5*s.*	to	6*s.*
Barley, per Quarter	14*s.*	to	30*s.*
Oats „	14*s.*	to	24*s.*
Old Beans, per Bushel	3*s.* 9*d.*	to	4*s.*
New Beans „	3*s.*	to	3*s.* 3*d.*
Peas „	3*s.* 6*d.*	to	4*s.* 8*d.*
Vetches „	4*s.* 6*d.*		

25 November 1775 (Oxford) :—

Wheat, per Load	£9	to	£10 10*s.*
Barley, per Quarter	14*s.*	to	29*s.*
Oats „	14*s.*	to	24*s.*
Old Beans, per Load	£7	to	£7 10*s.*
New Beans „	£6		
Peas „	£7		

[1] From *Jackson's Oxf. Journ.*

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10 October, 1795 (Henley):—

Wheat	20*s.*	to	95*s.*
New Wheat	80*s.*	to	93*s.*
Barley	30*s.*	to	36*s.*
Oats	25*s.*	to	32*s.*
Beans	42*s.*	to	50*s.*

APPENDIX No. IV

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

Introductory Notes

AREA

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Wm. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoin, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c. in this table are also given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of Charles II's reign which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. 'an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed') was in most cases co-extensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (*a*) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (*b*) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (*c*) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found entirely to fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., chap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra-metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

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Population

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population actually resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

General

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841–1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows :—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

Notes Explanatory of the Table

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other sub-division to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which are only estimates. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a civil parish indicates that the parish was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts ; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes, which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

* after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that such parish (or place) contains a union workhouse which was in use in (or before) 1851 and was still in use in 1901.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census is coextensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such sub-divisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

In the following instances it is possible to show the population back to 1801 for the towns as constituted at the census of 1901 :—

(*a*) Bicester Urban District consists of Bicester King's End and Bicester Market End Townships (both in Ploughley Hundred).

(*b*) Chipping Norton Municipal Borough consists of Chipping Norton Township (Chadlington Hundred).

(*c*) Thame Urban District consists of Thame Parish (Thame Hundred).

(*d*) Wheatley Urban District consists of Wheatley Chapelry (Bullingdon Hundred).

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TABLE OF POPULATION

1801—1901

—	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancient or Geographical County[1]	483,626	111,977	118,953	138,224	153,526	163,127	170,434	170,973	177,960	179,593	185,274	181,149

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Bampton Hundred												
Alvescot † ‡ . .	2,119	339	339	357	361	357	375	407	349	362	390	306
Asthall † . . .	2,223	304	291	365	352	389	383	424	381	374	342	355
Bampton :—	11,238	2,010	2,269	2,570	2,751	2,734	2,780	2863	2,759	2,407	2,313	2,029
Bampton Township[2] †	*4,491*	*1,003*	*1,232*	*1,460*	*1,605*	*778*	*851*	*865*	*764*	*1,395*	*1,346*	*1,167*
Lew Hamlet ‡ .	*1,642*	*222*	*243*	*266*	*237*	*195*	*193*	*182*	*183*	*129*	*119*	*92*
Brighthampton Hamlet †	*665*	*93*	*92*	*97*	*102*	*120*	*101*	*89*	*75*	*74*	*61*	*63*
Cote and Aston Hamlets	*2,997*	*629*	*621*	*659*	*718*	*727*	*734*	*811*	*908*	*711*	*730*	*647*
Chimney Hamlet	*668*	*25*	*32*	*46*	*42*	*36*	*24*	*27*	*29*	*28*	*26*	*20*
Shifford Chap. .	*775*	*38*	*49*	*42*	*47*	*52*	*44*	*41*	*49*	*70*	*31*	*40*
Weald Hamlet[2]	—	—	—	—	—	*826*	*833*	*848*	*751*	—	—	—
Black Bourton † ‡.	2,379	273	269	336	352	331	278	260	266	212	226	197
Broadwell :—	5,659	866	870	938	933	1,051	1,107	1,103	1,093	1,066	938	865
Filkins Hamlet †	*1,834*	*454*	*442*	*508*	*473*	*556*	*606*	*641*	*629*	*590*	*473*	*393*
Broadwell † . .	*1,725*	*210*	*234*	*226*	*224*	*201*	*221*	*211*	*238*	*255*	*214*	*202*
Holwell Chap. .	*1,063*	*70*	*68*	*86*	*96*	*115*	*131*	*110*	*110*	*120*	*106*	*106*
Kelmscot ditto .	*1,037*	*132*	*126*	*118*	*140*	*179*	*149*	*141*	*116*	*101*	*145*	*164*
Broughton Poggs	909	103	108	114	158	151	122	109	117	121	88	91
Burford :—	2,939	1,725	1,584	1,686	1,866	1,862	1,819	1,649	1,648	1,560	1,605	1,323
Burford Township †	*750*	*1,516*	*1,342*	*1,409*	*1,620*	*1,644*	*1,593*	*1,435*	*1,403*	*1,312*	*1,346*	*1,146*
Upton and Signett Hamlet †	*2,189*	*209*	*242*	*277*	*246*	*218*	*226*	*214*	*245*	*248*	*259*	*177*
Clanfield † ‡ . .	1,713	455	458	490	529	584	591	547	602	499	429	445
Ducklington :—	2,612	442	424	497	509	541	571	606	629	550	540	547
Ducklington † .	*1,941*	*321*	*299*	*373*	*406*	*430*	*443*	*472*	*480*	*435*	*439*	*413*
Hardwick Hamlet †	*671*	*121*	*125*	*124*	*103*	*111*	*128*	*134*	*149*	*115*	*101*	*134*
Kencott † ‡ . . .	1,099	191	177	174	199	196	206	214	244	202	147	151
Langford :—	4,351	584	647	638	673	707	751	701	685	599	579	522
Langford . . .	*2,117*	*356*	*405*	*387*	*391*	*427*	*453*	*449*	*410*	*384*	*339*	*297*
Faringdon, Little Tything ‡	*1,168*	*131*	*148*	*140*	*156*	*153*	*185*	*136*	*159*	*125*	*132*	*126*
Grafton Township	*625*	*66*	*69*	*81*	*71*	*73*	*77*	*80*	*77*	*64*	*75*	*70*
Radcot Hamlet .	*441*	*31*	*25*	*30*	*55*	*54*	*36*	*36*	*39*	*26*	*33*	*29*

[1] *Ancient County.*—The County as defined by the Act 7 & 8 Vict. c. 61, which affected Oxfordshire to the following extent:—*Gained* from (A) Berkshire, the main part of Langford Parish (i.e. Langford Civil Parish), Little Faringdon Tything, and Shilton Parish—all from the Faringdon Hundred; (B) Gloucestershire, the parishes of Widford (from Slaughter Hundred—Lower Division), and Shenington (from Tewkesbury Hundred—Upper Division); (C) Buckinghamshire, the hamlet of Studley (from Ashenden Hundred), and the parish of Caversfield (from Buckingham Hundred). *Relinquished* to (A) Buckinghamshire, Lillingstone Lovell Parish and Boycutt Hamlet (both from Ploughley Hundred), and part of Lewknor Parish (from Lewknor Hundred); (B) Gloucestershire, part of Broughton Poggs Parish, viz. Great Lemhill Farm (from Bampton Hundred)—Great Lemhill Farm is included in Gloucestershire (Lechlade Parish). The area is taken from the 1901 Census volume. It does not include a part of Whitchurch Parish in Berkshire (309 acres), part of which area was added to Sulham (Berkshire) under the Divided Parishes Act of 1882, and the remainder was added to Purley (Berkshire) in 1894 (See note to Whitchurch, Langtree Hundred). The population for 1811 excludes 1,423 militia, who were not assigned to their respective parishes. The area, as given in 1901, also includes any parts added to Oxfordshire under the Divided Parishes Acts, but excludes any parts taken from it under the same Acts—two such changes only are known, probably both small in area, one from Northamptonshire and the other to Berkshire. There are still (1901) some lands in Oxfordshire common to two or more Parishes (or Places); these uninhabited lands are included in the area of the County, but not in the areas of the Parishes (or Places) to which thay jointly belong. (See also notes to Mollington, Kingsey, Ickford, Lewknor, Ibstone, and Oxford St. Aldate.)

[2] *Weald Hamlet* included with *Bampton Township*, 1801–31 and 1881–1901. The area is also included there.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Bampton Hundred (cont.)												
Norton, Brize † ‡	3,277	453	475	528	627	687	720	716	695	639	610	537
Shilton [1]	1,604	253	248	256	290	305	319	298	287	287	237	234
Standlake †	2,346	570	577	643	669	707	810	822	775	708	619	524
Stonelands, Extra Par. [1]	—	—	—	—	—	8	19	8	—	—	—	—
Westwell ‡	1,445	139	149	160	162	180	186	169	164	136	90	81
Widford	552	40	39	51	51	45	43	33	47	49	52	30
Witney :—	7,182	4,087	4,185	4,518	5,099	5,707	5,437	5,180	5,183	5,046	5,376	5,072
Witney Township †	*192*	*2,584*	*2,722*	*2,827*	*3,190*	*3,419*	*3,099*	*2,989*	*2,976*	*3,017*	*3,110*	*2,879*
Crawley Hamlet	*1,128*	*157*	*169*	*221*	*275*	*252*	*245*	*253*	*248*	*160*	*198*	*206*
Curbridge do. * †	*2,983*	*353*	*352*	*372*	*398*	*596*	*767*	*622*	*654*	*604*	*703*	*637*
Hailey Chap.	*2,879*	*993*	*942*	*1,098*	*1,236*	*1,440*	*1,326*	*1,316*	*1,305*	*1,265*	*1,365*	*1,350*
Yelford † ‡	336	16	16	16	17	16	17	14	8	8	13	15
Banbury Hundred												
Banbury :—	3,407	3,810	4,173	5,247	5,906	6,753	8,206	9,140	9,863	9,660	9,792	10,012
Banbury	*80*	*2,755*	*2,841*	*3,396*	*3,737*	*3,746*	*4,026*	*4,059*	*4,122*	*3,600*	*3,639*	*3,394*
Neithrop Township *	*3,327*	*1,055*	*1,332*	*1,851*	*2,169*	*3,007*	*4,180*	*5,081*	*5,741*	*6,060*	*6,153*	*6,618*
Charlbury (part of) [2] [4]	4,675	1,403	1,637	1,992	2,036	2,032	2,154	2,056	1,991	1,918	2,154	1,939
Fawler Hamlet	*1,655*	*112*	*161*	*147*	*134*	*123*	*145*	*143*	*130*	*109*	*172*	*136*
Finstock do.	*883*	*326*	*402*	*497*	*519*	*534*	*532*	*533*	*526*	*490*	*504*	*451*
Charlbury [3]	*2,137*	*965*	*1,074*	*1,348*	*1,433*	*1,375*	*1,477*	*1,380*	*1,335*	*1,319*	*1,478*	*1,352*
Clattercote, Extra Par.	338	7	9	8	9	15	9	8	4	9	9	4
Cornbury Park, Extra Par. [4]	632	—	—	—	—	50	48	39	43	44	44	19
Cropredy (part of) [5] :—	7,378	1,883	1,876	2,066	2,226	2,342	2,361	2,106	2,154	1,936	1,758	1,654
Bourton (Great and Little) Township ‡	*1,681*	*433*	*405*	*441*	*563*	*593*	*573*	*560*	*551*	*498*	*449*	*426*
Claydon Chap.	*1,199*	*235*	*240*	*252*	*291*	*337*	*330*	*317*	*332*	*300*	*239*	*223*
Cropredy †	*1,926*	*470*	*474*	*548*	*548*	*547*	*596*	*497*	*520*	*515*	*476*	*436*
Wardington Chap. † ‡	*2,572*	*745*	*757*	*825*	*824*	*865*	*862*	*732*	*751*	*623*	*594*	*569*
Prescote (Lordship) Extra Par. [6]	554	22	19	19	15	19	9	19	15	31	25	17
Swalcliffe (part of) [7] :—	4,180	855	935	1,088	1,207	1,103	1,113	1,123	1,038	951	864	755
Swalcliffe	*1,679*	*264*	*290*	*356*	*378*	*338*	*367*	*379*	*356*	*358*	*287*	*255*
Epwell Chap.	*1,140*	*284*	*302*	*355*	*367*	*316*	*330*	*358*	*304*	*259*	*217*	*217*
Shutford, East, Chap.	*409*	*31*	*343*	*33*	*31*	*31*	*24*	*26*	*27*	*21*	*21*	*12*
Shutford, West Township	*952*	*276*		*344*	*431*	*418*	*392*	*360*	*351*	*313*	*239*	*271*
Binfield Hundred												
Bix	3,078	303	379	383	409	427	367	392	426	427	387	360
Caversham	4,879	1,069	1,127	1,317	1,369	1,642	1,752	1,783	2,406	3,583	5,444	7,135
Harpsden [8] ‡	2,021	173	195	223	238	211	215	261	260	226	244	256
Henley-upon-Thames *	1,758	2,948	3,117	3,509	3,618	3,622	3,733	3,676	3,736	3,692	3,415	3,521

[1] *Stonelands* was added to *Shilton* before 1871, and there included 1871–1901. The area is also included there.

[2] *Charlbury Ancient Parish* is partly in Banbury Hundred and partly in Chadlington Hundred.

[3] *Charlbury Township* (or *Civil Parish*) includes *Walcot* (Chadlington Hundred), 1881–1901.

[4] *Cornbury Park*, perhaps included in *Charlbury Parish*, 1801–31.

[5] *Cropredy Ancient Parish* is comprised (A) partly in Banbury Hundred, (B) partly in Bloxham Hundred, and (C) the remainder in Warwickshire.

[6] *Prescote* maintained its own poor as early as 1841.

[7] *Swalcliffe Ancient Parish* is comprised partly in Banbury Hundred and partly in Bloxham Hundred.

[8] *Harpsden* includes the former parish of Bolney, which had ceased to have any separate existence prior to 1801.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Binfield Hundred (cont.)												
Rotherfield Greys	2,927	677	668	717	1,145	1,535	1,518	1,629	1,889	1,909	2,747	3,337
Rotherfield Peppard	2,194	317	325	401	426	439	406	437	483	484	453	410
Shiplake	2,740	476	485	528	515	565	569	621	586	615	756	870
Sonning (part of) :—[1]												
Eye and Dunsden Liberty	3,152	705	756	845	887	868	829	799	804	863	942	943
Bloxham Hundred												
Adderbury :—	6,045	1,923	1,775	2,277	2,473	2,525	2,310	2,146	2,192	2,120	2,130	2,025
Adderbury, East Township	*2,058*	*818*	*710*	*924*	*961*	*1,060*	*978*	*895*	*902*	*909*	*846*	*796*
Adderbury, West Township	*1,160*	*326*	*345*	*402*	*397*	*442*	*370*	*346*	*378*	*313*	*331*	*336*
Barford St. John Chap.	*726*	*100*	*120*	*123*	*131*	*126*	*125*	*107*	*88*	*80*	*102*	*55*
Bodicote Chap. † ‡	*1,291*	*574*	*467*	*638*	*779*	*729*	*673*	*626*	*677*	*687*	*715*	*689*
Milton Hamlet	*810*	*105*	*133*	*190*	*205*	*168*	*164*	*172*	*147*	*131*	*136*	*149*
Alkerton	742	135	174	158	192	190	190	194	201	159	119	105
Bloxham :—	4,396	1,358	1,357	1,520	1,573	1,543	1,577	1,607	1,734	1,759	1,559	1,509
Bloxham ‡	*3,142*	*1,157*	*1,157*	*1,300*	*1,343*	*1,319*	*1,336*	*1,366*	*1,477*	*1,538*	*1,340*	*1,340*
Milcombe Chap. ‡	*1,254*	*201*	*200*	*220*	*230*	*224*	*241*	*241*	*257*	*221*	*219*	*169*
Broughton ‡ :—	2,083	419	432	517	538	629	616	641	591	576	539	525
Broughton	*975*	*157*	*170*	*226*	*220*	*181*	*180*	*213*	*152*	*158*	*164*	*159*
Newington, North Hamlet	*1,108*	*262*	*262*	*291*	*318*	*448*	*436*	*428*	*439*	*418*	*375*	*366*
Cropredy (part of) :—[2]												
Mollington Chap. (part of)[3]	783	199	179	310	360	283	241	234	165	158	147	132
Drayton ‡	926	183	197	185	184	206	224	186	169	162	176	172
Hanwell ‡	1,270	264	230	286	288	297	301	285	255	253	225	176
Horley †	1,141	269	290	317	330	425	392	337	338	315	277	247
Hornton †	1,473	485	453	529	551	592	591	514	561	500	426	362
Shenington	1,628	300	332	381	433	463	437	415	373	385	328	284
Swalcliffe (part of) :—[4]	2,766	610	659	710	755	821	899	796	757	698	696	649
Sibford Ferris Township	*1,008*	*213*	*234*	*216*	*248*	*287*	*350*	*314*	*308*	*267*	*276*	*255*
Sibford Gower Township	*1,758*	*397*	*425*	*494*	*507*	*534*	*549*	*482*	*449*	*431*	*420*	*394*
Tadmarton ‡	2,070	387	377	401	355	404	450	411	434	357	320	301
Wigginton ‡	1,187	192	220	291	327	310	314	338	310	265	245	211
Wroxton ‡	2,543	613	652	792	780	819	789	751	736	662	643	562
Bullingdon Hundred												
Albury ‡ :—	1,131	177	194	214	239	244	234	183	200	209	203	207
Albury	*674*	*54*	*46*	*38*	*41*	*37*	*60*	*42*	*29*	*31*	*53*	*39*
Tiddington Hamlet †	*457*	*123*	*148*	*176*	*198*	*207*	*174*	*141*	*171*	*178*	*150*	*168*
Ambrosden ‡ :—	4,336	625	650	843	914	892	937	871	813	717	653	594
Ambrosden	*605*	*111*	*140*	*180*	*183*	*181*	*172*	*161*	*151*	*160*	*168*	*138*
Arncot Chap.	*1,700*	*209*	*200*	*270*	*314*	*331*	*348*	*334*	*311*	*243*	*202*	*196*
Blackthorn Chap.	*2,031*	*305*	*310*	*393*	*417*	*380*	*417*	*376*	*351*	*314*	*283*	*260*

[1] The remainder of *Sonning Ancient Parish* is in Berkshire.

[2] See note (8), p. 216.

[3] The remainder of *Mollington Chapelry* is in Warwickshire; the figures for 1821 and 1831 for the part in Warwickshire cannot be ascertained, so the whole is shown in Oxfordshire.

[4] See note (7), p. 216.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Bullingdon Hundred (cont.)												
Baldon Marsh ‡	829	208	277	312	318	360	351	342	316	300	270	280
Baldon Toot ‡	1,565	223	262	258	272	269	290	260	250	217	292	228
Beckley :—	5,859	691	758	825	776	763	778	749	737	646	685	573
Beckley	*3,620*	*318*	*343*	*396*	*371*	*345*	*352*	*329*	*353*	*354*	*345*	*300*
Horton-cum-Studley Hamlet	*1,287*	*283*	*317*	*339*	*320*	*330*	*351*	*347*	*319*	*243*	*261*	*213*
Studley Hamlet	*952*	*90*	*98*	*90*	*85*	*88*	*75*	*73*	*65*	*49*	*79*	*60*
Cowley †	996	345	392	472	558	606	775	1,404	3,725	5,633	8,161	9,258
Cuddesdon :—	2,901*	1,065	1,143	1,328	1,460	1,483	1,542	1,591	1,603	1,545	1,425	1,332
Cuddesdon †	*1,052**	*244*	*239*	*267*	*317*	*305*	*337*	*384*	*410*	*372*	*343*	*301*
Chippinghurst Hamlet	*314*	*22*	*19*	*28*	*30*	*18*	*13*	*19*	*16*	*15*	*16*	*17*
Denton Chap.	*545*	*114*	*121*	*134*	*137*	*163*	*155*	*157*	*136*	*138*	*146*	*142*
Wheatley Chap.	*990*	*685*	*764*	*899*	*976*	*997*	*1,037*	*1,031*	*1,041*	*1,020*	*920*	*872*
Elsfield ‡	1,295	175	164	188	185	185	168	179	159	170	176	150
Forest Hill † ‡	650*	115	118	157	142	149	149	191	208	166	133	163
Shotover Extra Par. †[1]	900*	59	87	85	149	177	163	157	127	199	183	156
Garsington ‡	2,233	493	492	595	597	591	635	643	636	607	589	577
Headington[2]	2,257	669	841	1,087	1,388	1,668	1,653	2,110	2,384	2,776	3,342	3,696
Holton †	1,594*	238	224	260	277	289	244	245	236	224	200	188
Horsepath ‡	1,154	205	241	264	275	306	333	334	373	324	330	333
Iffley :—	1,138	331	370	527	656	958	969	1,004	990	990	1,114	2,358
Iffley †	—	*331*	*370*	*527*	*656*	*764*	*755*	*770*	*817*	*766*	*855*	*2,198*
Littlemore Liberty (part of) †[3]	—	—	—	—	—	*194*	*214*	*234*	*173*	*224*	*259*	*160*
Marston ‡	1,251	264	296	340	364	396	471	452	447	515	720	668
Merton ‡	1,932	152	154	163	234	230	200	204	217	169	195	182
Milton, Great (part of) :—[4]												
Chilworth Hamlet	1,082	35	72	63	87	93	90	79	94	76	86	68
Nuneham Courtenay ‡	2,108	278	261	312	314	351	358	314	304	261	285	277
Oxford, St. Clement †[5]	261	413	488	770	1,836	1,769	2,139	2,286	3,389	4,545	5,178	5,180
Piddington	2,354	310	317	359	422	427	420	389	347	281	280	212
Sandford (or Wet Sandford) ‡	1,005	178	172	193	229	304	273	376	348	318	287	301
Stanton St. John ‡	2,731	349	397	468	470	510	555	518	488	548	497	452
Stowood	593	33	19	26	26	33	31	27	27	18	50	43
Waterperry ‡[6]	2,500	195	239	242	243	270	258	231	225	191	182	156
Wood Eaton ‡	788	73	67	69	86	62	89	83	80	67	84	87
Chadlington Hundred												
Ascot-under-Wychwood ‡[7]	1,839	410	392	409	419	463	456	458	462	401	430	372
Bruern (Ville) Extra Par.	1,876	30	42	64	41	46	48	51	47	42	38	70

[1] *Shotover*, described as Extra Parochial up to and including 1851, seems to have been partly a Civil Parish and partly Extra Parochial (Shotover Hill Place), the latter becoming a separate Civil Parish under the Extra Parochial Places Act, 1857. The two are, however, shown together in the table for convenience of comparison.

[2] *Headington*.—The figures for 1801 are estimated.

[3] *Littlemore Liberty* is partly in Iffley Parish (Bullingdon Hundred) and partly in St. Mary the Virgin Parish (Oxford City and University). The whole population is shown under the latter Parish, 1801–31. The increase in the part in St. Mary the Virgin in 1851 is due to the erection of a lunatic asylum for paupers between 1841 and 1851.

[4] *Great Milton Ancient Parish* is partly in Bullingdon Hundred and partly in Thame Hundred.

[5] *Oxford St. Clement*.—A new workhouse erected between 1861 and 1871 for the Oxford Poor Law Incorporation.

[6] *Waterperry* includes Thomley, which has been shown separately in Census volumes from 1861.

[7] *Wychwood Forest*, previously Extra Parochial, was created a Parish under the Whichwood Disafforesting Act, 1853. High Lodge (in the Forest) is known to have been included with *Ascot-under-Wychwood* 1831–51. Ranger's Lodge and Waterman's Lodge (in the Forest) are known to have been included with *Shorthampton* in 1841 and 1851. Poole's and Pratley's Lodges (in the Forest) are known to have been included with *Leafield* in 1841 and 1851.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Chadlington Hundred (cont.)												
Charlbury (part of)[1]:—	5,629	835	823	885	941	950	1,025	1,028	983	924	883	772
Chadlington, East, Chap.	*3,450*	*593*	*570*	*633*	*681*	*654*	*709*	*753*	*727*	*706*	*685*	*620*
Shorthampton Chap.[2 3]	*1,678*	*242*	*240*	*252*	*251*	*287*	*309*	*267*	*247*	*218*	*198*	*152*
Walcot Hamlet[4]	*501*	—	*13*	—	*9*	*9*	*7*	*8*	*9*	—	—	—
Chastleton ‡ . .	1,769	218	223	250	238	239	236	218	202	208	203	149
Churchill † . . .	2,848	491	588	665	633	651	645	642	562	505	548	519
Cornwell ‡ . . .	849	87	113	97	110	97	110	97	91	93	86	67
Enstone ‡ . . .	6,245	912	962	1,077	1,172	1,121	1,249	1,198	1,094	1,102	1,144	925
Fifield	1,160	133	147	136	163	213	248	234	223	246	222	182
Fulbrook † . . .	1,951	320	333	351	361	368	406	392	332	349	311	299
Idbury †	1,559	188	187	193	185	207	222	233	225	189	219	195
Kiddington ‡ . .	2,190	189	235	252	292	274	303	305	256	275	252	237
Kingham ‡ . . .	1,877	428	442	464	504	555	617	678	613	617	769	816
Minster Lovell‡ .	1,951	283	252	326	355	316	450	586	561	511	443	459
Northmoor † ‡ . .	2,048	334	351	366	360	367	375	364	366	299	267	212
Norton, Chipping :—‡	4,874	2,200	2,331	2,640	2,637	3,031	3,368	3,510	4,092	4,607	4,564	4,130
Norton, Chipping, Township*	*2,456*	*1,812*	*1,975*	*2,266*	*2,262*	*2,629*	*2,932*	*3,137*	*3,641*	*4,167*	*4,222*	*3,780*
Norton, Over, Hamlet †	*2,418*	*388*	*356*	*374*	*375*	*402*	*436*	*373*	*451*	*440*	*342*	*350*
Norton, Hook ‡[5] .	5,495	1,032	1,129	1,351	1,506	1,525	1,496	1,393	1,259	1,232	1,265	1,386
Rollright, Great ‡[6]	2,414	403	362	419	438	459	445	410	371	388	349	318
Rollright, Little ‡ .	627	29	36	28	29	25	30	36	34	38	27	39
Salford ‡	1,567	225	251	293	341	330	372	397	390	378	347	289
Sarsden	1,431	92	120	128	154	179	188	166	135	156	175	168
Shipton-under-Wychwood :—	8,667	1,969	2,005	2,275	2,454	2,624	2,968	3,166	3,347	2,972	3,057	2,686
Shipton-under-Wychwood .	*2,520*	*406*	*395*	*441*	*506*	*546*	*616*	*655*	*761*	*724*	*743*	*672*
Langley Hamlet	*303*	*51*	*50*	*63*	*64*	*68*	*52*	*53*	*46*	*50*	*66*	*30*
Leafield Chapelry[3 7]	*901*	*487*	*478*	*553*	*656*	*740*	*837*	*871*	*896*	*712*	*734*	*671*
Lyneham Hamlet	*1,943*	*195*	*206*	*260*	*237*	*248*	*261*	*237*	*249*	*215*	*192*	*202*
Milton Township	*2,080*	*495*	*522*	*567*	*568*	*660*	*799*	*895*	*962*	*836*	*898*	*759*
Ramsden Chap.‡	*920*	*335*	*354*	*391*	*423*	*362*	*403*	*455*	*433*	*435*	*424*	*352*
Spelsbury ‡ . . .	4,304	509	554	610	609	597	578	516	593	540	501	442
Swerford ‡ . . .	1,925	327	370	395	441	430	440	402	437	416	387	310
Swinbrook † . .	1,319	132	167	208	222	218	195	191	201	168	186	145
Taynton † ‡ . .	2,338	315	305	324	371	381	379	341	335	323	290	230
Wychwood[3] . .	3,782	—	—	—	—	—	—	106	163	213	212	189
Dorchester Hundred												
Bensington (or Benson) (part of) :—												
Fifield Hamlet[8]	—	11	16	2	13	21	12	12	11	—	—	—
Chislehampton .	939	128	112	118	126	153	152	133	125	103	114	85
Clifton Hampden ‡	1,245	216	223	277	288	297	369	355	377	347	302	290
Culham ‡ . . .	2,063	364	389	359	404	404	417	474	579	544	474	344

[1] See note (2), p. 216.

[2] See note (7), p. 218.

[3] *Shorthampton* includes Shock's Coppice, formerly described as Extra Parochial; Shock's Coppice was added to Shorthampton between 1861 and 1871.

[4] See note (8), p. 216.

[5] *Hook Norton.*—The increase of population in 1821 is said to consist only of paupers.

[6] *Great Rollright.*—In 1830 67 persons emigrated to America from this Parish.

[7] *Leafield* includes Brice's Lodge, stated to be formerly Extra Parochial, which was definitely added to Leafield before 1871.

[8] *Fifield Hamlet* included with the rest of *Bensington Parish* in Ewelme Hundred 1881 to 1901. The area is also included there.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Dorchester Hundred (cont.)												
Dorchester ‡ :—	2,633	913	901	999	1,029	1,078	1,061	1,097	1,053	1,012	993	944
Dorchester . .	*1,954*	*777*	*754*	*854*	*866*	*895*	*872*	*925*	*866*	*813*	*852*	*808*
Burcot Hamlet .	*679*	*136*	*147*	*145*	*163*	*183*	*189*	*172*	*187*	*199*	*141*	*136*
Drayton † ‡ . . .	1,288	260	287	343	333	327	327	327	315	287	265	241
Stadhampton . .	623	193	203	254	313	384	401	329	313	268	276	253
Stoke, South ‡ . .	3,370	564	645	739	751	907	856	810	762	838	717	780
Ewelme Hundred												
Bensington (or Benson) (part of) †[1]	2,920	811	884	959	1,253	1,233	1,219	1,157	1,248	1,145	1,113	960
Berrick Salome † .	600	143	142	174	134	164	152	141	146	105	75	87
Brightwell Baldwin ‡	1,612	237	266	286	332	312	294	277	253	220	242	187
Chalgrove † . . .	2,385	518	506	569	549	691	616	549	527	512	429	379
Cuxham	492	144	135	182	207	222	172	177	160	139	135	130
Easington † . . .	235	31	20	25	13	24	18	26	34	22	31	26
Ewelme † ‡ . . .	2,495	490	535	573	619	663	673	684	691	602	540	494
Haseley, Great ‡ .	3,255	608	598	628	749	786	750	714	745	681	623	551
Ickford (part of) :—[2]												
Draycot Hamlet †	250	—	—	—	—	12	11	21	16	17	19	12
Nettlebed ‡ . . .	1,172	501	456	545	618	690	754	737	688	657	697	544
Newington :—	2,836	247	314	445	470	471	454	446	450	413	404	324
Newington † ‡ .	*2,116*	*195*	*252*	*401*	*418*	*419*	*408*	*403*	*369*	*363*	*343*	*264*
Britwell Prior Chap.	*720*	*52*	*62*	*44*	*52*	*52*	*46*	*43*	*81*	*50*	*61*	*60*
Nuffield ‡ . . .	2,104	139	154	198	197	216	251	259	203	215	236	203
Swyncombe ‡ . .	2,708	285	287	345	367	399	428	446	397	364	308	342
Warborough ‡ . .	1,697	535	600	684	681	737	729	764	741	689	658	585
Warpsgrove ‡ . .	335	25	19	27	36	23	30	20	23	19	26	30
Langtree Hundred												
Checkendon † ‡ .	3,077	278	262	295	346	398	410	357	339	383	415	407
Crowmarsh Gifford ‡	662	204	184	230	325	330	373	360	339	304	300	300
Goring ‡	4,611	677	790	867	933	971	993	947	902	1,027	1,487	1,419
Ipsden †	3,442	476	481	583	582	610	629	623	640	699	754	726
Mapledurham ‡ .	3,068	452	450	508	536	481	509	486	479	422	445	519
Mongewell . . .	1,654	125	150	142	162	202	197	177	160	148	177	143
Newnham Murren	1,852	213	216	260	249	254	237	231	246	248	214	197
Stoke, North . .	853	166	147	203	199	160	160	177	187	167	161	156
Whitchurch † ‡[3] .	2,358	577	540	647	745	843	893	857	836	902	934	946
Lewknor Hundred												
Adwell †	443	40	36	44	48	46	75	68	51	55	68	64
Aston Rowant ‡ .	2,924	740	787	870	946	885	901	884	840	646	601	579
Britwell Salome .	884	155	159	192	216	233	248	217	212	158	124	110
Chinnor ‡ . . .	2,712	862	895	1,097	1,225	1,308	1,257	1,296	1,379	1,237	1,247	1,002
Crowell ‡ . . .	996	149	58	159	159	169	167	162	203	121	102	104
Emmington ‡ . .	740	76	69	77	80	97	104	88	83	75	51	44
Kingsey (part of)[4]	530	—	—	—	—	59	31	66	98	92	66	84
Lewknor (part of) †[5]	4,263	597	592	691	709	847	803	770	779	669	547	510
Sydenham ‡ . .	1,548	331	326	367	423	438	394	397	377	355	339	262
Stokenchurch †. .	4,374	811	888	1,102	1,290	1,334	1,492	1,508	1,551	1,630	1,661	1,458

[1] See note (8), p. 219.

[2] The remainder of *Ickford Ancient Parish* is in Buckinghamshire, where the population of *Draycot Hamlet* is included 1801–31.

[3] *Whitchurch* includes Whitchurch Tollhouse, stated to have been at one time Extra Parochial. Part of the Parish is in Berkshire, but the whole is shown in Oxfordshire (1801–1901), as the part in Berkshire was not distinguished until 1861.

[4] *Kingsey*.—The remainder of the Ancient Parish is in Buckinghamshire. There seems to have been considerable confusion as to where the County boundary really divided the Parish, consequently the figures for each part (though not for the whole) must be received with caution. The whole population is shown in Buckinghamshire 1801–31.

[5] *Lewknor*.—The remainder of the Ancient Parish is in Buckinghamshire; the whole population is shown in Oxfordshire 1801–41. The part in Buckinghamshire was transferred to that County under the Act 7 & 8 Vic. c. 61.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Pyrton Hundred												
Ibstone (part of)[1]	273	—	—	—	—	170	148	172	192	158	137	120
Pishill	793	96	133	155	170	147	192	214	217	170	195	139
Pyrton	4,847	527	551	622	661	711	692	705	600	566	557	453
Shirburn ‡ . . .	2,421	313	321	332	325	338	250	292	308	313	300	285
Stoke Talmage ‡[2]	869	153	127	140	107	101	106	113	129	106	97	100
Watlington[3] . .	3,687	1,276	1,312	1,479	1,833	1,855	1,884	1,938	1,943	1,815	1,734	1,554
Weston, South . .	485	105	94	108	118	104	98	92	97	97	93	92
Wheatfield † . .	788	89	85	79	105	99	85	89	91	99	88	72
Ploughley Hundred												
Ardley ‡	1,493	109	136	191	170	168	152	169	177	161	135	130
Bicester ‡ :—	3,739	1,946	2,146	2,644	2,868	3,022	3,054	3,049	3,328	3,306	3,343	3,023
Bicester, King's End Township	*1,457*	*196*	*225*	*271*	*280*	*279*	*291*	*338*	*310*	*329*	*322*	*278*
Bicester, Market End Township *	*2,282*	*1,750*	*1,921*	*2,373*	*2,588*	*2,743*	*2,763*	*2,711*	*3,018*	*2,977*	*3,021*	*2,745*
Bletchingdon ‡. .	2,654	503	521	570	641	638	673	659	693	602	649	549
Bucknell ‡ . . .	1,894	218	219	235	274	287	343	326	296	264	233	205
Caversfield † . .	1,498	94	87	108	123	178	132	183	174	140	128	147
Charlton on Otmoor ‡ :—	1,961	478	515	581	658	658	657	687	604	503	477	464
Charlton on Otmoor	*822*	*215*	*253*	*307*	*358*	*345*	*368*	*374*	*358*	*290*	*294*	*301*
Fencot and Mercot Hamlets	*1,139*	*263*	*262*	*274*	*300*	*313*	*289*	*313*	*246*	*213*	*183*	*163*
Chesterton ‡ . .	2,527	330	361	392	382	393	435	384	336	317	384	352
Cottisford ‡. . .	1,506	106	131	140	163	187	263	269	246	240	222	175
Finmere ‡ . . .	1,570	308	337	395	373	387	399	338	327	291	283	226
Fringford ‡ . . .	1,460	252	258	289	358	390	357	401	479	411	403	335
Fritwell † ‡[4] . .	1,879	396	436	476	494	524	514	542	552	556	560	454
Godington ‡ . .	1,019	99	85	110	118	117	87	85	70	60	72	57
Hampton Gay ‡ .	684	67	76	86	86	74	82	67	46	40	30	33
Hampton Poyle ‡ .	807	100	128	153	156	141	131	125	123	105	106	105
Hardwick †[5] . .	385	61	85	98	80	80	66	59	74	60	50	46
Heath (or Hethe) † ‡	1,102	262	319	350	414	380	418	442	393	375	371	311
Heyford, Lower ‡ .	1,765	346	359	495	541	562	605	625	625	518	515	494
Heyford, Upper ‡ .	1,628	217	230	257	326	337	399	453	449	384	341	319
Islip † ‡	1,978	557	564	655	645	674	744	688	635	600	579	549
Kirtlington ‡[6] . .	3,582	525	536	697	687	846	716	725	761	718	733	594
Launton ‡ . . .	2,818	372	431	553	570	619	706	711	746	597	619	545
Middleton Stoney ‡	1,853	309	363	340	307	309	307	259	309	293	328	324
Mixbury † ‡ . . .	2,972	304	336	336	387	391	402	381	338	273	239	221
Newton Purcell .	602	93	116	143	131	118	117	105	122	89	90	103
Noke † ‡	808	150	153	168	187	153	140	116	134	118	108	88
Oddington ‡. . .	1,363	158	160	166	176	126	126	169	147	150	161	109
Shelswell[7] . . .	822	42	46	51	49	43	43	44	43	42	17	45
Somerton † ‡ . .	1,842	254	314	400	392	329	342	335	365	344	286	265
Souldern ‡ . . .	1,496	394	449	491	599	604	619	587	588	515	453	406
Stoke Lyne . . .	3,901	334	394	509	593	601	631	625	603	551	511	409
Stratton Audley † ‡[8]	2,089	379	288	342	360	319	305	378	368	311	346	270
Tusmore[5] . . .	735	31	23	—	16	19	52	45	43	27	16	51
Wendlebury ‡ . .	1,154	146	181	200	196	214	242	257	189	166	203	196
Weston on the Green ‡	2,295	350	390	462	494	504	517	459	413	363	325	263

[1] *Ibstone*.—The remainder of the Ancient Parish is in Buckinghamshire, where the whole population is shown 1801-31.

[2] The decrease in *Stoke Talmage* in 1831 is attributed to the non-residence of pauper parishioners.

[3] The increase in *Watlington* in 1831 consists mainly of paupers.

[4] The population of *Fritwell* for 1801 is an estimate.

[5] *Hardwick* included *Tusmore* in 1821.

[6] There was a temporary increase of 157 persons in *Kirtlington* in 1841 owing to the annual village-feast being held at the time of the Census.

[7] The population of *Shelswell* for 1801 is an estimate.

[8] *Stratton Audley*.—There seems to have been, according to some of the earlier Census volumes, a part of this Ancient Parish in Bucks, but no such part has ever been set out.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Thame Hundred												
Attington · Extra Par.	444	7	10	8	7	8	16	15	6	29	25	18
Milton, Great (part of)[1]:—	2,025	566	634	638	697	644	664	650	637	627	567	486
Milton, Great Township	*1,444*	*509*	*588*	*593*	*600*	*615*	*643*	*630*	*618*	*609*	*547*	*455*
Ascot Hamlet .	*581*	*57*	*46*	*45*	*97*	*29*	*21*	*20*	*19*	*18*	*20*	*31*
Milton, Little . .	1,348	325	384	442	473	482	418	411	418	364	348	311
Tetsworth . . .	1,179	396	426	495	530	523	512	481	501	428	460	382
Thame *†‡[2] . . .	5,229	2,293	2,328	2,479	2,885	3,060	3,259	3,245	3,229	3,267	3,334	2,911
Waterstock †‡ . .	678	114	135	132	142	127	141	147	133	130	127	108
Wootton Hundred												
Aston, North ‡ . .	1,288	220	258	296	305	289	308	296	273	225	253	207
Aston, Steeple ‡:—	1,974	423	440	515	562	580	702	736	844	776	803	677
Aston, Steeple .	*1,076*	*333*	*346*	*395*	*441*	*469*	*601*	*650*	*749*	*682*	*699*	*619*
Aston, Middle Township	*898*	*90*	*94*	*120*	*121*	*111*	*101*	*86*	*95*	*94*	*104*	*58*
Barford St. Michael †	1,162	266	292	339	350	370	392	332	305	298	295	231
Barton, Steeple †‡	2,983	393	432	404	606	640	757	859	956	915	798	651
Barton, Westcot †‡	974	184	205	253	258	290	279	302	284	236	231	177
Begbroke †‡ . .	577	80	118	102	102	110	98	104	80	68	79	95
Bladon :—	1,456	351	481	510	585	687	720	666	664	613	670	699
Bladon . . .	*851*	*287*	*368*	*380*	*442*	*399*	*484*	*395*	*371*	*333*	*432*	*408*
Hensington Hamlet[*3]	*605*	*64*	*113*	*130*	*143*	*288*	*236*	*271*	*293*	*280*	*238*	*291*
Cassington ‡ . .	2,299	374	397	393	428	381	454	433	401	335	356	314
Cogges ‡[4] . . .	2,285	343	281	452	673	757	814	714	664	694	782	790
Combe, Long ‡ .	1,417	424	511	564	619	605	655	627	564	541	527	468
Deddington †‡ .	4,243	1,552	1,650	1,847	2,078	2,025	2,178	2,024	2,061	1,958	1,777	1,490
Duns Tew ‡ . . .	1,749	318	371	460	450	449	452	407	378	307	266	232
Eynsham . . .	5,446	1,166	1,418	1,705	1,858	1,893	1,941	2,096	2,177	2,076	1,998	1,757
Glympton ‡ . . .	1,259	96	114	141	125	119	149	153	167	158	160	147
Handborough ‡ .	2,270	655	721	885	883	1,009	1,153	1,059	1,010	968	1,002	879
Heythrop and Dunthrop †‡	1,689	89	56	136	123	198	190	122	142	250	254	257
Kidlington ‡:—	4,768	857	948	1,153	1,217	1,303	1,494	1,507	1,404	1,394	1,370	1,380
Kidlington † . .	*2,194*	*657*	*736*	*938*	*986*	*1,035*	*1,185*	*1,190*	*1,129*	*1,087*	*1,040*	*1,070*
Gosford Hamlet	*260*	*47*	*41*	*47*	*45*	*39*	*30*	*52*	*40*	*40*	*44*	*56*
Thrup Hamlet †	*813*	*56*	*64*	*55*	*84*	*125*	*160*	*150*	*127*	*139*	*125*	*106*
Water Eaton Hamlet †	*1,501*	*97*	*107*	*113*	*102*	*104*	*119*	*115*	*108*	*128*	*161*	*148*
Leigh, North ‡[5] .	2,500	517	525	592	591	617	725	738	722	656	748	717
Leigh, South †‡[6] .	2,074	240	248	316	339	326	359	319	320	359	325	305
Newington, South ‡	1,437	395	343	428	462	434	419	400	372	324	282	250
Rousham ‡ . . .	1,068	141	140	160	156	123	134	131	128	156	167	128
Sandford ‡ . . .	2,292	312	352	489	534	515	526	476	476	485	443	340
Shipton on Cherwell ‡	1,058	106	104	147	148	123	135	131	148	115	71	80
Stanton Harcourt †‡	3,740	504	553	606	657	665	699	661	624	541	561	491
Stonesfield ‡ . .	817	374	436	498	535	553	632	650	572	586	577	497
Tackley ‡ . . .	2,913	369	390	478	564	583	558	626	570	540	506	453
Tew, Great ‡ . .	3,007	402	457	531	440	459	541	454	504	479	433	334
Tew, Little ‡ . .	1,579	219	208	229	216	215	237	262	275	277	264	191
Wilcote ‡[4] . . .	319	—	—	11	10	9	10	12	7	10	8	9
Woolvercot †[7] . .	1,440	341	429	493	524	470	637	617	680	756	867	966

[1] See note (4), p. 218.

[2] *Thame.*—The increases in 1821 and 1831 are stated to be chiefly of paupers.

[3] *Hensington* was stated in 1841 and 1851 to include certain Extra Parochial almshouses (adjoining Blenheim Park); apparently, if they ever were legally Extra Parochial, they were added to Hensington, as the figures for the latter 1851–1901 relate to the same area.

[4] *Cogges* included *Wilcote* in 1801 and 1811.

[5] *North Leigh* included 1841–1861 an Extra Parochial Place, viz.: Horse-in-Hill or Osney Hill. In 1871–1901 this area is shown as a separate Civil Parish, but is included with North Leigh in this Table.

[6] *South Leigh.*—In 1831 there were nearly 7 persons to each house and yet 60 pauper parishioners were living outside its limits.

[7] *Woolvercot* included 1841–1861 the following Extra Parochial Places, viz.: Cutslow, Godstow, and King's Weir. In the 1871 volume a new Civil Parish of Cutteslowe is shown (formed out of Woolvercot); this Parish is not shown in the Table, but is included with Woolvercot.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Wootton Hundred (cont.)												
Wootton	4,274	823	888	1,084	1,060	1,129	1,250	1,238	1,231	1,081	1,069	1,027
Worton, Nether ‡	734	57	83	96	94	59	62	61	69	61	29	52
Worton, Over ‡	631	53	54	56	56	45	85	82	66	60	89	66
Yarnton (or Yarington) † ‡	1,493	215	237	273	299	302	317	294	293	279	299	280
Oxford City and University												
All Saints [1]	7	584	485	600	560	593	559	468	383	372	319	216
Binsey ‡ [2]	386	55	66	82	74	61	77	67	95	63	73	54
Holywell (or St. Cross) [1]	236	732	862	982	944	930	901	916	934	821	709	710
St. Aldate (part of) [3] [1]	101	1,045	1,472	1,871	1,452	1,417	1,481	1,323	1,345	1,204	1,102	926
St. Ebbe	48	853	951	1,332	3,123	4,169	4,656	4,909	5,105	5,297	4,964	4,486
St. Giles [4]	976	1,241	1,312	1,516	2,855	3,970	4,882	5,025	5,945	8,584	10,548	11,877
St. John [1]	9	111	130	125	122	89	107	130	101	97	80	64
St. Mary the Virgin :—	625	596	629	737	844	762	1,124	1,206	1,330	1,301	1,327	1,639
St. Mary the Virgin ‡ [1]	*12*	*337*	*356*	*383*	*419*	*409*	*391*	*314*	*262*	*272*	*224*	*206*
Littlemore Liberty (part of) † [5]	*613*	*259*	*273*	*354*	*425*	*353*	*733*	*892*	*1,068*	*1,029*	*1,103*	*1,433*
St. Mary Magdalen ‡ [1]	42	1,446	1,579	2,056	2,440	2,600	2,476	2,616	2,419	2,067	1,733	1,377
St. Martin	5	451	468	506	490	459	449	377	306	295	314	236
St. Michael ‡ [1]	15	853	904	1,041	971	1,034	1,022	876	869	696	592	586
St. Peter-le-Bailey ‡ [1]	11	800	923	1,265	1,236	1,282	1,315	1,149	1,240	887	695	656
St. Peter-in-the-East [6] [1]	86	1,050	1,104	1,385	1,126	1,167	1,144	976	850	593	497	366
St. Thomas [1]	650	1,020	1,370	1,839	3,277	3,733	4,205	5,042	6,496	8,374	8,434	8,895
University of Oxford [1]	—	1,171	1,015	1,463	1,634	1,629	1,251	641	377	468	263	298
University College	—	—	—	—	*61*	*54*	*65*	*14*	*23*	*12*	*2*	*1*
Balliol College	—	—	—	—	*76*	*77*	*81*	*23*	*23*	*27*	*10*	*10*
Merton College	—	—	—	—	*44*	*63*	*39*	*20*	*16*	*11*	*6*	*9*
Exeter College	—	—	—	—	*98*	*110*	*100*	*77*	*17*	*29*	*5*	*6*
Oriel College	—	—	—	—	*69*	*78*	*55*	*22*	*9*	*7*	*10*	*6*
Queen's College	—	—	—	—	*105*	*86*	*37*	*42*	*17*	*11*	*8*	*12*
New College	—	—	—	—	*64*	*64*	*66*	*22*	*15*	*21*	*16*	*22*
Lincoln College	—	—	—	—	*40*	*52*	*26*	*10*	*6*	*14*	*9*	*12*
All Souls College	—	—	—	—	*22*	*26*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*31*	*19*	*16*
Magdalen College	—	—	—	—	*53*	*59*	*50*	*98*	*39*	*42*	*12*	*15*
Brasenose College	—	—	—	—	*94*	*100*	*73*	*14*	*5*	*4*	*6*	*6*

[1] *University of Oxford.*—The Colleges and Halls are arranged according to seniority of foundation. In 1841 all the Colleges and Halls were said to be Extra Parochial; in 1851 this was said to be doubtful; in 1901 those in the Oxford Incorporation are rated and the rate is paid by the University—they are not rated to the Parishes in which they stand—in the Headington Union they are, viz. Corpus Christi College, Merton College, St. Alban Hall, and part of Oriel College to St. John.

Their areas are included in the Parishes where they are locally situated :—Worcester College in St. Thomas; Lincoln College in All Saints; Wadham College in Holywell; Corpus Christi College, Merton College, St. Alban Hall, and part of Oriel College in St. John; All Souls College, Brasenose College, St. Mary Hall, and part of Oriel College in St. Mary the Virgin (Proper); Balliol College, St. John's College, and Trinity College in St. Mary Magdalen; Exeter College and Jesus College in St. Michael; New Inn Hall in St. Peter-le-Bailey; Magdalen College, Hertford College, New College, Queen's College, University College, St. Edmund Hall in St. Peter-in-the-East; and Christ Church College and Pembroke College in St. Aldate (part in Oxfordshire).

In 1811 the female residents were not included in the Return.

[2] *Binsey* may be in the Liberty of Oxford. Its population includes 35 gipsies in tents in 1871.

[3] *Oxford St. Aldate.*—The remainder of the Ancient Parish is in Berkshire, viz.: Grampound Tithing, which was, however, included in Oxfordshire in 1821. The part in Oxfordshire includes certain almshouses in St. Aldate Street, which claimed to be Extra Parochial; they are not mentioned after 1851, so seem to have either been added to St. Aldate or to have relinquished the claim.

[4] *Oxford St. Giles* includes Keble College and Charsley's Hall, both erected between 1861 and 1871. The Workhouse was pulled down between 1861 and 1871.

[5] See note (2), p. 218.

[6] *Oxford St. Peter-in-the-East.*—Merton Fields claimed at one time to be Extra Parochial.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

Parish	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
University of Oxford (cont.)												
Corpus Christi College	—	—	—	—	*46*	*42*	*31*	*22*	*7*	*17*	*5*	*9*
Christ Church College	—	—	—	—	*320*	*290*	*201*	*77*	*67*	*73*	*58*	*104*
Trinity College .	—	—	—	—	*64*	*60*	*62*	*11*	*10*	*16*	*18*	*8*
St. John's College	—	—	—	—	*62*	*72*	*78*	*30*	*24*	*27*	*13*	*8*
Jesus College .	—	—	—	—	*82*	*65*	*44*	*18*	*12*	*16*	*5*	*10*
WadhamCollege	—	—	—	—	*76*	*77*	*76*	*27*	*14*	*20*	*11*	*7*
Pembroke College	—	—	—	—	*57*	*43*	*31*	*24*	*17*	*21*	*10*	*6*
Worcester College	—	—	—	—	*68*	*75*	*41*	*17*	*9*	*22*	*16*	*13*
St. Mary Hall .	—	—	—	—	*14*	*26*	*11*	*15*	*8*	*9*	*6*	*4*
Magdalen Hall (or Hertford College)	—	—	—	—	*50*	*43*	*24*	*16*	*7*	*10*	*7*	*4*
New Inn Hall .	—	—	—	—	*9*	*14*	*13*	*4*	*0*	*8*	*0*	*0*
St. Alban Hall .	—	—	—	—	*31*	*24*	*18*	*15*	*10*	*11*	*0*	*0*
St. Edmund Hall	—	—	—	—	*29*	*29*	*13*	*6*	*4*	*9*	*11*	*10*
Liberty of Oxford												
Blenheim Park, Extra Parochial[1]	2,269	121	121	90	83	109	93	118	141	122	151	164
Woodstock[2] . .	62	1,322	1,419	1,455	1,380	1,412	1,262	1,201	1,195	1,133	1,136	1,106

[1] *Blenheim Park* was not returned in 1801; its population is assumed to have been the same as in 1811.

[2] *Woodstock*.—The decrease in 1851 is attributed partly to the fact that in 1841 a large number of workmen were temporarily employed in alterations and repairs at Blenheim Palace.

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INDUSTRIES

INTRODUCTION

IT would appear from any study of the industries of Oxfordshire that that county is prevented, as if by fate, from ever attaining to the position of a great industrial or commercial centre. Oxfordshire is, rather, especially adapted to the requirements and practice of agriculture. There is little or nothing in the actual nature of the county that would necessarily create an industrial district. There are, however, a few qualifications that might be made to the above statement. In the first place Oxfordshire has for a large part of its boundary the greatest river of England. The Thames must undoubtedly in early times have played a greater part in the advance of the industries of the county and the dissemination of its manufactures than it does at the present time. By means of this river the products of Oxford, and in particular of Henley, were easily carried to the metropolis. It is evident that this was the case from records of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, which point back to an earlier period. From these records it is to be gathered that the merchants of Oxford and probably of Burford too (for here was one of the earliest merchant gilds, established in 1082) sent their goods by clumsy barges to London.[1] From very early times the malt of Henley was dispatched in the same manner, and frequent references are to be found to bargemen and that method of transit.[2]

Two other rivers of Oxfordshire are both supposed to have had a direct effect upon the industries of the county. The Cherwell in the seventeenth century was a bright and clear stream, and the purity of the water tempted the leather-dressers to carry on their industry in the city of Oxford.[3] The Windrush is even more famous. Dr. Plot supposes that 'the abstersive nitrous water of the River Windrush' had something to do with the excellent quality of the Witney blankets.[4] Whether this is an actual fact or not, the Windrush water does seem to play a part. The blanket manufacturers of Witney tried in recent years to use the same soft water that is used in the blanket-making business in the north of England. The result was most unsatisfactory, and the blanketers returned to the water of their own stream.

Besides the importance of its rivers, there is another natural possession of Oxfordshire which has been of considerable value. The whole county abounds in stone, and there are about forty quarries now in use, many of them of great antiquity. A third important gift of nature is clay, which is worked for brick-making in many parts. The fourth and last special qualification is the presence of iron ore, which was discovered about 1853, and lies in the northern portion of the county. Except for these Oxfordshire has no natural reasons for being an industrial county. What industries there are have arisen either from purely domestic arts which were common throughout England, or because they were made necessary by the presence of a large and ever-growing university, which naturally brought trade to a county which would otherwise have been purely agricultural.

Amongst the industries that are entirely due to the existence of the University of Oxford is, in the first place, the University Press. This is now the largest industrial concern in the whole county, employing daily over 650 hands. The press was started in Oxford in either 1468 or 1478, the latter date being now accepted by most authorities. Its career was at first most chequered. It lasted for nine or ten years, and then ceased to exist. After thirty years printing was once more revived, but only for a short time. It was not until 1585 that a press was firmly established, and from that date Oxford printing has been celebrated. The press of the seventeenth century owed much to Archbishop Laud and Dr. Fell, and in the same way the printing of the eighteenth century would never have reached the excellence that it did, had it not been for private enterprise and private munificence.[5] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Charles Lord Stanhope carried on this idea, and his 'secret process' of stereotyping, together with other of his inventions, passed into the possession of the university authorities. In the year 1830 the Clarendon Press was moved from the Old Clarendon Building in Broad Street to the spacious premises in Walton Street. The first few years of printing in the new buildings were extremely

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxii, 109.
[2] Leslie, *Our River* (1881), 183, 185.
[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 395.
[4] Plot, *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 278.
[5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, *passim.*

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successful owing to the energy of Mr. Joseph Castle. In 1883 the University Press became a purely industrial concern, when it was placed under the capable management of the present controller, Mr. Horace Hart.

The reason why the university was situated in so low-lying a position as Oxford is probably because of the importance of the River Thames. There can, however, be no question that, as far as building materials were concerned, it was as good a situation as could be found. Certainly the stone used by the ancient stonemasons has proved itself of a porous character, especially when brought from Headington, but in more recent years a better stone has been used which has been found to 'weather' very satisfactorily. The building of the Oxford colleges during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries gave a very considerable impetus to the industry of quarrying. The presence of a university naturally meant the building of churches, and these, together with the collegiate and university edifices, have been constructed almost entirely from the stone of the surrounding districts. The earliest quarry worked was at Chilswell, and from this the Anglo-Saxon and Norman buildings of Oxford were constructed.[1] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both Headington and Taynton stone were used, as is evidenced by the records of Exeter College and Thame Church. These quarries continued to be the two most important well into the nineteenth century. At the present time, however, Headington is but little used, and Taynton Quarry is situated on private property and worked only by the estate masons of Mr. Mervyn Wingfield. At Burford, too, was a quarry of repute mentioned by Leland and by Wood. It is situated in what is now called Upton, and is locally known as Kitts Bank. It is from this quarry that traditionally much of the stone was sent for the building of St. Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire of 1666. The eighteenth century witnessed very little collegiate building, and the history of quarrying in this county is correspondingly silent. At the present time quarrying is carried on in different parts of the county, but there is a falling off in the amount produced and the number of hands employed.

The making of parchment and later of paper was a natural outcome of the university and the necessity for manuscripts and books. A very considerable number of the uses to which dressed skins and hides can be put were familiar to the traders in ancient Oxford, but probably none were more important than that of parchment-making, which must have been an industry from the earliest times. The first year that can be stated as one in which a 'Studium Generale' existed in Oxford is 1180, and in that year there is evidence of parchment makers in the town.[2] This parchment-making continued through many centuries, and parchment sellers were still fairly common in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is indeed from Tudor times that the industry of paper-making must be dated,[3] and Cecil was an ardent advocate of schemes for the manufacture of this product.[4] Macpherson, in his *Annals of Commerce*,[5] would place the date of white paper-making at the end of the seventeenth century, but it is certain that paper for books was made at Wolvercote Mill as early as 1666.[6] It is a recognized fact that the manufacture of paper in England was largely due to the French immigrants at a later period, for they had learnt the art in Angoulême, but it would appear that Wolvercote Mill continued to carry on the business successfully from the time of its foundation without any alien interference, though at that period there were many Frenchmen in Oxford. At the beginning of the nineteenth century paper-mills were working at Eynsham, Wolvercote, and Sandford under the management of Mr. Swann. Later on in the same century paper for industrial purposes was also made at Sandford, Shiplake, Oxford, and Henley.

The last industry to be noticed as definitely connected with and due to the university is that of bookbinding. The age of this trade is exactly the same as that of parchment-making, the name of the first bookbinder being found in the same document as that of the first *parcamenarius*. For the early history of this important industry the writer is much indebted to the work of Mr. Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxford Bindings*. A list of those connected with the book industry of Oxford is also to be found in Mr. Madan's *Early Oxford Press*, published by the Oxford Historical Society. For the first few centuries of Oxford binding there is little or nothing to record save the names of the binders and their place of abode. The binders seem to have formed a kind of gild, and their habitations and workshops would appear to have nearly always been situated in Cat Street or Schidyerd Way. The earliest stamped work that can be attributed to an Oxford binder is a collection of sermons written in 1460. In the sixteenth century certain improvements and changes were introduced in the methods of the binders, for whom the next century was a veritable 'golden age,' for it was during this period that Sir Thomas Bodley established his famous library, and many works had to be bound. The eighteenth century does not afford so much history of this industry, but the nineteenth displayed many points of interest, and towards the end showed splendid improve-

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxix, 36, 59.

[2] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (1895), ii, pt. ii, 343.

[3] Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (1897), 242.

[4] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1581–90, p. 556 (70).

[5] Macpherson, *Ann. of Commerce*, 1805.

[6] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing* (1903), 17.

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ments as seen in the Morris paper, and the beautiful vellum bindings of Messrs. Morley Brothers and others.

Of the industries that owe their origin to purely domestic arts there were many in Oxfordshire. Some of these have disappeared, or almost entirely so; others have flourished and become important business concerns. Of those that have disappeared, the first to be mentioned is glass-making.[1] This seems to have existed during the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth century, but since that time glass-making in Oxfordshire has been merely a tradition. A second industry which lasted for a longer period than the glass-making at Henley was a small trade in steel articles, which were manufactured at Woodstock.[2] It is evident that this work was carried on in the later years of Queen Elizabeth, that it flourished in the eighteenth century, but it had completely died out by 1850. Silk weaving and winding were also at one time a small industry in Oxfordshire, and as early as 1677 silk stockings were woven at Oxford by means of an invention of Mr. William Lee.[3] Henley-on-Thames also had its silk industry, which it carried on as late as 1856. Another of the extinct industries is that of Banbury cheese-making.[4] This was a milk-cheese, about one inch in thickness, and evidently well known in the metropolis, as it was frequently referred to by both authors and playwrights of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This cheese-making industry gradually disappeared, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it had entirely gone. The earliest of all these industries that no longer exist, but possibly by far the most important, is that of minting money. Mr. Stainer, in his *Oxford Silver Pennies*, has shown how important the Oxford mint was during the Anglo-Saxon period, and indeed up to the reign of Henry III. From that date there was no mint at Oxford until the troublous period of the Civil Wars. Between January, 1643, and June, 1646, Charles I had much of his money coined in Oxford, part indeed from the plate of the colleges. But after the capture of the city by Fairfax, the necessity for a mint no longer existed, and Oxford lost an ancient though only an occasional industry.

The domestic industries of Oxfordshire that still survive are very numerous, though perhaps not always of any considerable importance. The best known at the present time is blanket-making at Witney. As early as the reign of Henry III Witney was evidently a town of clothiers. Mr. Thorold Rogers considers that blanket-making was already an industry in Witney in 1385.[5] During the Tudor period the trade continued to thrive, and in the seventeenth century the family of Early began to manufacture blankets, which they still continue to do. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the formation of a blanket-makers' company was supposed to be likely to help on the trade, but the industry flourished in spite of the company rather than because of it. Towards the end of that period a very large quantity of blankets was sent regularly to London by wagons. The introduction of machinery may have been a temporary inconvenience, but it certainly helped to increase the output, which to-day is far greater than it has ever been before.

Very closely allied with blanket-making was the textile industry in general. This was, in early times, carried on in most of the homes throughout the counties of England; but Oxfordshire has a peculiar pre-eminence, as the city of Oxford was one of the earliest towns to have a weavers' gild. This gild was certainly in existence as early as 1130,[6] and it may possibly have existed even a few years earlier. Its story is a varied one, and the number of its members fluctuated very considerably. In 1159 the gild was of sufficient importance to obtain a royal charter, and it seems to have reached the height of its fortunes in the reign of John, when there were no fewer than sixty members. Three years after the accession of Edward I the gild was in a state of decay, and there were now scarcely fifteen members on the register. Weaving did not entirely disappear, however, for at the end of the fourteenth century there were twenty to thirty individuals who were engaged in the craft. During the next century the celebrity of the Cotswold wool was at its height and weaving and the woollen industry were common throughout the county, including such places as Chipping Norton, Burford, Great Tew, Bicester, and Oxford. After the dissolution of the monasteries there was a very early attempt to found a factory for 2,000 woollen workers in Osney Abbey at Oxford, but there is no proof that the clothier, Mr. Stumpe, succeeded in his scheme. In Elizabeth's reign the 'Incorporation of the Misterie of Weavers and Fullers of Oxford' was in full working order. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the wool trade was one of the important industries of Banbury, where it is still continued. As years went by it died out in the city of Oxford, but it seemed to grow and flourish elsewhere as seen in the foundation of Bliss's Mill at Chipping Norton, about the middle of the eighteenth century. The people of Banbury took up, in particular, one kind of manufacture, viz. worsted plush, which is still made by Messrs. Cubitt, Son & Co., while Chipping Norton earned a certain fame for its tweed. But Oxford has no

[1] Cox, *Oxfordshire* (1730), 411.
[2] Brewer, *Top. Hist. Dir. Oxf.* (1819), 384.
[3] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 277.
[4] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury* (1841), 568.
[5] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices* (1864), ii, 604.
[6] Barnard, *Companion to Engl. Hist.* (1902), 269.

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coal, and steam-power is a necessity. The cost of transport is very considerable, and so, though a few places still maintain their textile industry, the county has had as a whole to give way to the more prosperous woollen districts of the north.

Just as the weaving of cloth was done at home in the middle ages, so, too, leather-dressing under one form or another was a by-product in most of the villages and towns of Oxfordshire. Anthony Wood shows most clearly that the leather industry was a very considerable one in this county from early times, and the saddlery trade of Burford had in the seventeenth century a European reputation. But of all the uses made of leather, glove-making is perhaps at the present time the best known with regard to the county of Oxford. As early as 1279[1] this work appears to have been done in Oxford itself, and glove-makers continued to be of some importance in the city until the seventeenth century. Previous to this, however, the Woodstock trade had started, and was already of some size by the last years of Queen Elizabeth. Here the trade with many fluctuations has remained to the present time, and although perhaps the industry is not as flourishing as it was in former years, yet it still employs a large number of hands in the surrounding districts.

The largest trade of all in Oxfordshire is that of malting and brewing. This business, which is now carried on by several firms in different parts of the county, originated in the humble and homely brewery of the small farmer, householder, publican or college butler. Brewing was done in Oxford as early as 1240.[2] In 1354 the industry came under the strict supervision of the university authorities, who continued for many centuries to keep a watchful eye upon the brewers, who appear, from the records, to have needed it. Henley was another brewing and malting centre, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sent much malt to London. In the eighteenth century the type of brewing began to change. The small breweries which still continued were overshadowed by larger concerns, as for example the Swan's Nest Brewery at Oxford, and what is now Messrs. Brakspear and Sons' at Henley. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Deddington had a momentary reputation for the excellence of its ale, but Burford ceased to have any importance as a malting town. From that time to the present day the chief breweries of Oxfordshire have been either in Oxford itself, or at Henley, Chipping Norton, Witney, and Banbury.

The brewing of ale in Banbury was carried on alongside another industry which has a world-wide renown, though it is perhaps of no great importance from the economist's point of view. Ever since the reign of Elizabeth, Banbury cakes have been made in the old borough of that name.[3] They are mentioned by Holland in 1609, by Ben Jonson in 1614, and again many times during the seventeenth century. They appear to have been equally well known in the eighteenth century, and towards its close the renowned maker was Betty White. During the last century their fame was spread by the Great Exhibition of 1851, and now the Great Western Railway has helped to stimulate their sale.

Before closing this account of the industries of Oxfordshire which have arisen from the purely domestic arts, three other industries may here be briefly mentioned. The first is that of lace-making, which is to this day only of a domestic character, and is carried on in the cottages of the south-eastern portion of the county, particularly of that part which lies contiguous to the county of Buckingham. In the second place, there is boat-building, which must have existed in the very earliest times, for bridges were few, the river had to be crossed, but above all goods must go to London. This industry is now no longer domestic, but carried on by several builders in the county, Messrs. Salter Bros., the Saunders Patent Launch Building Syndicate, Ltd., Messrs. Hobbs, and East's Boat Building Co., Ltd., being the chief firms. The last of this class of industries is that of chair-making, which is of some antiquity, and which is still carried on at Stokenchurch, Chinnor, Caversham, and Watlington.

So far we have been solely concerned with those trades which have arisen from the presence of the university, or have had their origin in domestic industries, or with those peculiar and separate classes of industry which played their little part in Oxfordshire history and then disappeared. To turn from these, a brief introduction is needed for those industries which cannot be said to fall under any of the above classifications, and may be enumerated as industries connected with metal. The first of these is the iron ore industry, which is confined to the northern portion of the county, in particular to Hook Norton and Adderbury. Here brown hematite is worked in fairly large quantities, but all of it is sent out of the county to the blast furnaces of South Staffordshire or North Wales. Agricultural machine-making and iron-founding is, however, carried on in Banbury and in the city of Oxford. As early as 1841 Banbury had some fame for its turnip-cutters, and since that time agricultural machines have been made by Messrs. Samuelson & Co., Ltd., and Messrs. Barrows in Banbury, and by the Oxford Steam Ploughing Company at Middle Cowley, Oxford. Besides this form of iron work, Messrs. Lucy & Co. have a foundry at the Eagle Iron Works, Oxford, which was originated as far back as 1760. The third of these metallic industries is

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlvii, 67.
[2] Ibid. xxviii, 112.
[3] Nare, *Glossary* (1882), i, 48.

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that of bell-founding, which has been carried on with varying fortunes from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present time, at Burford, Witney, Woodstock, and Oxford.

Thus Oxfordshire may be said to have had about twenty industries, many of which still remain. But in no sense can the county be regarded as a true industrial centre. Most of the trades, as has been shown, arose either as a natural growth from domestic industries, or from the needs of Oxford as a university town. The fact that Oxfordshire was far removed from the modern centres of industry has prevented that county excelling in any particular industry, and except for the stone, and iron ore, the county is lacking in mineral wealth. The university on the one side, and agriculture on the other, have afforded sufficient employment for the people without any large number being driven into what may be called extraneous industrial concerns.

THE OXFORD PRESS

The largest industrial establishment in the city of Oxford at the present time is the University Press in Walton Street. Here several hundred workpeople are regularly employed in the printing, folding, and cutting of the Bibles, Prayer Books, and educational works that bear upon them the famous name of the Clarendon Press. Like many other large and successful concerns the University Press started under very humble circumstances. When first printing was carried out in Oxford no man could have imagined the strides in progress that were to be made in the next 430 years.

'Towards the close of the fifteenth century there was a meteor-like appearance of an Oxford Press.'[1] In its origin this Oxford Press was, as far as can be ascertained, quite independent of Caxton's printing. The battle which has been waged about the date of the first book printed at Oxford has made this book 'a veritable typographical battleground, and in Henry Bradshaw's opinion a touchstone of intellectual acumen.'[2] This book bears the date 7 December, 1468. It is an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, ascribed to St. Jerome, but is in reality a treatise on the creed by Tyrannius Rufinus.[3] It is now supposed that the date ought really to be 1478, and that in the hurry of printing an x was omitted. In 1664, Richard Atkyns, a Gloucestershire gentleman, propounded what is known as the Corsellis forgery, by which he tried to prove that a printer, Frederick Corsellis, had printed in Oxford ten years before Caxton set up his presses at Westminster. Mr. Madan says, 'as no one believes in this story it is not worth while to do more than to point out that no corroboration of it has ever been found.'[4] Conyers Middleton in his *Dissertation on the Origin of Printing*, published in 1735, was the first to throw doubt upon the year 1468. From that time the opinion has steadily grown that 1478 and not 1468 ought to be the date of the first printed book at Oxford. Mr. Madan treats the subject with the greatest care in his *History of the Early Oxford Press*. He takes into consideration the question of signatures; he shows that there are no signs of progress in the first three Oxford books; he points out that the same type is used, the same sized page, and the same number of lines in a column; he remarks, with numerous examples, that mistakes of dates are common, and finally he considers that the books bound up with the *Jerome* would show rather the date 1478 than that of 1468. He considers that it is conceivable, but not probable, that printing was done in Oxford previous to the year 1477.[5] In the *Chart of Oxford Printing* Mr. Madan would appear even more definite when he says 'the fact remains that the greater the bibliographer the more certain he is that the true date is 1478.'[6]

The Press that probably produced this book lasted from 1478 (?) to 1487. The second work produced was Aretinus's Latin Translation of *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*. Of this there are eight copies in existence and several fragments, but all the copies are very poorly printed; it was published in 1479. In 1480 a work on Original Sin by Aegidius de Columna of Rome was printed. One of its interests lies in the fact that the colophon is printed in red, this being the only instance of colour-printing in this early Oxford Press. This was followed in the same year by the first English printed classic, *Cicero pro Milone*, which remained the only printed classic until in 1497 a *Terence* was issued to the world.

The next publication is only known from two leaves in the British Museum, acquired late in 1871 or in the spring of 1872. It is a fragment of a Latin grammar printed probably in 1481. The author might be perhaps John Anwykyll, who was master of Magdalen College Grammar School in 1481 (?)–87; it has been supposed that the grammar was written by either Holte or Stanbridge, but it has been practically decided that this was not the case. In 1481 a commentary on the *De Anima* of Aristotle, by Alexander de Hales, was printed, and it is in this work that the earliest woodcut border appeared. In the following year John Lathbury's *Latin Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah* came from the

[1] Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* (1899), 138.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 237.
[3] Ibid. 245.
[4] Ibid. 246.
[5] Ibid. 247–52.
[6] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing* (1903), 39.

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Oxford Press, to be followed in 1483 by another Latin grammar again believed to be by John Anwykyll. In the same year a commentary on the burial service by Richard Rolle of Hampole was printed, and it was again produced at Paris in 1510 and at Cologne in 1536. It is rather doubtful whether the *Nineteen Logical Treatises* were printed in 1483; and the doubt also exists for the *Provincial Constitutions of England*, written in Latin, with a commentary by William Lyndewoode. A considerable interest is attached to this work from the fact that it contains a large wood engraving of Jacobus de Voragine writing the Golden Legend. In 1891 another work ascribed to the year 1483 was discovered in the British Museum, and this was the *Counsels of Alms-giving* by St. Augustine. Of a Latin translation of the spurious *Epistles of Phalaris* printed at Oxford in 1485, three copies are known and several fragments; while fragments of two leaves of the *Textus Alexandri* printed in the same year exist at St. John's College and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The last work printed by this early Press was a *Festiall*, in the 'yere of our lord MCCCCLXXXVI the day aftir Seint Edward the Kyng,' which would seem to be 19 March, 1486–7.[1]

Throughout this period the printers seem to have been two in number. Between 1480 and 1482 four books were printed by Theoderic Rood, who came from Cologne and described himself as 'Theodericus Rood de Colonia in Alma Universitate Oxon.' Between 1483 and 1487 Theoderic took into partnership Thomas Hunte who is described as 'Universitatis Oxoniae stacionarius' and who lived 1477–9 in Haberdasher Hall. Suddenly, however, in the winter of 1486 or spring of 1487, the printing press at Oxford ceased its work, and no reason for this stop is at present known. It is interesting to notice that the printing at St. Albans, which had started about 1480, ceased in the same year as at Oxford.[2]

The printing press which was used by Rood and Hunte was of course a wooden hand-screw one, and though the earliest engraving of a press is of about the year 1500, yet there can be little doubt that it was much the same as the press of fifteen years before. The types employed were of seven kinds, but Reed[3] considers that these reduce themselves to four principal founts and one fount of initial letter. The character of the founts were Cologne black, used in the Jerome, Aretinus, and Aegidius; narrow, Dutch black, the origin of which may be looked for near Cologne; heading and initial black, a large special type; small lower-case Dutch black; large lower-case Dutch black; a church type, going with the small Dutch black; small Caxtonian black; large Caxtonian black; a church type, going with the small Caxtonian black.

For thirty years Oxford was apparently without a press, but in December, 1517, the second press was established, lasting for a peculiarly short period.[4] Its position is fairly well known, being 'in vico diui Johannis Baptiste,' or St. John's Street near Merton College. In 1518 it is connected with the name John Scolar, who ten years later probably printed at Abingdon. In 1519 the last book of the second press was printed by Carolus Kyrfoth, but nothing is known of either of these two printers, either why they came or why they ceased to print, and it can only be conjectured that they were foreigners. It is remarkable to notice that the first Oxford press had printed much theology, whereas the second press ignored that subject, printing rather grammars, logics, arithmetics, and works on natural science.[5] Seven works are in existence as the output of this press. Copies exist in the Bodleian and St. John's College, Oxford, of *Burley on Aristotle*, printed 4 December, 1517. Half a dozen copies of the *Ethics*, under the name of Johannes Dedicus, still exist, being printed in May, 1518. Three copies of the *De Luce* have been found, and were printed on 5 June, 1518. Walter Burley's *Principia* was printed two days later; and in the same month *De Heteroclitis nominibus* by Robert Whittington. Jasper Laet's *Prenostica* was probably printed in 1518, and in 1519 a system of arithmetic known as the *Compotus* was issued to the world.[6]

Once again Oxford was left without a press, but it was not alone in its misfortune. It appears that for the central forty years of the sixteenth century, Oxford, York, Tavistock, Abingdon, and Cambridge, all of which had had presses, ceased entirely to print.[7] In November, 1585, however, *The true difference between christian subjection and unchristian rebellion* by Thomas Bilson was issued, and in this book, on page 263, Greek type is used for the first time.[8] The year 1585 saw the firm establishment of the press at Oxford. It was erected by the Earl of Leicester, who was then chancellor, and the first book printed was John Case's *Speculum moralium quaestionum in Universum Ethicen Aristotelis*. It is interesting to notice 'that neither the vice-chancellor nor the printer of this volume had any suspicion that there had been printing in Oxford previous to the publication of the present volume.'[9] The printer at the new Press was Joseph Barnes, who remained sole printer to the university from 1585 to 1617. It is evident, however, that he exercised other trades as well, for he was granted a licence to sell wine from October 1575 to at least October 1596.[10] The university now began to exhibit some interest in printing, and on 10 January, 1586, a Committee of Convocation was appointed to consider *de libris imprimendis*.[11]

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 1–4, 252–62. [2] Ibid. 262.
[3] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries* (1887), 139.
[4] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 14.
[5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 5–7, 263–5.
[6] Ibid. 241–5. [7] Ibid. 263. [8] Ibid. 14.
[9] Ibid. 15. [10] Ibid. 274. [11] Ibid. 275.

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Any chance, however, of printing on a large scale was at once stopped by an ordinance of the Star Chamber, which allowed only one press at Oxford and only one apprentice.[1] Printing, nevertheless, seems to have thriven, for in 1588 the Oxford press issued its first *édition de luxe*.[2] In 1596 Joseph Barnes applied for a licence to exercise the monopoly of printing all inedited Greek and Latin books,[3] and in the same year, as a proof of the enterprise of this printer, Hebrew type was introduced for the first time.[4]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a considerable increase in the output of printed matter in Oxford, but Madan considers that this was partly due to the interest of James I in literature.[5] In 1617 Joseph Barnes, the printer for thirty-two years, was succeeded by John Lichfield and James Short. The Lichfield family continued to print almost to the middle of the next century. At this time there is no proof of a special printing house being used, 'and there are as yet few signs of actual academic patronage or interference, and the failures and successes of the printers and publishers . . . are the ordinary fluctuations of trade.'[6] From 1624 to 1640 William Turner was a university printer in conjunction with the Lichfields.[7] The fame of the Greek matrices of Sir Henry Savile, which had come into the possession of the printers at Oxford, had spread abroad, and they were borrowed by the University of Cambridge in 1629 and returned two years later.[8]

Oxford owed much of her early success in the industry of printing to Archbishop Laud, who especially concerned himself in the development of the 'Learned' Press.[9] In 1632 the first charter to Oxford which allowed printing was presented.[10] It considerably extended the ordinance of the Star Chamber, for three printers were granted to the city, and by an amplification dated 13 March, 1632–3, each of the three might possess two presses and train two apprentices. By the same amplification unauthorized reprints were forbidden to be made for twenty-one years. The university was now beginning to take a keener and truer interest in the Oxford Press, and in 1633 a committee of convocation 'ad audiendum, statuendum et determinandum de negotio impressorum et Praeli & eorum quae ad imprimendum pertinent' was appointed. This idea was subsequently followed out by the appointment of delegacies in 1653, 1662, and 1691.[11] About this time, but certainly not before the year 1634, Laud applied the £300 fine, inflicted on the printer of the 'Wicked' Bible in 1631, to purchase a fount of Greek type which was to be used for printing in either Oxford, Cambridge, or London. As a matter of fact it was not used at Oxford but in London.[12] To still further improve the Press and its relations with the university a statute was passed in 1636, known as 'de Typographis Universitatis,' and in this is the first mention of the Architypographus, though no one held the office for twenty-two years.[13] On 12 March, 1637, the university handed over for three years all its rights of printing Bibles, Lily's Grammar, &c., in consideration of receiving £200 a year, to the London Stationers' Company. This agreement was renewed on several occasions, viz. 12 August, 1639; 1 October, 1661; 29 November, 1664; and 6 August, 1667.[14] It was in the year 1637 that an important decision was come to with regard to printing, and Mr. Hart records that type-founding was first authorized in England during this year.[15] On 5 May, Laud, who had in every way facilitated the acquisition of good Oriental and other type, was able to write to the vice-chancellor, 'You are now upon a very good way towards the setting up of a learned Press.'[16]

The Civil War broke out in 1642, and unlike other places and other industries at Oxford, printing naturally flourished more strongly than ever before. This was due to the fact that from October 1642, after the battle of Edgehill, to April, 1646, when Charles I fled to the Scots, Oxford was the head-quarters of the king, and many royal proclamations and other documents were issued from the Press. The output in 1642 was 147, while at the end of the war, after the king's execution, in 1649, only seven works were issued.[17] During the king's stay at Oxford the printing house had stood in what was then called Butcher Row, now known as Queen Street. Here on 6 October, 1644, a disastrous fire broke out and Oxford was for the moment deprived of her Press. Printing, however, was soon resumed, and in 1648 the

[1] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 15.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 292.
[3] Ibid. 276.
[4] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 50.
[5] Ibid. 15. There were several interesting works printed in the first forty years of the seventeenth century, e.g. Wycliff's *Treatises* (1608); Captain John Smith's *Map of Virginia* (1612); Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621); *Field on the Church* (1628); Sandys's translations of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1633); *The University Statutes* (1634); Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* in English and Latin (1635); Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants* (1638); Bacon's *Advancement and Proficience of Learning*, in English (1640).
[6] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, vi.
[7] Ibid. 298.
[8] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 15.
[9] Hutton, *William Laud* (1896), 116.
[10] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 281; Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 15.
[11] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 16.
[12] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 277.
[13] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 16; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 287–8.
[14] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 285–7; Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 16.
[15] Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press, Oxford* (1900), vii.
[16] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 278.
[17] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 16.

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University Press used for the first time Arabic type.[1] It has been asserted in Bigmore's *Bibliography of Printing* that during the Commonwealth and for the first nine years of the reign of Charles II, printing was carried on in the old Congregation House of St. Mary's Church.[2] Mr. Madan, however, finds no confirmation of this, and says that the printers used their own hired premises chiefly in or near Cat Street.[3] It was during this period that the first Architypographus was elected according to the Laudian Statutes of 1636. Samuel Clarke, M.A., was elected to this high-sounding office on 14 May, 1658, and held it until he resigned in December 1669, when he was succeeded by Norton Bold. This office was to be held, according to the statutes, by 'a person set over the printers who shall be well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues, and in philological studies.' His duties were—

to supervise and look after the business of Printing and to provide at the University expense all paper, presses, type, &c., to prescribe the module of the letter, the quality of the paper, and the size of the margins, when any book is printed at the cost of the University, and also to correct the errors of the press.[4]

The period of the Restoration was naturally a very busy one for the Press. There was an enormous outburst of literature upon the return of the monarchy and the appearance of a lasting peace. The surplus schools money was granted by convocation for the creation and maintenance of a 'learned Typographie' in 1660. A year previous, Anglo-Saxon type had been introduced, and the year of the Restoration saw the introduction for the first time of music type. Ever since 1635 Leonard Lichfield had been printer to the university, and in 1665 his son had the honour of printing the first copy of the oldest still existing newspaper. The *London Gazette*, as it is now known, began as the *Oxford Gazette* on Wednesday, 15 November, 1665; the court then being at Oxford. It was last printed at Oxford by the university printer on 22 January 1666, and even after that, for the first two numbers printed elsewhere, it bore its original title of the *Oxford Gazette*.[5]

Just as Archbishop Laud did his utmost for the University Press in the reign of Charles I, so Dr. Fell was as great a benefactor under Charles II. Between the years 1666 and 1672 Dr. Fell made several valuable gifts of matrices.[6] These for the most part came from Holland, the Dutch having long been famous for this kind of work. Bagford wrote, 'The good Bishop provided from Holland the choicest Puncheons, Matrices, etc., with all manner of Types that could be had.'[7] The burgomaster of Amsterdam also assisted Fell in his attempt to help the Press, by presenting to the university a fount of Coptic type. There is no question that Dr. Fell's gift was of a most munificent character. Amongst the many appurtenances of printing it may be noticed that he gave thirty-four boxes of matrices, a large number of puncheons, hammers, moulds, vices, shears, blocks, and 332 dressing sticks. Besides these there were seven printing presses, two rolling presses, many cases, and an anvil and engine.[8] In 1667 the first type-founding was successfully carried out at Oxford. Mr. Madan considers that the actual founder was a Dutchman from Batavia, Peter Walpergen.[9] Mr. Hart thinks that Dr. Fell had two Dutch founders, one of whom was possibly Peter Walpergen.[10] At any rate Walpergen did found type in Oxford at this time and he was succeeded first by his son and then by Mr. Sylvester Andrews. In September, 1669, the University Press was transferred to the Sheldonian Theatre, on the floor of which printing was carried on.[11] What was quite as important was that the new type-foundry was placed in the basement of the theatre. The place was very ill-chosen, as all printing was disturbed at Commemoration and other festivals when the theatre was required for university purposes; on such occasions the presses and all the materials required had to be carried into the large loft and stored until work could be resumed. The cost of the Press at this time was a heavy burden upon the university, and to relieve it on 16 November, 1671, Dr. John Fell, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Dr. Thomas Yate, and Sir Joseph Williamson took over the working of the Press, paying the university chest £200 per annum.[12] That Dr. Fell did his best is shown by his own words referring to the period between 1672 and 1679. He mentions that the Press was taken over—

and at the expense of above four thousand pounds furnisht from Germany, France, and Holland, an Imprimery with all the necessaries thereof, and pursued the undertaking so vigorously, as in the short compass of time which hath since intervened, to have printed many considerable books in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as in English, both for their matter and elegance of paper and letter, very satisfactory to the learned abroad and at home.[13]

[1] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 16.
[2] Bigmore, *Bibliography of Printing* (1880–4), ii, 104; Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 139.
[3] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 17.
[4] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 146.
[5] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 42.
[6] Ibid. Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the Univ. Press.* Mr. Hart gives a full list of letters concerning the types obtained by Dr. Fell from Holland, 153–72.
[7] Harl. MS. 5901, fol. 85.
[8] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 148–9
[9] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 17.
[10] Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the Univ. Press*, viii.
[11] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 17; Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* 140–1.
[12] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 18–19.
[13] Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the Univ. Press*, xvi; Gutch, *Collect.* i, 271.

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It is curious to notice that at this time many of the compositors were Frenchmen.

Dr. Fell may be said to have launched the University Press upon an assured path of progress. Step by step advance was made, and new ideas and fresh gifts helped on the work so ably started. The year 1674 saw the beginning of the splendid series of Oxford Sheet Almanacks that are now known throughout the world. The year 1675 was even more famous, for it was then that the Oxford Bible Press began, and the first Oxford Bibles and Prayer Books bear the date of that year. Following the noble example of Dr. Fell, Francis Junius in 1677 gave to the press his Gothic, Runic, Icelandic, and Anglo-Saxon punches. All this time the university put up with the inconvenient situation of the Press in the Sheldonian Theatre. It was only when in 1688 it was realized that the fine building was threatened by the continued working of the heavy presses that a situation elsewhere was found to be necessary. The two sides of the Press were divided; the 'Learned' Press was placed in a building at the northern end of Cat Street, while the 'Bible' Press was sent to a house in St. Aldate's. It is worthy of notice that although this most necessary change had been instituted, yet the famous Sheldonian imprint was still used.[1] The history of the Press during the seventeenth century closed with a most suitable memorial, for it was in 1693 that the first specimens of type ever published in England were issued from the University Printing House.

During the first two decades of the eighteenth century it is remarkable that in Oxford as elsewhere in England there was far more Dutch type in use than type made in English foundries.[2] Examples of these are well known, and Mr. T. B. Reed writes:—

> Specimens of Dr. Fell's and Junius's gifts, and an account of the foundry with its recent acquisitions, were frequently printed in the early part of the eighteenth century. Rowe Mores mentions four between 1695 and 1706. In the latter year the document had grown to twenty-five leaves, and included a great primer and a two-line great primer purchased in 1701, and other additions. The inventory mentions twenty-eight moulds as being the number still in use in the foundry, and seven presses in the printing house. It also distinguishes certain types as being of the Dutch height, a discrepancy to which, in all probability, may be traced that unfortunate anomaly of 'Bible' height and 'classical' height, which to this day hampers the operations of a foundry where, in perpetuation of a blunder made two centuries ago, types are still cast to two different heights agreeing neither with one another nor with any British standard.[3]

In 1713 the two 'sides' of the Press were once more placed within the same building. For about two years (1711–13) a heavy rectangular structure had been in process of building at the eastern end of Broad Street. It was designed by Nicholas Hawkesmoor, one of Wren's pupils, and it was paid for out of the profits of the sale of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, and for this reason is known to the present time as the Clarendon Building. It was here that the university carried on printing until 1830.

For the first thirty or forty years during which printing was done in the Clarendon Building, the Press seems to have been at a low ebb, a fact which is proved by a letter written by Dr. William Blackstone to the Vice-Chancellor.[4] But the prosperity of the Press only waned for a time, and the generosity of individuals was almost as marked in the eighteenth century as it had been in the previous century. In 1753 Mr. William Bowyer presented to the university the Anglo-Saxon type belonging to Miss Elizabeth Elstob. This remarkable lady, born in 1683, was the daughter of Ralph Elstob, merchant of Newcastle, and sister of the Rev. William Elstob of Oxford. In 1715 she published her *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* which helped to prove her great industry and learning. Mr. William Bowyer having become possessed of the type used for Miss Elstob's grammar sent it to Rowe Mores to be forwarded to the university officials. Mores took the type for repair to the famous foundry belonging to Mr. Caslon, where it was kept for four or five years without being touched. Mr. Bowyer, learning this, reobtained possession in 1758, and entrusted the type to Mr. Cottrell, who had it 'fitted up' and made ready for use. Once again this valuable type was sent to Rowe Mores to be given to the university, but in 1760 Bowyer found that it was still in Mores's hands. It was not until 1764 that the type was handed over, and it was not until exactly a quarter of a century after its original presentation that the university acknowledged the gift, this being at last done in August, 1778.[5] If proof were wanted that Oxford was not behindhand in the famous revival of printing it is to be found in that admirable specimen of typography, Blackstone's *Charter of the Forest*, printed in 1759. In this work the copper-plate initials and the vignettes containing views of many of the colleges and public buildings of Oxford are of extreme beauty. There is no doubt that this wonderful revival received very considerable impetus from the taste and genius of Baskerville.

[1] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 19.

[2] Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the Univ. Press*, ix.

[3] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 155. He says as a footnote, 'The Bible-side height is slightly above the ordinary English height. The Learned-side height is about the same as the French height. Ancient jealousies between the two rival "sides" have much to answer for in the growth of this anomaly. Happily the difference of "height" is now the only difference between the Bible and Learned Presses.'

[4] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 22.

[5] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 158–9.

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This founder was employed by the university about this period, and his Greek punches, matrices, and types, still preserved at Oxford, are supposed to be the only relics in the country of the great Birmingham foundry.[1] Dr. William Blayney's folio edition of the Bible, printed in 1769, marks an epoch in the history of the Press, for this Bible remained the standard one for many years. The very fact that the Press had as early as 1770 an Oxford Bible warehouse in Paternoster Row proves that the 'low-water' period had been successfully passed. Once again before the century closed a generous gift assisted the advance of the Press, for in 1785 Lord Godolphin bequeathed £5,000 to the university, the interest of which was to be applied to the benefit of printing and learning.[2] The Press of the eighteenth century might be justifiably proud of its work, and during the last half of the century several specimens of type were issued. One of these included Baskerville's Greek type and the long-primer Syriac purchased from Caslon, 1768–70. Another specimen, issued in 1786, showed that many of the old founts had been discarded in favour of more modern letters. In 1794 a still further specimen was printed which included amongst many others a great-primer Greek cut by Caslon.[3]

Mr. Hart, in his article 'Charles, Lord Stanhope, and the Oxford University Press,'[4] gives an interesting account of the arrangement and methods employed by the university printers when they carried on their work at the end of the eighteenth century in the Clarendon Building. The room that is situated on the right-hand side of the top of the steps leading from Broad Street contained the hand presses for printing classical works. The room to the south was the Board Room. Above these were rooms for the compositors and for the readers of the 'Classical' or 'Learned' Press. The storage for this side was still made in the loft above the Sheldonian Theatre. On the East side of the Clarendon Building the Bible Press was located, and its storage room was a very lengthy one adjoining the Tower of the Five Orders. The methods employed were very primitive. 'The "casting" or jerking the hot metal into the mould, in making the type, was still done by hand.' The press itself can only be described as a 'crazy structure' of wood, except where 'a stone slab made a bed upon which the form of the type was placed.' Mr. Reed records that at this time there were five presses and one proof press. One of these presses is spoken of as 'mahogany, set up in the year 1793,' and another as 'the new construction which works with a lever,' set up in the same year.[5] The ink was applied by an extremely slow process and was put on to the type by a ball of leather. On dark and gloomy days all the light that was given to the printers and compositors was by means of a few guttering tallow candles.

The progress of the eighteenth century continued in the nineteenth. In 1805 Charles, earl of Stanhope, offered to the university his so-called 'secret process' of stereotyping, his iron hand press, his system of logotypes and his logotype case.[6] In October of this year two of Stanhope's presses were set up at Oxford. Mr. Hart says—

> Lord Stanhope was the first in the field with a new press made of iron, and with a system of compound levers for raising the platen after the pull in lieu of the 'squeezing and unsqueezing' described by Luckombe,[7] or of a rope and weight.

An iron press 'of the first construction' at the present Clarendon Press has letters sunk deep in the front of the principal iron casting, declaring 'Stanhope invenit,' while lower down in a more modest place is an inscription which is cut into the metal and which records 'Walker fecit.' The first construction, however, proved too weak in the frame, and so, says Hart—

> the Stanhope iron press was immediately improved upon by other makers. Its inventor claimed no monopoly and refused to protect his invention; indeed, as in the case of stereotyping, he almost invited others to exploit it. The Stanhope press was soon superseded by the Columbian and other iron presses; and these again were displaced by Cope's Albion press which has a spring in addition to the levers.

Stanhope's inking process was far inferior to that employed at the present time; he used rollers covered with leather, not as now rollers of a compound of treacle and glue.[8] Other signs of progress were shown by a Parliamentary Paper issued in 1815. By this means it was demonstrated that during the seven preceding years the number of Bibles printed at the University Press at Oxford was 460,500. Besides these, 400,000 Prayer Books, 386,000 New Testaments, and 200,000 Catechisms and Psalters had also been issued. The total value of these was computed to have been £213,000; while the total value of non-sacred books issued during the same period was placed at £24,000.[9]

[1] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 159–60.
[2] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 22.
[3] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 161.
[4] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 365–412.
[5] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 162.
[6] Charles, earl of Stanhope, was born in 1753; entered Eton in 1763. He was brought up at Geneva, and died in 1816. Wraxall says, 'His person was tall and thin, his countenance expressive of ardour and impetuosity, as were all his movements. . . . He possessed stentorian lungs and a powerful voice always accompanied by violent gesticulation.' Again he says that he was 'a man who at every period of his life, whether as a commoner or as a peer, displayed the same ardent, eccentric, fearless, indefatigable and independent character.'
[7] Luckombe, *Art of Printing* (1771), 311, 312.
[8] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 397.
[9] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 23.

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INDUSTRIES

It is obvious from the figures quoted above that the University Press was issuing an enormous number of books, and that it was fast outgrowing the capabilities of the Clarendon Building. New buildings had therefore to be provided, and the Press was removed to Walton Street, where the fine erection originally designed by Daniel Robertson and completed by Edward Blore was opened in September, 1830. The building consists chiefly of two main blocks, each of which is three stories in height and connected on the eastern side by others of one story. In the centre of the principal front there is an entrance of three arches, with an entablature and parapet supported on Corinthian columns. The south wing is devoted to the printing of Bibles, while on the north the 'Learned' or classical Press is situated.[1] Six years after the removal of the Press to Walton Street, Mr. Joseph Castle, senior, carried out several important changes. The first cylinder printing machine, known as Lloyd's, was introduced, followed almost immediately by the first steam engine. It was, indeed, due to Mr. Castle's talent and ingenuity that machine work was successfully introduced, and it is equally due to him that many other mechanical contrivances were undertaken at this early date, and are, in fact, still in use. In 1838 the first double-platen printing machine was employed, and it was well that these rapid processes of printing were introduced, as between 1840 and 1842 there was a large increase of production owing to the Tractarian movement. It was in the latter year that Oxford India paper was first used. Stereotyping by the paper process came in about 1860, to be followed in 1863 by electrotyping. From 1863 to 1880 Messrs. Macmillan and Co. were the publishers for the university for the 'Learned' Press; they were succeeded by the present publishers, the firm of Messrs. Henry Frowde,[2] which had published for the Bible side since 1874. During this period the Rev. Bartholomew Price did much for the University Press. He was appointed secretary in 1867, the year when the 'Clarendon Press Series' was started. In 1872, on the death of Mr. Thomas Combe, the Rev. Bartholomew Price assumed the general management, and it was under his control that on 30 June, 1877, *The Caxton Memorial Bible* was published. One of the greatest days in the history of the Press was 17 May 1881, when the *Revised New Testament* was issued, and upwards of a million Oxford copies were sold on the first day. At this time, however, the Press was by no means the large industrial concern that it is now. This change and improvement is largely due to the new system of management that was inaugurated on the appointment of the present controller, Mr. Horace Hart. When he undertook the management in 1883 there were only 278 workpeople employed, by 1894 these numbers had increased to 550, and at the present day there are about 650. In 1883 there was no photo-mechanical department, this being introduced in 1885. The first Russian type to be employed by the University was acquired in 1888, and two years later the first Burmese type came into the possession of the Press. It was not until 1900 that the type of hieroglyphics (Lepsius) was acquired.[5] The reputation of the University for its Oriental and learned type has ever been maintained, and by these numerous additions, together with the fact that the foundry still remains a part of the Press, it is obvious that the Clarendon Press can hold its own against the world, for it possesses probably the largest collection of 'polyglot' matrices of any foundry in the kingdom.[6]

The history of the University Press may from one aspect be put in a nutshell. The number of books that have from time to time been issued shows to some extent the advance or decline of printing in Oxford. The total number of works printed between 1478 and 1900 is 19,475. If this total is broken into groups it will be found that 148 works were printed between 1478 and 1600; 1,161 between 1601 and 1650; 1,428 between 1651 and 1700; 1,108 between 1701 and 1750; 1,365 between 1751 and 1800; 4,449 between 1801 and 1850; and 9,816 between 1851 and 1900.[7]

BOOKBINDING

It is interesting to notice that the earliest document which affords circumstantial evidence of a *studium generale* at Oxford contains the name of the first Oxford binder—Laurencius.[8] Dr. Rashdall records this document and shows that it was a transfer of property in 'Cattestreet.'[4] It was in this part of Oxford, now somewhat arbitrarily known as St. Catherine Street, that the bookbinders had their head-quarters for 500 years. The appearance of the name Laurencius in about the year 1180 shows that Oxford was carrying on a trade at a time when that trade was particularly good, for the English bindings produced in the second half of the twelfth century were of an extremely fine character.[8] It is,

[1] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 23. [2] Ibid. 24.
[3] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings* (1903), 1.
[4] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (1895), ii, pt. ii, 343.
[5] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 50.
[6] Reed, *Old Engl. Letter Foundries*, 162.
[7] Madan, *Chart. of Oxf. Printing*, 49. *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 292. The writer wishes to thank the present controller, Mr. Horace Hart, for much valuable information.
[8] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 1.

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however, noticeable that there are no records concerning the bindings of Oxford until the fifteenth century, except the names of the binders, who were apparently fairly numerous. In the first half of the thirteenth century the name of Reginald the bookbinder occurs in an old deed preserved in the Oxford University Archives.[1] In 1226 William the binder of books is mentioned,[2] and about the same time Augustine carried on his binding trade in the parish of St. Peter's in the East.[3] About the years 1230 and 1240 Walter the bookbinder dwelt in the same parish,[4] and this is probably the same Walter who is mentioned in the cartulary of the convent of St. Frideswide in or about the year 1246.[5] Between the years 1252 and 1290 Stephen the bookbinder lived in the parish of St. Peter's;[6] he is very frequently mentioned in ancient records, definitely called 'Le Bokbindere' in 1275, and dwelt in the corner house within the Eastgate.'[7] At identically the same time William de Pikerynge, known as a 'laminator,' dwelt in Oxford. It is presumed that he died before 1308. His motto has been preserved, and was *Vivite innocue, lumen adest.*[8] His contemporaries and workers in the same craft were Symon and Jon[9] and a certain William.[10] It was to the first of these three that the prior and convent of St. Frideswide's leased a messuage in the parish of the Blessed Mary, and he is mentioned as *Symoni librorum ligatori.*'[11] It is evident that the William mentioned above did not carry on his work in the usual neighbourhood, and it is more than probable that his workshop was near the castle.[12] The Hundred Rolls of 1279 not only show that bookbinding was done in Cat Street, but they also mention another binder—Stephen, who resided in the parish of St. Peter's.[13] Besides these private binderies there was as early as 1283 a tannery and probably a bindery used by the binders of Oxford within the precincts of Osney Abbey.[14]

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Walter, Augustine, and Adam, three bookbinders, were witnesses to an undated deed now preserved in the Oxford University Archives.[15] The last of these had his tenement in the neighbourhood of the present Oriel Street,[16] the place being then known as Schidyerd Way.[17] Some years later within the Schidyerd Way a tenement was called 'Bokbynders,'[18] and Mr. Strickland Gibson says that this 'seems to denote a binder or gild of binders there.'[19] It was probably in this neighbourhood that William, a bookbinder, had his premises in 1338,[20] and Simon and John Faunt were binding at much the same time.[21] The earliest entry in a book stating that it was bound at Oxford occurs at this period. The inscription, which is of about the year 1340, states 'Istum librum Oxonie fecit Ricardus de Redyng ligari.'[22] The Osney Abbey bindery still continued, and close by was what was called the Bookbinders' Bridge, the first mention of this being in 1377. To-day the bridge is nameless, but the passage leading to the tenements adjoining is still known as Bookbinders' Yard.[23] Between 1370 and 1380 individual bookbinders seem to have been few in number, only one apparently being recorded, namely Robert 'Bokebynder.'[24]

The fifteenth-century records open with a distinct proof of the conservative settlement of bookbinders in Cat Street. In the Osney Roll a 'Tenementum Bokbyndere' in this street is recorded for the year 1402. It was rented first by Henry the 'lymner'[25] and later by Richard the parchment-seller.[26] It was about this period that the Oxford bookbinders probably used white sheepskins for their bindings and little else.[27] From this time onwards there are many records of Oxford binders, and in a university it was only natural that the trade should have been a flourishing one. For the year 1424 there is a record that shows John Dolle, a bookbinder, lived in Cat Street, and this is probably the same man who occurs in 1453 under the name of John Delle or Dolle.[28] In 1436 Stephen was *ligator librorum de Oxonia*,[29] and his contemporary was John More. This man seems to have been a bookbinder for many years. He is frequently mentioned in 1440[30] and 1444.[31] From the accounts of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, John More, like many of his fellow craftsmen, lived in Cat Street in the years 1460 and 1461, and also between 1468 and 1469.[32] A neighbour of More's, 'Thomas Bokebynder de Catys Street,' was imprisoned in 1446 for saying that the mayor and townsfolk were not under oath to respect the rights of the university.[33] Three years later John Pradte or Pratt, 'bokebynder of Oxford dwellyng yn Katstrete,' was paid five shillings 'for mending of the bokys'; this being

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 267. [2] Ibid. xxxix, 163.
[3] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* (1882), 38.
[4] Ibid. [5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 331.
[6] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 38.
[7] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 43.
[8] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 38, 119.
[9] Ibid. 38. [10] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 337.
[11] Ibid. 339. [12] Ibid. 277; xlvii, 55, 83, 84.
[13] Ibid. xlvii, 28, 56, 57, 61.
[14] Ibid. xvii, 209. [15] Ibid. xxix, 269.
[16] Ibid. xxviii, 343. [17] Ibid. xxix, 268.
[18] Shadwell, *Oriel Mun.* (1893–1902), iii, 6.
[19] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 2.
[20] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 341.
[21] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 38.
[22] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 2.
[23] Ibid. 4; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 209.
[24] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 38; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xviii, 41, 47.
[25] Bodl. Lib. Osney R. 63. [26] Ibid. 84.
[27] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 40.
[28] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 270–1. [29] Ibid. 271.
[30] Ibid. 271. [31] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.) ii, 741.
[32] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 271.
[33] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 556.

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an early record of payment is of some considerable interest.[1] In the will of Dr. Richard Brown 'Johannes Bokebyndere Oxoniae' is mentioned in the year 1452;[2] and 'William Bokebynder' occurs as the name of a witness in the year 1459.[3] The last date brings the history of Oxford bookbinding to an important event. Mr. Strickland Gibson writes:—

> The earliest stamped work which can be attributed to an Oxford binder is on a collection of sermons written at Oxford in 1460 .... The dies are disposed in the traditional English manner and two of them are of very early design. ... The back of the volume is tooled with intersecting fillets and small roundels arranged in sets of three.

These roundels are very distinctive of Oxford in the fifteenth century.[4] The next earliest Oxford binding is to be found on an MS. of J. Goolde belonging to University College and bound in 1462.[5] Previous to 1734 the MS. Royal D. 6 II in the British Museum bore the following interesting inscription, which disappeared owing to rebinding—

> Iste liber ligatus erat Oxonii in Catstrete, ad instantiam Reverendi Domini Thome Wybarum in sacra Theologia Bacalarii Monarchi Roffensis, Anno Domini 1467.[6]

Between 1480 and 1482 books were printed by Theoderic Rood, and between 1483 and 1487 Rood seems to have been in partnership with Thomas Hunte. These two printers had their typical kind of decoration on the bindings of their books, and on all the volumes printed by the first Oxford Press foreign influence can be traced in the type of binding. Mr. Strickland Gibson writes: "Some bindings, almost certainly produced at Oxford, are not only decorated with foreign stamps, but are absolutely foreign in design as well.'[7] The two binders at this period were Thomas Uffynton and John Bray, and it must have been one or other of these who bound for 12 pence the copy of Antonius Andreae which still retains its original covers and is preserved in Magdalen College.[8]

During the sixteenth century some changes were introduced in the system of binding in Oxford. Instead of white sheepskin, from 1450 calf was almost universally used, and this remained the chief article for covering the boards, which up to 1600 were as a general rule of oak.[9] Besides this change, owing to the greater demand for books 'a labour-saving tool called a roll came into use. It consisted of a wheel engraved with a design, which could therefore be repeated indefinitely. Many bindings decorated in this manner are not inferior to stamped work, and for a few years the old style was but slightly modified, but when smaller rolls came into use this class of binding quickly deteriorated and soon lost its distinction.'[10] The names of the bookbinders in this century are not so numerous as in the preceding hundred years. There may be two reasons for this. In the first place the Oxford Press closed its interesting career for a very large portion of the period; and secondly, many bookbinders were probably classed as stationers. In 1525 one Gressop was a binder,[11] and in 1556 there is a record of fourteen pence being paid to 'Cavy for bynding of a boke for the accomptes.'[12] Another binder's name, Rowland Jenckes or Jenkes, has been preserved to posterity by the fact that in 1577 he was condemned at Oxford for sedition.[13] One of the longest-established and best known bookbinders of this period was Dominick Pinnart or Pinart. He was admitted a bookseller in 1574, and occurs in the Oxford University Archives as a bookbinder in 1583.[14] He is mentioned by Wood as a binder in 1619,[15] and probably died in 1627, when he was buried in the university church of St. Mary the Virgin. In the same year in which Pinnart was admitted as a bookbinder, one Carre is mentioned in the archives as carrying on that trade.[16] The last of the Elizabethan bookbinders was Stephen Wilson, who is recorded as a bookseller in 1590, and a binder in 1591.[17] At the close of the sixteenth century the use of clasps on bound volumes, which had been general, now began to disappear.

The seventeenth century opened in Oxford with a magnificent addition to its public buildings and its possession of books. In 1598 Sir Thomas Bodley, diplomatist and scholar, began the formation of the Bodleian Library, which was opened in 1603, and endowed by Bodley in 1611.[18] This munificent gift led to an enormous increase of binding work in Oxford, and there was a consequent increase of binders. Robert Billingsley is the earliest binder mentioned in the seventeenth century, and he was engaged in his trade about 1601, but he was certainly dead before November, 1606.[19] Between 1602 and 1613 Edward Miles bound for the Bodleian Library,[20] and for the early part of that period Nicholas Smith did likewise, but he died in or about 1609.[21] John Westall was also a binder, and practised his trade as late as 1640. The name

[1] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 2.
[2] *Mun. Acad.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 648.
[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 272.
[4] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 2.
[5] Ibid. 3. [6] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 272.
[7] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 7.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. 40.
[10] Ibid. 11. [11] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 273.
[12] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 11.
[13] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 275.
[14] Ibid. 274.
[15] Ibid. xxxvii, 240. [16] Ibid. xxix, 275.
[17] Ibid. [18] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* v, 294.
[19] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 276.
[20] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 49.
[21] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 276.

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of John Allam appears in 1610, but he did not bind for the Bodleian later than 1631.[1] Between 1610 and 1633 Henry Blewet or Bluett lived as a binder in St. Mary the Virgin's parish,[2] and a contemporary, John Adams,[3] was employed for five years by the Bodleian Library between 1613 and 1618; he also bound for Magdalen College between 1610 and 1620. He lived close to the historic position of bookbinders in the past, for his house was on the north side of the schools quadrangle, and it was here probably that he trained his apprentice John Kearsley in 1613.[4] In the same year Francis Peerse or Elias Peerse and Christopher Barbar were also binders for the Bodleian. The library in fact kept a great number employed, and between 1615 and 1626 there were William Webb, William Johnson, John Hill, William Davis, William Wildgoose, William Spicer, Sampson Bele, and Robert Nixon; the latter had been apprenticed to the already-mentioned Robert Billingsley.[5] Roger Barnes, of the parish of All Saints,[6] was especially famous for his bindings, and to this day they exhibit very skilful tooling, and the leather has proved to be of a most durable quality.[7] He was engaged in the trade in 1626,[8] and was assisted by his son John Barnes, whose apprentice was Ralph Beckford. This man bound a book for the University Archives in 1647, and was still a bookbinder in 1675. It is said that he was the last to use the old-fashioned roll,[9] just as he employed 'hatching' almost to the time of the Commonwealth, although this 'hatching' at the head and tail of a book had been a distinct feature of Oxford bindings between 1598 and 1620,[10] and had then slowly gone out. Another binder of this period who carried on his work for many years was the already-mentioned William Webb, who continued to bind until 1652.[11] Seale of the Eastgate also bound for the Bodleian Library between 1636 and 1637, and he is probably the man whom Wood mentions for the year 1659.[12] A William Ingram bound for the Bodleian in the year of the Restoration, and another William Ingram was a binder about 1680, but he died before 1684. A third Ingram carried on the name into the eighteenth century, binding in the years 1700 and 1701.[13] Meantime there had been several other binders, as for example Richard Heart, who dwelt in St. Mary's parish in 1666, and Francis Oxlade, who bound for the library between 1668 and 1669. In March, 1681, the bookbinder to Prince Rupert was in Oxford, but possibly only for a short time. Four years later James Short was a binder, and in the year previous to the Revolution there is the first mention of Mr. Thomas Sedgeley. During the last seven years of the century Thomas Churchill, William Jenkinson, George Chambers, E. Skinner, Anthony Hall, Thompson, and Thomas Wildgoose all carried on this industry.[14]

Two changes in binding were introduced in the seventeenth century. The first of these was the gradual disappearance of the heavy oak boards which gave way to pasteboard about 1600, though wooden boards were used as late as 1609; and the second was the almost general use between 1620 and 1730 of rough calf for the covering of the book.[15]

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were linked together in the history of bookbinding at Oxford by Mr. Sedgeley. He died in October, 1719, at the ripe old age of seventy-two years. Hearne records in his diary that 'he was an extraordinary good binder.'[16] Another of his name must have carried on the trade, for there are references to a Thomas Sedgeley, bookbinder, in 1721, 1727, 1738, and between 1740 and 1749.[17] Two of the original Sedgeley's contemporaries were Cornelius Llewellyn, who is recorded as a binder in November, 1710, and William Thompson, who may have been the Thompson of the previous century. Besides these, there were West and Francis Oxlade in 1712, and Doe and William Smith between 1717 and 1719.[18] In that same year another binder, Mr. Sele, or Seal, is entered in Hearne's diary,[19] and he describes the style in which one, at any rate, of his books was bound. It was covered in 'calf's skin with red leaves, roll'd and letter'd.'[20] Two other men, who had evidently been binders for some time, are recorded by Hearne for 1720 and 1721. The first case is that of Richard Higges, concerning whom Hearne tells us nothing except the date of his death.[21] But the second entry is more interesting, as it records the fact that the bookbinding fraternity, even in the eighteenth century, still seems to be settled in its old haunt, Schidyerd Way. Here Richard Webb continued to live for some years, though he had retired from exercising his handicraft.[22] During the next ten

[1] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 48.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 276.
[3] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 38.
[4] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 48.
[5] Ibid. 48–50. The name William Wildgoose is of particular interest, as he was the craftsman who bound the First Folio Shakespeare in 1624, which has been (April, 1906) bought by the Bodleian Library.
[6] Macray, *Ann. of the Bodleian* (ed. 2), 77.
[7] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 49.
[8] Macray, *Ann. of the Bodleian* (ed. 2), 77.
[9] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 50.
[10] Ibid. 41.
[11] Macray, *Ann. of the Bodleian* (ed. 2), 77.
[12] Ibid.; Wood, *Life and Times*, i, 278.
[13] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 50.
[14] The writer is much indebted to Mr. F. Madan, sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, for allowing him to read and use his private notes.
[15] Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxf. Bindings*, 40.
[16] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlviii, 62.
[17] Information from Mr. F. Madan.
[18] Ibid.
[19] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlviii, 2.
[20] Ibid. 29.
[21] Ibid. 190.
[22] Ibid. 310.

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years Abbott, Henry Jones, Edmund Allin, and G. Wightwick were binders in Oxford,[1] besides Andrew Hanley, who was apparently much disliked. The annoyance of the university binders in May, 1721, was owing to a special honour having been conferred upon this Andrew Hanley. In that year the vice-chancellor matriculated this man, who had served his apprenticeship in London and had not been resident in Oxford very long. This action, according to Hearne, was 'to the great mortification of the Oxford bookbinders.'[2] Hanley, however, seems to have prospered, for when he came to Oxford he had apprenticed himself to the widow of a bookbinder of the name of Smith, and in about 1725 he married Mrs. Smith and carried on the business.[3]

During the period 1730 to 1745 there are only four names left on record, as far as can be ascertained, and these are Fletcher, Richard Gillman, Alexander Thompson, and E. Willoughby. After this date the Bodleian binders are fairly numerous. In 1745 the name of Thomas Parker occurs, and he is again found as a regular binder from 1751 to 1793. In 1745, too, William Hayes bound for the library, and the name occurs continuously from 1790 to 1830. The firm of Messrs. Hayes & Sons still carry on the work, and as their premises are in Oriel Street they preserve the tradition of the bookbinders of Schidyerd Way. The last forty years of the eighteenth-century records contain the names of Doe and Thompson in 1762; Wood in 1782; Joshua Cooke between 1785 and 1791; J. Padbury between 1785 and 1789, and from the *New Universal Directory* it is evident that the latter was still a binder between 1791 and 1798. Elmsley and Bardgett (?) bound for the Bodleian in 1792, but their names do not apparently occur again.[4] The last two binders of the eighteenth century were Thomas Barrott and Thomas Wood.[5]

The bookbinders in Oxford during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century seem to have been about fifteen in number.[6] Amongst these were Barrott in 1805, Couldrey and Elsbury in 1815, who bound for the Bodleian, but in particular J. Saunders, whose good bindings are still remembered by some,[7] and who continued to carry on the business well into the century. In 1895 Edwin Hickman died, after being a bookbinder in Oxford, and especially binding for the Bodleian Library for many years. He had been apprenticed to a firm belonging to Messrs. Fred. Kile & Sons. The founder of this firm is thought to have been a Bavarian who had been settled in Oxford for some time before Hickman went as his apprentice. The business was carried on at 6 High Street, St. Clement's, and was at one time very well known and prosperous, but before Mr. Kile died, in 1854, at the age of eighty, it was only in a small way. A contemporary business was that of Mr. Charles Richards, who was both a bookseller and binder. He sold his business to Messrs. Henry Maltby & Bloxham, but after Mr. Bloxham died the firm dissolved. The present business of Messrs. Alfred Maltby & Son goes back to much the same period, and they bind for the Bodleian. In this work they succeeded, in 1877, Mr. Richard Hall, who had in turn taken over the concern of Mr. Richard Omath. About the middle of the nineteenth century 'Mr. John Graham had his binding shop in the New Inn Yard, St. Aldate's.' This business was sold to a Mr. Henry Hammans. At very much the same time Mr. Bellamy in Paradise Square did all Mr. Parker's pamphlet work, which was then very considerable, and kept several hands in constant employment. The firm of Messrs. Bellamy & Co. is still in existence in New Inn Hall Street. Mr. Wheeler was also a binder in High Street in the central period of the nineteenth century, and sold his business to a Mr. William Mansell, by whom it was again sold to Messrs. Swadling & Ovenell. Since Mr. Swadling's death it has been carried on by Mr. E. Ovenell in Holywell Street. 'Jerry' Ward, William Salter, and Robert Hartley were also binders, but their businesses were not as important as that of Messrs. Thomas & George Shrimpton, who were originally binders in Church Street, St. Ebbe's. They then removed to Ship Street, and soon after sold the business to Messrs. Morley & Brewer.[8] This Mr. Morley was the founder of the firm now known as Messrs. Morley Brothers, and was apprenticed to Messrs. William Hayes & Son, in or about the year 1845. In 1853 Mr. Morley, in partnership with Mr. Brewer, re-started the business of Messrs. Shrimpton in Ship Street. From that moment the firm has always had a great reputation for its particularly beautiful work in vellum and morocco bindings. Twelve years after the foundation of the firm the bookbinding factory was moved from Ship Street into larger and more commodious premises in Long Wall.[9] In 1883 Mr. Morley, senior, carried out one of the greatest of his bookbinding undertakings, when he bound for presentation to the Queen, Mr. Eastwick's folio edition of *The Kaisarnamah i Hind; or the Lay of the Empress of India*. The binding was of blue morocco leather, very elaborately tooled; in the centre was the monogram 'I.V.R.' and in each of the four corners was the Star of India.

[1] Information from Mr. F. Madan.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlviii, 239–40.
[3] Ibid. 38. [4] Information from Mr. F. Madan.
[5] *The New Universal Dir.* 1791–8.
[6] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[7] Mr. Morley of Long Wall informed me of this.
[8] This information has been obtained from MSS. in the possession of Mr. F. Madan.
[9] The writer is indebted to Messrs. Morley Bros., Long Wall.

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Some idea of the skill and labour of the designer may be gathered from the fact that the gilding on the book was the result of over 3,000 toolings.[1]

About sixteen or eighteen years ago Mr. Morley obtained from the north some old spirit-marbled paper of French character. This was shown to Mr. Morris, printer, of New Inn Hall Street, and he was so struck by its beauty that he was determined if possible to reproduce something of the kind. After twelve months' indefatigable labour, Mr. Morris was successful, and produced the now well-known 'Morris paper,' for the 'fly' or 'end' papers of books when bound. This was at first used solely by the firm of Morley, but it has since been taken up by other binders. In 1897 Mr. Morley, senior, died, and the firm, which had for some time been known as Messrs. Morley & Sons, took the name of Messrs. Morley Brothers. The present head of the firm has been in the business for fifty years, and throughout his experience no artist has ever been employed, for the Brothers Morley execute all their own designs and superintend the whole work of binding, the toolings and inlayings of which are well known in both hemispheres.

There are at the present time, besides those already mentioned, numerous other binders who still carry on in Oxford one of the earliest trades that was connected with the university.

PARCHMENT AND PAPER MAKING

In a county within the bounds of which was situated a large and ever-increasing university, it is only natural to expect, and to find, in early days parchment-makers and in later times several paper-works. The earliest year that can be given for a *studium generale* in Oxford is, too, the first year in which a parchment-maker is mentioned. In or about 1180, Reginald, a parchment-maker, occurs in a deed of Elias Bradforth now preserved in the Oxford University Archives. During the reign of Richard I, Roger *pergamenarius*, or parchment-maker, had his dwelling within the parish of St. Mary the Virgin. It would appear, from the few records that exist, that in early times the parchment-makers, like the bookbinders, dwelt for the most part in or about Cat Street. It was in this street that Simon *parcamenarius*, had his abode between 1240 and 1290. Here too dwelt Stephen *percamenarius*, between 1251 and 1252. The names of Simon and Peter also occur at this time as the makers of parchment.[2] The powers of the university were gradually extended over some of the trades which came into intimate contact with the members of the university, and in 1290 all the parchment-makers of Oxford were placed under the jurisdiction of the chancellor.[3]

During the fourteenth century several names of individuals trading in parchment are to be found, though the exact date is not always to be ascertained. In 1303 John de Warham is recorded as a parchment-maker.[4] The name of Adam de Walton occurs in the University records, and Simon, who was engaged in the same trade, was a witness concerning land in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin.[5] In 1377 a John is recorded as a maker of parchment,[6] and it is possible that he was the John Hyrys mentioned with Richard and Edward in 1380.[7]

That parchment-making continued is, of course, an obvious fact, for books were a necessity; but the meagre records on the subject only supply a very few names in the fifteenth century: these were Richard senior and junior in 1410, and Hawkins and Alexander, who are called parchment sellers, in 1482.[8]

The next century witnessed a considerable falling off in a trade which had evidently flourished in the thirteenth century. During 1556 and 1594 only five names occur of men engaged in the industry. These were James a Wood in 1556; Thomas Wadloffe in 1564; Gilbert Burnet *alias* Cornyshe in 1567; Thomas Gowre, who resigned his office of parchment-seller in 1593–4, and was succeeded by William Jennings or Fenninge.[9] In the first twenty years of the seventeenth century three names are left on record. John Cooke was followed by Henry Dockin, who was succeeded in turn by Richard Parne.[10] But by the seventeenth century it is probable that white paper for books was well known,[11] though Macpherson would place the date of its introduction at the end rather than the beginning of that period.[12] At any rate, by 1666 the Wolvercote paper-mill, the fame of which is at the present day world-wide, was established. Just as Dr. Fell exhibited so much interest in the creation of a great Press at Oxford, so he exercised his influence and encouraged the fitting up of the paper-mill at Wolvercote by Mr. George Edwards, at that time a well-known engraver.[13]

From this time forward, with several fluctuations in its history, the Wolvercote mill was

[1] *The Oxf. Chron.* 13 Oct. 1883.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 267.
[3] *Mun. Acad.* 52.
[4] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxix, 164.
[5] Ibid. xxix, 268–9.
[6] Ibid. xviii, 52.
[7] Ibid. 41, 43, 44.
[8] Ibid. xxix, 270–2.
[9] Ibid. 274–5.
[10] Ibid. 277.
[11] Rogers, *Agric. and Prices* (1864), i, 645.
[12] Macpherson, *Ann. of Commerce* (1805).
[13] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 17. Harl. MS. 5901, fol. 89. George Edwards is here described as 'a cutter in wood of the great letters, and engraved many other things made use of in the printing of books, and had a talent in maps, although done with his left hand.'

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famous for paper. Hearne mentions the mill in May, 1722,[1] and has already made an extremely interesting remark in his diary concerning the paper made there in 1718. 'John Beckford,' he records, 'and his wife are now living in Wolvercote paper-mill; he is famous for making paper. Some of the best paper in England is made at Wolvercote Mill.'[2] If the present fame of the Wolvercote paper is taken into consideration, it is worth noting that it has been of such excellent quality for so long a period.

There is something of a blank in the history of Oxford paper-making during the eighteenth century, but it is evident that it existed, and in 1792 a journeyman paper-maker was arrested for joining in a conspiracy with ten others to demand higher wages.[3] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the most celebrated paper-maker of Oxfordshire was Mr. Swann. During his career he had control of the three paper-mills at Wolvercote, Eynsham, and Sandford. He was in possession of the Wolvercote mill as early as 1813. In that year he had a hot dispute with the people of Yarnton about the water. A law-suit was started, as the people of that place accused the owner of the mill of having raised the lasher during the night and let the water through.[4] About 1850 Mr. Swann gave up the Wolvercote mill, which at this time belonged to the Duke of Marlborough. In 1855 it was taken over by Mr. Combe, and he rebuilt the mill, erecting the smaller of the two chimneys with that date upon it.[5] In 1870 the Delegates of the Clarendon Press determined to control their own paper-making, and so purchased the Wolvercote mill, which they still hold.[6] The mill is under the guidance of the controller, Mr. Joseph Castle.

Mr. James Swann also held the mill at Eynsham, and he was a paper-maker there previous to 1823.[7] As late as 1852 Swann & Blake were paper manufacturers in this town,[8] and the mill is of interest, as within its walls some of the earliest experiments were made for making paper from Esparto.[9] After Mr. Swann gave up the mill it was taken by Mr. Wakefield, and it is now tenanted by Mr. Bugg, a manufacturer of leather boards.

The paper-mill at Sandford passed into the hands of Mr. James Swann on 24 June, 1823.[10] The Sandford mills are of very considerable antiquity, but they were originally corn-mills, as is stated in a document of 1865, in which a reference is made to the mills having been destroyed by fire at an earlier date and having been almost entirely rebuilt. In a document in the possession of the Delegates of the University Chest, Sandford Mills existed in 1694, but it is evident that as late as 1805 they were still corn mills, as Joseph Hill, who was then holding the mills, is spoken of merely as a miller.[11] The old corn-mill was probably first converted into a paper-mill when taken over by Mr. Swann. The work done at first was, of course, confined to hand-made paper. Machinery for making paper was, however, coming in, and about the year 1840 Mr. Swann introduced a 52-in. paper-making machine with one drying cylinder.[12] The paper duty was still being levied, and in 1853 the proprietor's machinery was seized and sold, as he was unable to meet the demands of the Government.[13] The next year the mill passed from the control of the Swann family, and was taken over by Mr. John Thomas Norris, a paper manufacturer of Sutton Courtenay. It is in the conveyance of this year that there is a mention of the 'Paper-mill' yard.[14] In the same year Mr. Park of Bury, well known to the past generation of paper-makers, installed at Sandford a 72-in. machine, and this was worked for many years, but of course with numerous improvements. In 1872 a very disastrous fire broke out in the mill, the construction of the wooden upper stories and drying lofts rendering ready fuel to the flames. Practically the whole of the mill was destroyed except the steam boiler-house.[15] Eight years after this disaster the mill was sold by the Rev. Walter Kitching to the University of Oxford.[16] In 1881 it was let to Alfred Cannon, paper-maker, and he produced thick and thin browns in rolled sheets and double-caps with two machines of 68 and 72 in. respectively. Two years after this a Hercules 'turbine' was introduced by Mr. Cannon, and this was followed in 1886 by steam engines of 120-horse power.[17] On 27 February, 1903, a lease was drawn up between the University and Cannon & Clapperton, Ltd., which is the present title of the firm at Sandford.[18] In 1905 Mr. Clapperton introduced a second Hercules 'turbine,' but in addition to these there is one water-wheel, for the mill is mainly dependent upon water power. The chief

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlviii, 365. [2] Ibid. xliii, 231.
[3] M. S. Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* (1902), 107. [4] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxiv, 280, 316.
[5] The writer is indebted to Mr. Joseph Castle, the controller of Wolvercote Mills.
[6] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, 25.
[7] Doc. in the possession of the Delegates of the Univ. Chest.
[8] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[9] The writer is indebted to the controller of the Wolvercote mill.
[10] Doc. in the possession of the Delegates of the Univ. Chest.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *The Paper Makers' Circular*, 10 Nov. 1896.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Doc. in the possession of the Delegates of the Univ. Chest.
[15] *The Paper Makers' Circular*, 10 Nov. 1896.
[16] Doc. in the possession of the Delegates of the Univ. Chest.
[17] *The Paper Makers' Circular*, 10 Nov. 1896.
[18] Doc. in the possession of the Delegates of the Univ. Chest.

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ingredients in the Sandford paper are wood pulp and paper waste, and the different papers made are very numerous, including 'glazed casings,' 'duplex papers,' 'cover papers,' and any coloured tint paper.

The Weirs mill near Oxford was also in former years a paper-making establishment. Like so many of the others it had originally been a corn-mill, but about the year 1824 it was converted into a paper factory. The type of paper made was purple needle paper and coloured wall-papers, but as a general rule these were manufactured without any decorative pattern. In a few cases, however, patterns were employed, but these were always stamped on by hand. After many years of this kind of work the mill began to produce shop papers or coloured wrappers, and this industry was carried on until 1885. In that year the paper-making machines were taken out, and Mr. John Towle turned the mill into a board manufactory. Here that work is still carried on in conjunction with Hincksey Mill, where cardboard-making has been executed since 1825. In fact, this latter mill was one of the earliest to produce boards for the manufacture of portmanteaux.[8]

The neighbourhood of Henley is also well known for its paper-mills. In 1852 Thomas and John Hunt were paper-makers at Shiplake,[9] and a paper-mill is still worked there by Mr. T. Neighbour. Another paper-mill was formerly worked at Rotherfield Peppard. Previous to 1890 it was destroyed by fire, but having been re-built it was taken by Messrs. C. H. Smith & Sons. During their tenancy they made fine, small, hand-paper, and employed about twenty hands. Their lease ran out in March, 1904, and they then retired to their warehouse in Henley, where they carry on paper-bag making as one branch of their business.[10]

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Weaving in some form must have been done in Oxfordshire in the earliest times. It existed in Witney as early as 969, but the first record for the city of Oxford itself is not to be found until 1130. By the end of the reign of Henry I gilds had been formed in many of the large towns, and the members were most probably foreigners who were banded together in these corporations.[1] The Pipe Roll of 30 Henry I shows the existence of such a gild in Oxford, and states:

> The weavers of Oxford return their account of one mark of gold for their gild. In the treasury £6 for one mark of gold and they are quit.[2]

The names of one weaver and one fuller have been preserved for the year 1139 in the cartulary of the monastery of St. Frideswide. In a charter of Stephen for that year Thomas the fuller held land in Oxford,[3] and Ernald the weaver is also mentioned, both in this year and again between 1180 and 1190.[4] For the first year of the reign of Henry II Anthony Wood quotes the same words as given in the Pipe Roll of 30 Henry I,[5] and in the *Liber Rubeus de Scaccario* it is recorded, 'Telarii Oxoniae j m auri pro gilda sua.'[6] Five years after this entry the weavers of Oxford obtained a royal charter.[7]

Weaving industries flourished in the reign of King John, and the number of weavers is considered to have been more than sixty.[11] During the same period there was a fulling mill at Osney.[12] There was some trouble between the weavers' gild and the town authorities, for in 1224 the weavers of Oxford paid a cask of wine as a fine to be allowed to carry on the manufacture of cloth as they had done under Henry II and John, and they were no longer to be obstructed in their craft by the mayor of the town.[13] The names recorded of those engaged in the textile industry during the reign of Henry III are by no means numerous. Between 1210 and 1230 there were Thomas and Segrim, both weavers,[14] and at the same time Robert the fuller held land in the parish of All Saints.[15] Another fuller named Thomas is also mentioned between 1247 and 1250. In 1270 John the weaver obtained a messuage,[16] and at some uncertain period of the reign Andrew Halegoth sold cloth within the city.[17]

So large a number of weavers as existed between 1199 and 1215 was never again reached. In 1275 the weavers' gild was found to be fast decaying. In this year they obtained a reduction of their fee-farm rent from one golden mark annually to 42*s*., on account of their small

[1] Barnard, *Companion to Engl. Hist.* (1902), 269.
[2] *Pipe R.* 30 Hen. I (Rec. Com.), 109.
[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 19. [4] Ibid. 20.
[5] Ibid. xvii, 496, 'telarii de Oxenford reddunt compotum de una marca auri pro gilda sua; in thesaurario vi libras pro una marca auri et quieti sunt.'
[6] *Red Bk. of the Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 675.
[7] Barnard, *Companion to Engl. Hist.* (1902), 209.
[8] The writer is indebted to Mr. George Turner, of the Hincksey and Weirs mills.
[9] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[10] The writer is indebted to Messrs. C. H. Smith & Sons.
[11] Ogle, *Royal Letters*, 14; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 124.
[12] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 403.
[13] Madox, Exch. 286; Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, i, 191.
[14] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 165 and 320.
[15] Ibid. 289. [16] Ibid. 184.
[17] Ibid. xvii, 403.

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numbers, now scarcely fifteen.[1] The Hundred Rolls of 1279 preserve the names of a few of these weavers. There were John and Roger; William living in the parish of St. Peter-le-Bailey, and Augustine in the parish of St. Michael.[2] The mayor and bailiffs of Oxford attempted in 1284 to resuscitate the declining trade by gaining an order to permit weavers, who were probably foreigners, to ply their trade in the town and suburbs of Oxford.[3] Excellent as this would appear to be, the scheme evidently failed, for six years later the fifteen weavers or Oxford had so decreased that there were only seven left to petition the king that they might pay half a mark annually instead of 42*s.*[4] A very probable reason for the falling off of the Oxford trade at this period is to be found in the bad means, or total lack of means, of communication. The Thames had in the past been an excellent way of transporting merchandise, but in the reign of Edward I or of his son Edward II this method had become dangerous, as is shown by a petition of the merchants of that period. They said that the Thames passage was blocked by 'gors, locks and mills, often to their great peril'; they also pleaded that justices should be appointed to see the matter remedied.[5] But the trade was doomed, for the time at any rate, and by 1323 the weavers of Oxford were all dead. The burgesses, however, continued to be charged with the 42*s.* a year payable to the barons of the Exchequer.[6] It is interesting to notice that twelve years later Walter de Farndon was a dyer and bailiff of Oxford, a fact which points to the existence of some trade.[7] This can have been but very little, for in 1352 the burgesses of Oxford were released from the arrears that they ought to have paid on behalf of the non-existent weavers. The arrears had by this time amounted to the considerable sum of £63 10*s.*[8]

According to the records for the poll tax in 1380 better times had undoubtedly come, for there were resident in Oxford between twenty-five and thirty weavers, and fourteen or fifteen fullers;[9] and in about 1400 there was an eyot near to Osney known as 'Fullingmill eyt.'[10] That the trade continued in the next century is evidenced by the existence of a dyer in 1444,[11] and that the annual 42*s.* due from the weavers' gild of Oxford was among the sums assigned by Parliament to meet the expenses of the king's household in 1450.[12] The records of Bicester Priory give some evidences of price in the reign of Henry VI, for £10 18*s.* 6*d.* were received for 23 tods of pure wool sold to a certain merchant at Oxford. The same account proves

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 123–4; Ogle, *Royal L. addressed to Oxf.* 14, 15. There are two copies of this remission in the city records. They are both written on narrow slips of parchment; both are in fair condition. Ogle considers they are exemplifications. The remission is as follows:—'Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Acquitaine Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem. Cum celebris memorie Dominus Johannes quondam Rex Anglie auus noster per cartam suam quam inspeximus concessisse [t] Thelariis de Oxon gildam suam et omnes libertates et consuetudines suas quas habuerunt tempore H. Regis aui predicti Regis Johannis et tempore patris sui ita quod singulis annis eidem Regi Johanni inde donarent unam marcam auri et quod nemo operaretur de misterio eorum infra quinque loueas circa Burgum Oxon et sicut hanc consuetudinem solebant habere tempore H. Regis aui predicti Regis Johannis et tempore patris sui et eo tempore quo Punssionem [probably miswritten for 'pensionem'] dicte marce auri fecerant Thelarii predicti erant numero sexaginta et plures in villa predicta qui iam ad tantam inopiam deuenerunt quod uix sunt numero quindecim Ita quod de firma predicte marce auri annue multo tempore non responderunt nec habent hiis diebus unde inde respondeant. Nos ipsorum egestati pie compacientes perdonamus eis redditum dicte marce auri annue ac omnia arreragia eiusdem de gracia nostra speciali et eis concessimus quod reddant nobis de cetero per aurum per manus Maioris et Balliuorum nostrorum Oxon qui pro tempore fuerint quadraginta et duos solidos videlicet unam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad festum Pasche quamdiu nobis placuerit eodem modo et eadem occasione quibus predictam marcam auri nobis reddere consueuerunt. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Wodestoke xij die August anno regni nostri tercio.'

[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlvii. 8, 44, 46, 53.

[3] Ogle, *Royal L. addressed to Oxf.* 15, 16. The document is much mutilated; it runs as follows:—'Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitaine Maiori et Balliuis ville sue O . . . pannos laneos et telas lineas venales ad villam predictam seu suburbia eiusdem prox . . . et telas tam per partes quam integros tam clericis quam aliis vendere possint prout . . . aut perturbacione maioris Balliuorum et Burgensium dicte ville ac aliorum quorumcunque . . . pannos laneos et telas lineas venales ad villam predictam seu suburb . . pannos et telas tam per partes quam integros tam clericis quam aliis prout vende . . . aut perturbacione quacunque vendere permittatis iuxta tenorem carte nostre pre . . . Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium secundo die Maii regni nostri duodecimo.'

[4] Parl. R. i, 50*a*; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 99. 'Telarii Oxonii qui quindecim esse solebant ad reddendum domino Regis 42*s.* per annum, modo non sunt nisi septem, et mendici; petunt quod propter paupertatem eorum reddant domino Regi dimidiam marcam per annum vel parati sunt reddere domino Regi cartam suam quam habent, et alibi commorari et domos suas ibidem dimittere.' 'Responsio. Reddant firmam vel recedant.'

[5] Anct. Pet. File 10, No. 477; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 109.

[6] Anct. Pet. File 132, No. 6569.

[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 15.

[8] Ibid. xxxii, 124.

[9] Ibid. xviii, *passim*.

[10] Ibid. xxxix, 20.

[11] Ibid. xxxvii, 18.

[12] Ibid. xxxii. This payment was again made to the Exchequer in 1521, as seen in the *Records of the City of Oxford*, 30.

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the existence of a clothier at Great Tew of the name of John Bandye who was paid for blue cloth the sum of £7 15s. 2d.[1] This was the period when the Cotswold wool was at the height of its fame, and Chipping Norton, as being on the edge of the Cotswold county, vied with Chipping Campden as a woollen market. Previous to 1451 John Yonge was a celebrated woollen merchant in Chipping Norton.[2] But the great day in the history of weaving in Oxfordshire was reached in 1546, when William Stumpe, clothier, of Malmesbury, rented Osney Abbey. It may be regarded as one of the earliest attempts to create a factory on a very large scale, for Stumpe's intention was to employ 2,000 hands. Leland mentions that Stumpe was a rich clothier, who, after the dissolution of the monasteries, between 1536 and 1539, bought the abbey of Malmesbury of the king. It is said that all the offices of this ancient monastery were filled with looms for the weaving of cloth. Stumpe intended to use Osney Abbey in the same way. It is, however, uncertain that he occupied his Oxford 'factory' for very long, though in all probability he did expend a certain amount on the fitting up of the premises as a mill. In the *Records of the City of Oxford* the minute recites 'What Mr. Stumpe must have at Osney,' and then continues with 'What Mr. Stumpe must do havyng Osney.'

Fyrst he must paye yerely for rent in the whole xviij *li* by equall partes at the foure usuall termes. Second, he shall make noo undertenant, nor leave hit to ony man withowt the consent of the Deane and chapter there, provided that the Deane and chapter shall gyve their consent withowt difficultie, yf the undertenant be honest and hable to occupye the said howses and mylles accordyngly to the meanyng of thes indentures. Thyrdly, he must bynd hymself to fynd work for ij M (2,000) persons from tyme to tyme, if they may be gotten, that wyll do their worke well contynually in clothemakyng, for the succour of the cytye of Oxenford and the contrey about yt, for the which intent the mylles were made.[3]

The impossibility of carrying out this last clause was sufficient reason for the total failure of the scheme.

The price of wool was said to be raised about the middle of the sixteenth century by rich graziers combining and keeping in the supply.[4] But the trade flourished in Oxfordshire, particularly in Oxford, Chipping Norton, Burford, and Banbury. Burford was described in the reign of Edward VI as 'a very great market toune and replenished with much people.'[5] The great woollen merchants of Burford were the Sylvesters, and they had been engaged in this industry for many years.[6] Connected with the clothing industry of the same town was Symon Wysedome,[7] who resided in Burford in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. At the same time a 'wole-house' in Shepe Street, in Banbury, is mentioned, and William Richardson was appointed aulnager in 1552.[8] Three years later in Oxford a fulling mill was 'set upp betweene the hygh brydge and Ruly Wall by Mr. Mallyson.' On 14 February, 1572, the minutes of the corporation record 'the Orders of the Incorporation of the Misterie of Weavers and Fullers of Oxford.' The Records of the City of Oxford contain the following account—

These orders are engrossed in 3 parchement skinnes, under seale confirmed and approved by Edward Saunders, Knight, Lord Cheife Baron of the Exchequer, and William Lovelace Esquyer Serieante at Lawe, Justices of ye Assize for Oxfordshire 27 Feb. A° Eliz : 14°'

They have a circuit of 5 miles allotted them about Oxford and ye suburbes thereof, w^th^in which bounds no man must worke in ye misterie of weavers and fullers unlesse he be of their fellowship.

They are to chose 2 wardens every yere, the one a weaver, ye other a fuller, uppon ye feast of ye exaltation of ye Crosse beinge ye 14 day of September, uppon which day they are all to goe to church togeather to heare some prayer or homilie red there to them etc. ; that beinge done then they are to goe to ye choice of their 2 wardens and 4 bedells or warners.

Those 2 wardens are to make search at times convenient after any kind of weavers or fullers worke not well and competently done, and to see that every weaver have in his house or shop from the summe of 16 bores to the summe of 700 harneyses and slayes, 3 beares betweene every harnys ; and y^t^ every fuller have eleven corse of handells and 2 payre of sheres at ye least etc. under ye payne of *2s. 6d.* etc. No fuller within ye sayd circuite may kepe or occupy in their houses journeymen, otherwise called cardes, uppon payne of *6s.* etc.

They may keepe their courts uppon their 4 usuall quarter dayes every yeare, 14 to be sworne of ye jury to enquire if their orders be well kept.'[9]

By an order of 1575 woollen cloth might be bought and sold by anyone in Oxford,[10] and in the next year by the Act of Parliament 18 Elizabeth, c. 21, it was—

lawful for every person to buy and sell within the Borough of Woodstock all manner of wools and yarns brought into the Borough in the usual market and fair days.[11]

[1] Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records* (1906), 215.
[2] Kirtland, *Brief Memorials of the Early Hist. of Chipping Norton* (1871), 34.
[3] Gough, MS. Oxon. 70 ; *Records of the City of Oxf.* 184–6 ; Cunningham and MacArthur, *Outlines of Engl. Indust. Hist.* (1895), 204–5.
[4] Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (1905), i, 544.
[5] Monk, *Hist. of Burford* (1891), 10.
[6] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds* (1905), 364. A tomb of the Sylvester family in Burford church, dated 1568, bears the woolman's mark.
[7] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Var.* i, 54.
[8] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury* (1841), 218.
[9] *Records of the City of Oxford*, 341.
[10] Ibid, 370.
[11] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Boro. of Woodstock* (1896), 25.

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The chief clothiers elsewhere were Edmund Sylvester the elder[1] and John Floyd[2] of Burford, and Walter Jones[3] and John and Stephen Collier of Witney.[4]

James I in 1608 granted by a charter a wool market to Banbury. The profits gained by the town authorities by means of this market were to be expended for the public good, and for the sustenance of the poor and the infirm.[5] Two years later, for the advancement of this market, a wool house was erected in Banbury, where the trade was carried on with some briskness.[6] White cloth seems to have been the chief industry in Oxfordshire in these early years of the seventeenth century,[7] and although the trade had spread to different towns it is evident that it was still carried on in Oxford itself, as one Thomas Almont, a bailiff of the city for 1620, was a fuller by trade.[8] But Banbury, besides being famous for its Puritanic leanings, must also have been celebrated for its wool industry, for it is referred to in 1636 by Sir William Davenant when he wrote—

> The weaver of Banbury, that hopes
> To intice Heaven by singing, to make him lord
> Of twenty looms.[9]

As to Chipping Norton, its woollen industry still continued, and Kirtland infers that many of the fine houses in the centre of the town were occupied by merchants of position.[10] With regard to Oxford itself, Anthony Wood not only records the existence in 1660 of one John Clarke a dyer,[11] but he definitely shows that Oxford in former times 'was a town of clothing.'[12] He again writes—

> The woll market according to tradition [was] formerly in Halywell Green and on part of the ground (included in Magdalen College Grove) sometimes known by the name of Parys Mede. Here it seemes according to an old booke which belonged sometimes to the weevers of Oxon hath bin 23 loomes at once working and barges passing thereby and coming up to it on the river Charwell. As also according to a certain note that I have seen 70 fullers and weevers were altogeather sometimes there inhabiting.[13]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Banbury came forward with rapidity as an industrial centre for textile manufactures. In or about the year 1701 Messrs. Cobb & Co., manufacturers of webs and horse-clothing, were founded;[14] and about the same time it is evident that dyeing was done in Banbury, for Josiah Franklin, father of the famous Benjamin Franklin, broke away from the family tradition, and deserted the hereditary smithy and his birthplace in Northamptonshire, to follow the occupation of a dyer in Banbury.[15] In 1718 a fresh charter, somewhat similar to that of James I, was granted by George I to Banbury, and by it the town was allowed to continue the woollen industry.[16] During the reign of George I there are references, but certainly only a few, in the parish registers to jersey combers, jersey weavers, worsted, silk, linen, and garter weavers.[17] Chipping Norton was not to be left behind, and in 1746, according to more modern sources,[18] or, at any rate, in 1757, according to Kirtland,[19] Messrs. Bliss and Sons founded their well-known mills, at first for the manufacture of tilting and linsey wolseys. In 1776 the villages round Oxford were busily engaged in handloom weaving, and one such that was particularly well known was that of Charlbury.[20] In the same year the *Oxford Journal*, by means of its advertisements, reveals the fact that the weaving industry was in a flourishing condition, both in the city of Oxford and the surrounding neighbourhood. On 7 June there occurs the following:—

> Notice is hereby given to all spinners of Yarn, Hemp and small flax within 25 miles of the city of Oxford, that they may have employment from August next. N.B. Several hundreds may have employment: The sooner application is made the better.[21]

The woollen trade of Burford had not as yet disappeared, and well into the nineteenth century this town continued its manufacture of duffles or duffields and rugs.[22] And in the *Antiquarian Itinerary* there is a plate of the year 1816 which shows the large warehouses of the Sylvesters as still standing.[23]

Banbury was the chief centre, however, and its trade was evidently extensive for Mr. Philip Rusher to mention it in 'Crouch Hill, a Poem.'

> Here flourish manufactories and arts,
> And num'rous workmen ply their useful parts;
> Swift fly the pointed shuttles through the looms,
> And moving beams reverb'rate round the rooms.
> Quick industry, with busy air and face,
> Presides o'er all and moves from place to place.[24]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Var.* i, 46. [2] Ibid. 50.
[3] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds*, 142.
[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1591–4), p. 569 (48).
[5] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury* (1841), 257. [6] Ibid.
[7] Cunningham, *Growth of Industry and Commerce* (1903), ii, 231. [8] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxvi, 35.
[9] Sir William Davenant, *The Wits, a Comedy*.
[10] Kirtland, *Brief Memorials of the Early Hist. of Chipping Norton* (1871), 25.
[11] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxvi, 38.
[12] Ibid. xxi, 40. [13] Ibid. xxi, 496.
[14] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 566–7.
[15] *The 'Times' Lit. Suppl.* No. 210.
[16] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 566–7. [17] Ibid.
[18] Supplied in Chipping Norton.
[19] Kirtland, *Brief Memorials of the Early Hist. of Chipping Norton* (1871), 53.
[20] Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* (1902), 103. [21] Ibid. 104.
[22] Macpherson, *Ann. of Commerce* (ed. 1805).
[23] For this the writer is indebted to Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D.
[24] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 566–7.

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The manufacture for which the town of Banbury was particularly famous was worsted plush,[1] though there were others such as web and girth making. This plush was generally spoken of as a coarse velvet, and was also made in the villages of Bloxham,[2] Bourton, Wardington, and West Shefford.[3] In 1831, from the population returns, it appears that 125 men were employed in Banbury in the plush and girth trade. This return, however, was distinctly misleading, as the Banbury employers sent their work out into the neighbourhood, and it is conjectured that at the least 550 men, women, and children were engaged in some portion of these manufactures. According to the Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations, the Banbury trade in 1835 was regarded as having declined. If this were not actually true at that date it was certainly the case between 1841 and 1851, as the census return of the latter year points out that the population of Adderbury was gradually decreasing owing to the emigration of the plush weavers to Coventry.[4] Before 1841, however, the trade was fairly progressive, and it is best shown by the report of 21 December, 1838, from the secretary of the Assistant Hand-loom Weavers' Commissioners. Of this document Beesley says that a report

was made to Parliament respecting Banbury. From this it appears that, at that date, the manufacture of plushes and other very heavy fabrics of worsted and cotton, variously intermingled, chiefly for exportation, was in the hands of three different firms—Gillett, Harris, and Baughen—and employed 430 looms. These firms were stated to be the only plush manufacturers in England making rough articles for clothing, except one house at Manchester, which made a few sealiottes for waistcoating and caps. All the articles produced in Banbury in the plush trade were in the style of velvets, and were made in looms of the oldest construction with the shuttles passed by hand. Coarse wires, inserted between the warp threads in weaving, form the pile, the threads across the wires being cut with a lance to form the pile of those which are strictly plushes; while other articles variously designated have a curly surface formed by simply withdrawing the wires without cutting the threads which cross them. Many of these fabrics go through the hands of merchants to Portugal, Spain, Italy, and the south of Europe generally. 'A man,' says one of the accounts reported, 'ought to make a piece of from forty-two to forty-four yards of livery plush in a month, for which he would receive about £3.'

The report further states that the manufacture of webs or girthing and horse-cloths had been carried on in Banbury by the family of Messrs. Cobb for about 140 years. The manufactured articles are supplied to Birmingham, Walsall, Glasgow, Bristol, &c., whence they find their way into general consumption. The number of persons employed in 1838 in weaving and winding was about forty. The weavers were chiefly men and boys, but there were five girls weaving light articles, the looms being all single-handed and making only one breadth at a time. All winding, warping, and filling of quills, were done by hands expressly employed by the master. The men had merely to put in their warps and shoot down the weft. The average weekly earnings of the boys winding these were then 1*s.* 10½*d.*, and the average weekly earnings of the weaver by piece work were 11*s.* 0¾*d.*; they worked on an average 9½ hours a day, six days a week.[5]

In 1852 there were three plush manufacturers, Messrs. Baughen, Messrs. Haynes, and Messrs. Lees. In the same year the webbing, horse-cloth, and girth manufacturers were Messrs. Cobb, Messrs. Taylor, Messrs. Laurance & Walker, and the spinning of worsted and mohair was carried on only by Thomas Baughen at Victoria Mills.[6] Eight years later the manufacture of plush is said to have been extensive, employing 120 families.[7]

Meantime, in Chipping Norton, Messrs. Bliss & Sons carried on their woollen industry. About 1821 they made kerseys, webs, and horse-clothing, and a few years later took up the manufacture of serges and tweeds.[8] In 1852 they employed 150 hands. In 1867 they received the gold medal in Class III at the Amsterdam Exhibition, and in the same year Napoleon III wished to bestow upon them a new order of reward. At the present time no member of the Bliss family is in the firm; it has been made into a limited liability company, and the work done tends much to the prosperity of the old woollen centre of Chipping Norton. Banbury is still famous for its plush. The firm of Messrs. Cubitt, Son & Co. continues to carry on business, while Messrs. W. Wrench & Co. manufacture plush at the neighbouring village of Shutford. The old industry of horse-cloths is now in the hands of Messrs. James Walker & Sons.[9] But of the ancient weaving that was formerly carried on either in Burford or in Oxford there is now no trace, and the textile industries of the county in general may be said to have given way before the great businesses of South Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

[1] Macpherson, *Ann. of Commerce* (ed. 1805).
[2] Brewer, *Top. Hist. Descrip. Oxf.* 42; *Gent. Mag.* 1820, pt. ii, 396.
[3] Fullerton & Co., *A Gazetteer of the World.*
[4] *Census Returns*, 1851.
[5] Beesley, *History of Banbury*, 566–7.
[6] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[7] Johnson, *Hist. of Banbury* (*c.* 1865), 256.
[8] Kirtland, *Brief Memorials of the Early Hist. of Chipping Norton*, 52.
[9] *Kelly's Dir.* 1903.

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INDUSTRIES

BLANKET-MAKING

The blankets of Witney are celebrated throughout the world, and their manufacture is probably the best-known industry of Oxfordshire. It is satisfactory to learn that unlike so many of the other trades of this county, blanket-making is more flourishing than ever before.[1] That weaving has long been established in Witney has been well proved by a mention of the 'fullers' isle' in a charter of King Edgar of the year 969.[2] According to Mr. Monk[3] there is every reason for believing that the woollen industry was carried on in Witney and most of the neighbouring villages at the time of the Norman Conquest. This was certainly the case elsewhere in the county, and Witney, with its splendid stream the Windrush, was as well situated for the cleansing of the wool as any other of the Oxfordshire townships. The same reasons that now make Witney the centre of the blanket industry held good in this early period. Here was a small town in a fine wool-growing district with a clear atmosphere and pure water. From very early days the Bishop of Winchester had a palace at Witney, the site of which is now occupied by a house called 'The Mount.' In 1221 Henry III stayed with the then Bishop of Winchester in this palace, and from an account of his visit it may be inferred that Witney, even in these early times, was famous for the manufacture of woollen goods, and it points to a flourishing trade that must have been carried on in that valley for many generations. Henry expended the then enormous sum of 'xx pounds upon his wardrobe during his visit to Peter des Roches at Wittenage.'[4]

Up to this time there is no sign of blankets being made. It is not until about the year 1320 that one Thomas Blanket at Bristol is traditionally supposed to have invented a woollen fabric with the nap raised and of a length hitherto unknown. The story goes that from this invention, and from the name of the inventor, the soft woollen covering, now such a necessity, had its origin, and a new word was added to the English language. Mr. Thorold Rogers considers the manufacture of blankets to have existed in Witney for 500 years,[5] and he records that 319 fleeces were sent from Heyford and 262 fleeces from Radcliffe to Witney in 1385, the carriage for which was 1s. 4½d.[6] Witney, however, was nearer to the famous wool-growing country of the Cotswolds than either Heyford or Radcliffe. In the next century the Cotswold sheep were particularly celebrated for their fine wool, some of which was no doubt purchased by the 'blanketeers' of the valley of the Windrush. So valuable, indeed, were these sheep that they were considered worthy gifts from one sovereign to another, and Edward IV presented some in 1464 to Henry of Castile, and four years later some more were sent to John of Aragon.[7] At this time and for a century before there had been a general influx of foreigners from Flanders, and from the ecclesiastical accounts at Witney the names that are recorded at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII show distinct Flemish origin.[8] In 1521, however, there is one English name recorded, namely, that of John Baker, who was a weaver in Witney at that time.[9] Under Queen Mary in 1555 the Weavers Act was passed,[10] and the Witney people were affected as all other weavers in the country. But under Elizabeth an Act was passed with reference to a few special counties where the woollen industry was carried on. By the Act the breadth of white woollen cloths was determined for the counties of Wiltshire, Gloucester, Somerset, and Oxford.[11]

The Witney woollen trade was in a flourishing state during the latter part of the sixteenth century; and early in the seventeenth century Walter Jones had amassed so great a fortune, as a wool merchant of Witney, that he was able to purchase the Chastleton Estates, and became a large landowner.[12] Amongst others connected with the trade at this time were John Collier, clothier, and Stephen Collier,[13] fuller, members

[1] Mr. James Vanner Early.

[2] Lecture given in 1862 by Mr. Langford, of Highgate, at Witney, supplied to me by Mr. W. S. Miller, as follows: 'In another of King Edgar's charters dated 969 appears the following (in Latin), "In a place much frequented (or very celebrated) denominated by the term, 'at the Witan isle.'" Then follows a description of the bounds of Witney at that time, part as follows: "The route then follows the river Wenrise to Fulenige—the isle of the Fullers, a meadow well known at Fulney—to the south of Farm Mills." A curious proof that a fulling mill existed here at least 900 years ago.'

[3] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 58.

[4] *A Visit to Witney and Witney Mills*, 11.

[5] Thorold Rogers, *Agri. and Prices* (1864), i, 576.

[6] Ibid. ii, 604.

[7] Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, ii, 174.

[8] Monk, *Hist. of Witney* (1894), 64 and 132; Cunningham, *Alien Immigration* (1897), 140.

[9] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 131.

[10] Ashley, *Economic Hist.* (1893), i, 233–6.

[11] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 66.

[12] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds* (1905), 142.

[13] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1591–4, 569. '1594, Dec. 20. Declaration by Sir George Delnes and William Fitzwilliam, to whom the queen has granted the alnage of the new Draperies by patent of July last, of their appointment of Rich. Baker of Hawstead, Essex, as deputy aulnager in that town (i.e. Witney) from Xmas to midsummer next, so that he perform the office honestly and do not needlessly molest the subject. Endorsed, John Collier of Witney, clothier; Stephen Collier of the same place, fuller.'

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of a family well known in Witney for many generations.

Blankets were made to some extent in the reign of James I, and it was evidently an extremely flourishing trade in 1641, because of the number of petitions sent from Witney during that year. On 12 August the blanket-makers petitioned against a misuse of the sealing of their bundles.

Wm. Howes now deceased and his son Wm. Howes have for the last 30 years forced petitioners to have every bundle of blankets sealed at a rate which has been raised from 2*d.* to 6*d.* per bundle, besides fines and exactions proceeding, and have therefore enriched themselves.[1]

This petition is referred to in the *Journals of the House of Lords* as follows :—

Upon reading the Petition of the Blanket Makers of the toune of Witney, in the County of Oxon, complaining of a patent for the sealing of their Blankets, which is a great oppression for them ; it is ordered that the Patent, by which the same are sealed, shall be brought into this House, and that the Patentees shall appear before their Lordships, on Thursday the 26th of this instant, and that the patentees shall forbeare to lay any imposition upon the said Blankets made or to be made in that Toune until the pleasure of this House be further known.[2]

As a sign, however, of the extensive trade of Witney, the petition asking that the rights and privileges of the Royal African Company might be protected is peculiarly interesting. There can have been no reason for the manufacturers of Witney to have interfered in this matter, unless they had already started their trade in rugs and blankets with the natives of Africa.[3]

By the year 1677 the foreign trade of Witney was well established, and Dr. Plot leaves an excellent account of the trade at this time :—

The Blanketing trade of Witney is advanced to that height that no place comes near it ; some, I know, attribute a great part of the excellency of these Blankets to the abstersive nitrous water of the River Windrush where they are scoured . . . . but others there are again that rather think they owe it to a peculiar way of loose spinning the people have hereabout, perhaps they may both concur to it : However it be 'tis plain they are esteemed so far beyond all others, that this place has engrossed the whole trade of the Nation for this Commodity ; in so much that the wool for their use, which is chiefly fell wool (off from sheep-skins) centers here from some of the furthermost parts of the kingdom, viz. from Rumney-marsh, Canterbury, Colchester, Norwich, Exeter, Leicester, Northampton, Coventry, Huntingdon, etc., of which the Blanketers, whereof there are at least three score in this town, that amongst them have at least 150 looms, employing near 3,000 poor people, from children of eight years old to decrepit old age, do work out above a hundred packs of wool per week.

This Fell wool they separate into five or six sorts, viz. long fell wooll, head wooll, bay wool, ordinary, middle and tail wooll : Long fell wooll they send to Wells, Taunton, Tiverton, etc., for making worsted stockings ; of head wool and bay wool, they make the blankets of 12, 11, 10 quarters broad, and sometimes send it, if it bear a good price to Kederminster for making their stuffs, and to Evesham, Parshore, etc. for making yarn stockings ; or into Essex for making Bays, whence one sort of them, I suppose, is called bay wool : of the ordinary and middle they make blankets of 8 and 7 quarters broad ; and of these mixed with the courser locks of fleece wooll a sort of stuff they call Duffields (which if finer than ordinary, they make, too, of fleece wooll) of which Duffields and blankets consists the chief trade of Witney.

These Duffields, so called from a town in Brabant, where the trade of them first began (whence it came to Colchester, Braintry, etc. and so to Witney) otherwise called shags, and by the Merchants, trucking cloth ; they make in pieces about 30 yards long and one yard ¾ broad, and dye them red or blue, which are the colours best please the Indians of Virginia and New England, with whom the merchants truck them for Bever, other Furs of several Beasts, etc., the use they have for them is to apparel themselves with them, their manner being to tear them into gowns of about two yards long, thrusting their arms through two holes made for that purpose and so wrapping the rest about them as we do our loose coats. Our merchants have abused them for many years with so false colours that they will not hold their gloss above a month's wear ; but there is an ingenious person of Witney that has improved them much of late, by fixing upon them a true blue dye, having an eye of red, whereof as soon as the Indians shall be made sensible, and the disturbances now amongst them over, no doubt the trade in those will be much advanced again.

Of their best tail wooll, they make the blankets of 6 quarters broad commonly called cuts, which serve seamen for their Hammocs, and of their worst Wednel for collar-makers, wrappers to pack their blankets in, and tilt-cloths for Barge-men. They send all sorts of Duffields and Blankets weekly in waggons up to London, which return laden with fell-wooll from Leaden-hall and Barnaby Street in Southwark, whither 'tis brought for this purpose from most places above mentioned ; Oxfordshire and the adjacent counties being not able to supply them.[4]

During this century and even as early as the sixteenth century the Wenman family were connected with the wool trade in Witney, and also represented the county in the House of Commons on several occasions.[5] At the end of the seventeenth century the Early family had started their business, which they have continued up to the present time. Five generations of this family have had a large share in the history of blanket-making for the past 250

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* (1874), iv, 96.
[2] *Journ. of the House of Lords.*
[3] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 68–9.
[4] *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 278–80.
[5] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 64. The following members of the Wenman family were representatives :— 1555, Sir Thomas ; 1597, Sir William ; 1620, Sir Richard ; 1626, Sir Thomas ; 1628–40, Sir Francis ; 1640–53, Thomas Viscount Wenman ; 1660, Viscount Wenman ; 1671, Sir Francis.

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years,[1] and they are said to be the oldest manufacturing family of one trade in England.[2] About the same time John and Thomas Brookes were blanketers at Witney, but they failed in 1707.[3] A few years previous to this Witney was honoured by a royal visit, for James II, according to Wood, in 1687 'afterwards went to Yarnton, Cassington, and then to Witney where they presented him with a pair of blankets with golden fringe.'[4] That trade was very prosperous in Witney at this time is evidenced by the number of tokens that still exist.[5]

The 23rd of May, 1710, was a great day in the history of blanket-making. On that day a charter was granted to the Company of Blanket-weavers. It was intended by this means to foster the blanket manufactory, but it really smothered the trade instead. It restricted competition; laid down rules that soon became obsolete; and the free manufacturer naturally refused to be so checked. According to the charter the company was 'to encourage and promote all arts and manufactures.' Only those who were legally entitled to be blanket-weavers were 'to use and exercise the art and mystery of blanket-weaving in Witney aforesaid, or twenty miles round the same.' The company itself was to 'be incorporated by the name of the Master, Assistant, Wardens, and Commonalty of blankett weavers, inhabiting in Witney in the county of Oxon.' It was also ordained that the company 'may have and use a common seal for the affairs and business of the said Corporation.' This seal is now in the possession of the firm of Charles Early & Co., and has been recently introduced into their registered trade mark. Besides the actual officers of the company, a high steward was appointed, and on this occasion he was Henry, earl of Rochester. The first master was John White, senior, while the assistants were Thomas Early, Thomas Johnson, Edward Bird, Michael Baughin, William Rogers, William Jones, William Townsend, and Thomas Boulton. As wardens, the company, 'ordain, nominate, constitute and appoint' William Baughin and John Cowell; 'our well-beloved subject, James Hall, gent.,' was appointed clerk or secretary for life. The company was given the right 'to prepare, make, ordain and constitute such and so many good and wholesome by-laws.'[6] Amongst these laws were those concerning apprenticeship, the last of these apprentices being Mr. Charles Early, whose indenture was drawn up in the year 1838. By this document the apprentice was bound not 'to contract matrimony within the said Term, he shall not play at Cards or Dice Tables or any other unlawful games . . . he shall not haunt Taverns or Playhouses nor absent himself from his said Master's service.'[7]

On 12 January, 1711, the first meeting of the Blanket Company was held under the Master White.[8] Amongst the original members there were several whose names are still well known in Witney. There were John Dutton, Robert Collier, Edward Busby, Thomas Ffuller, William Marriott, Richard Deane, Thomas Ffreeman, Joseph Basson, Thomas Brookes the Younger, Richard Collins, John Early and John Wiggins. The last two were not sworn in because they were Quakers and so 'made the solemn declaration instead of taking the oath.' The second master, William Early, was appointed this year.[9] At this time the trade over which the company exercised jurisdiction was very considerable, and in 1712 there were 115 members. From 1700 to 1730, the industry seems to have employed 3,000 persons from eight years old and upwards, and 150 looms were in constant use.[10]

Within ten years of the first meeting of the company a Blanket Hall was erected. This probably took place in or about the year 1721.[11] At this hall all the blankets made at Witney were weighed, measured, and marked. Here, too, meetings were held, fines were imposed, and the company exercised the rights and privileges granted by the charter.[12] Among the records in the minute book, of fines inflicted, and other matters, there are many curious and quaint entries. In March, 1711, 'One George Green, a member of the company, was fined five shillings for working with his daughter in his loom, and at the same time refusing to give work to a journeyman who applied for it.' Another case that came up for judgement on the same day was that of Edward Dutton, who 'was fined 20s. for making a stockful of Blanketting or stuff for pettycoats 36 yards long $\frac{8}{4}$ and half wide, contrary to the good rules and orders of the company.' On another occasion 'Thomas Early is fined 20s. for making a stockful of coarse middles two and a half yards in each blanket.' This same Thomas Early and Michael Baughin were fined 1s. each for 'leaving the court without leave of the master.' From 1730 to 1740 the number of members began to decrease. It was seen by the more energetic manufacturers that the company restricted rather than assisted the trade. The members of the company also seem to have looked to the festive side of the

[1] *A visit to Witney and Witney Mills.*
[2] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 72.
[3] *Lond. Gaz.*
[4] Wood, MS. D. 19 (3), fol. 86*b*.
[5] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 68.
[6] Ibid. The charter is given in full in this work.
[7] The indenture is in the possession of Mr. Charles Early.
[8] His tomb is in the chancel of Coggs church.
[9] *A visit to Witney and Witney Mill.*
[10] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* (1852), 576; Cox, *Oxfordshire*, i, 415; Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* 70.
[11] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* (1852).
[12] Giles, *Hist. of Witney* (1852), 49.

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gatherings rather than to the manufacture of blankets. Thus in 1732 a minute records, 'Ordered for the future that the Company's Dinner be ready on table by twelve of the clock, and that such of the Company as shall not appear by one o'clock (whether the books be brought up or not) to be fined a shilling each, and no excuse except sickness or London journeys.'[1] It is not surprising that some members revolted. Thus William Dutton and Thomas Wiggins were fined 2*s.* each, for they 'gave vile scurrilous and opprobrious language to the master and assistants.' In much the same way in 1738 William Bird called the master a fool, reviled the company, and dared to say that he would 'never bring any more goods to the Hall.'[2] The company sometimes refused the right of blanket-weaving to certain individuals. It is recorded in 1738 :—

that the wardens give notice forthwith unto John Coxeter and Thomas Silky, not to presume to follow the trade of blanket weavers in Witney or within 20 miles thereof, and in case they shall presume to offend against this order it is further ordered that an action be brought in the name of this Company to recover the several penalties by them respectively incurred, by not observing the By-laws of this Company, as well as for all past offences as for those which shall hereafter be committed, the expenses whereof to be paid by the master for the time being, out of the stock of this Company.

Although the members quarrelled among themselves, yet they were willing to support their country at a time of need. In 1745 it is recorded in the Book of the Company :—

Whereas it was agreed that this Company should raise 30 men for the service of his majesty in suppressing the present unnatural rebellion, and it appearing to be agreeable to the government to have the same paid in money (to wit) one guinea for each man, it is agreed and ordered that the present master do pay the sum of thirty guineas into the hand of the proper officer and take a receipt, in lieu of the 30 men to serve as their quota in the Oxfordshire Regiment of Foot commanded by the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Harcourt.[3]

In 1754 the company was obliged to elect a new High Steward. For some years this purely honorary position had been held by the Earl of Clarendon, but on his death the Duke of Marlborough was elected. Twelve years later a great national question caused much rejoicing in Witney, for in 1766 the blanket-makers lighted bonfires and expressed their delight at the repeal of the Stamp Act.[4] About this time the blanket trade was not as flourishing as it had been. Although Mr. Monk[5] writes an account of a visit to Witney in 1769, in which the trade seems to be extremely good, yet Arthur Young[6] does not show the same figures a year previous. Young proves that there were only 500 weavers in Witney in 1768. He says that 7,000 packs of wool were made up ; that the wages ranged from 10*s.* to 12*s.* a week ; and that some of the blankets cost as much as £3 a pair. In 1775 the blanket-makers of Witney were regarded as sufficiently important to be listened to in the House of Commons, and they succeeded in their petition for the reduction of the heavy duties on rape seed, the oil from which was used in the manufacture of blankets.[7] Machinery was now coming into use. In 1764 Hargreaves had introduced the spinning jenny, and other machines had been invented. That the blanket-makers were ready to take up these machines is evidenced by an entry in the Court Book of the Company in 1782 in which it is stated :—

It is unanimously agreed to purchase, erect and set up an engine for rowing Blankets upon the same construction as the Company are informed are used at Colchester, etc., and that Mr. Richard Lardner be empowered to take a stockful of kersey blankets to be rowed by the said Rowing machine.[8]

Edmund Wright and Thomas Townsend were the first two manufacturers at Witney to use machinery. It is clear, however, that in this trade as in others the taking up of machinery was very slow. The people of the villages for 14 miles round Witney continued to spin by hand, but it was gradually found that they could not produce enough to keep up with the demand for Witney blankets. In 1792 it is recorded that a large quantity of wool was consumed weekly and that the foreign orders were very extensive. The home trade was also good, and Witney blankets were brought before the notice of royalty when John Early, the master of the Blanket Company, with several others, went to Nuneham, near Oxford, and presented George III and Queen Charlotte with a pair of blankets.[9]

In 1802 400 hands were employed in this manufacture,[10] but in 1805 Macpherson in his *Annals of Commerce* records that 3,000 of both sexes were engaged in sorting, spinning, and weaving.[11] At about this time Giles quotes an interesting account of the trade :—[12]

Witney is very famous for its woollen manufacture which consists of what they call Kersey-pieces, coarse bear-skins and blankets. The two first they make for the North-American market, vast quantities being sent up the river St. Lawrence, and also to New

[1] *A Visit to Witney and Witney Mills.*
[2] Ibid.
[3] Giles, *Hist. of Witney*, 49.
[4] Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* 109.
[5] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 81.
[6] Young, *Agric. of Oxf.* (1813), 325.
[7] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 83 ; Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* 109.
[8] Giles, *Hist. of Witney*, 49.
[9] This was in 1788. Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 83.
[10] Brewer, *Top. Hist. Dir. of Oxf.* 485.
[11] Macpherson, *Ann. of Commerce.*
[12] Giles, *Hist. of Witney*, 52.

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York, Boston, etc. The finest blankets, which rise in price to three pounds a pair, are exported to Spain and Portugal; but all of them are first sent to London in broad-wheel waggons, four or five of which go every week. The finest wools they work come from Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and sell from eight-pence to ten-pence a pound. The coarsest is brought from Lincolnshire; they call it Daylocks and purchase it for about four-pence half-penny a pound; it is used in making the coarse bearskins. There are about five hundred weavers in the town who work up seven thousand packs annually. Journeymen in general earn on an average from ten to twelve shillings a week, all the year round; but they work from four in the morning to eight at night. The work is of that nature that a boy of fourteen years of age earns as much as a man. Boys and girls of seven or eight years of age earn from eighteen to twenty pence a week by quilling and cornering. Old women of sixty or seventy earn sixpence a day by picking and sorting the wool. A strong woman can earn from tenpence to a shilling a day by spinning; and a girl of fourteen four-pence or five-pence. They weave according to the season; in winter kerseys and bearskins, ready for shipping in the summer for the St. Lawrence; and in summer blankets for home consumption and to supply the markets of Spain and Portugal. The blankets usually purchased at home are about three and twenty and four and twenty shillings a pair, ten quarters wide and twelve long.

Arthur Young, writing in 1807, says that the Witney trade was considerably improved by the invention of the 'Spring Loom,' by which one man was able to do the work of two. Previous to this invention the looms were of the most primitive description; the journeyman stood on one side with the apprentice opposite, and the shuttle was thrown from one to the other. After the introduction of the spring loom, trade was considerably increased. The machinery was said to earn £4,000 a year, though wages kept at very much the same rate as in 1768, viz. 12*s.* a week. Some of the blankets made at this time cost as much as £5 a pair,[1] and Witney was as celebrated as ever for the fine quality of its productions.[2] Immediately before this period the businesses in Witney had been in the hands of many small capitalists employing a few weavers and sending the yarn to the cottages in the neighbourhood to be spun. By 1826, however, this seems to have been changed, and the few larger capitalists had succeeded in gathering together the scattered and numerous smaller concerns. Cobbett remarked this on 30 September, 1826, when he wrote, 'There were, only a few years ago, above thirty blanket manufacturers at Witney; twenty-five of these have been swallowed up by the five that now have all the manufacture in their hands.'[3] That this was good for the neighbourhood and for the industry can scarcely be doubted. Between 1841 and 1851 the population of Coggs increased because of the blanket industry. At Hailey and at Crawley blankets were made, and Giles records the existence of tucking or fulling mills at Minster Lovel, Worsham, Swinbrook, Widford, and Burford. At this time the average of blanket-pieces and pilot cloth at Witney was 10,000 in number, and the average value per piece £9. The six chief manufacturers were, in 1852, John Early & Co., Richard Early, Edward Early, Richard Early junior, Early Brothers, and Horatio Collier. These six firms consumed weekly 120 packs of wool, weighing 240 lb. each. Every year about 93,000 blankets were made, and on the premises belonging to the firms 800 men, women, and children were regularly employed.[4]

This prosperous state of affairs continues. In 1899 it was recorded that about 800 hands were employed and 250 looms.[5] Charles Early & Co., the oldest of the firms now in Witney, employ about 400 factory hands in their well-appointed and up-to-date mills. The next oldest firm is that of William Smith & Co., and besides this there is another well-known Witney family now engaged in the trade, namely, that of James Marriot & Co. The wool used in blanket-making is drawn from various sources. Both English 'fleece wool' shorn from the live sheep, and 'skin wool' taken by the fellmongers off the skins of sheep killed by the butcher, are used; and besides there are the wools from Australia, New Zealand, India, and other wool-producing countries. The first process is to blend the various sorts of wools. The wool is then put into the 'willey' or willow to prepare it for the carding machine. There are two 'willeys,' the one the 'shake' willey, filled with iron spikes to beat and roughly open the wool, the other the 'teazer,' with curved steel teeth which further open the wool. From the machines the wool is passed on to the 'scribbler' and 'carder,' leaving the latter in loosely-formed 'slivers,' which are in turn passed between leather rubbers to give them some consistency when they are wound on long wooden bobbins. These bobbins are placed on the spinning mule, where the threads are stretched and receive the necessary amount of twist, being finally wound on to wooden spools ready for the weaver's shuttle. The woven piece when cut from the loom has still several processes through which to pass before it resembles the fleecy Witney blanket. In the stock house it is passed through an alkaline solution, and then is placed in the fulling stocks, where it is pounded by the heavy hammers which shrink the fabric and leave it spotlessly clean. In the milling machine the shrinking process is completed, and the cloth is

[1] Brewer, *Top. Hist. Dir. of Oxf.* 42 and 485.
[2] *Gent. Mag.* (1820), pt. ii, 396.
[3] Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, ii, 177.
[4] Giles, *Hist. of Witney*, 53.
[5] *Enc. Brit.*

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then of the right substance. To brighten the colour of the piece it is finally washed, placed in the centrifugal machine, whirled round a thousand times a minute, and left dry enough for bleaching. In the bleaching house the blankets are hung in sulphur fumes for about ten hours, and it is from this process that they get their somewhat pungent smell. In dry weather they are stretched out of doors on tenter-hooks, but in wet weather they are placed in steam-heated chambers. Clean, dry, and white, the heavy fabric is passed 'under a revolving cylinder clothed with a spiral wire cord the teeth of which draw out the fibres of wool from the surface of the cloth.' The piece is finally cut up into separate blankets, the edges are whipped or bound; each blanket is scrutinized and smoothed over, and is packed for home or foreign use under the title of what it truly is—'a real Witney blanket.'[3]

SILK WEAVING AND WINDING

The people of Oxfordshire have never engaged to any great extent in this industry, and at the present time there is no silk weaving or winding done in the county as far as the writer has been able to ascertain. The silk industry is first mentioned by Dr. Plot in 1677, when he records that silk stockings were woven at Oxford. This industry was carried on by means of a new invention due to the mechanical genius of Mr. William Lee, M.A.[1] How long this industry remained in the city it is impossible to say. In the reign of George I it would appear that a certain number, though very few, silk-weavers were dwellers in Banbury, as shown by the parish registers of that reign.[4] At Henley-on-Thames a silk industry was carried on at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1823 two silk-factors had their works in this town; Messrs. Barbel & Beuzeville had their premises in Friday Street, and Mr. G. Skelton carried on this trade in Mann Lane.[5] As late as 1856 Henley continued to do a certain amount of business in silk. For several years previous to this date a silk-winding mill had stood in Phyllis Court Lane. The silk was sent from London and wound by women and girls, but the factory could only have been on a very small scale as the total weekly wages amounted only to between £30 and £40.[6]

LACE-MAKING

Lace-making in Oxfordshire is an industry of small size, but of great importance to many of the women of the villages, particularly on the eastern and southern sides of the county. The lace that is made in Oxfordshire does not bear the title of the county, but is known to the world as Buckinghamshire lace, for it is exactly the same as that extremely charming thread-work named 'Bucks pillow-point.' Mrs. Palliser in her *History of Lace* describes the process of making in clear terms:—

> The pillow is a round or oval board, stuffed so as to form a cushion, and placed upon the knees of the work-woman. On this pillow a stiff piece of parchment is fixed with small holes pricked through to mark the pattern. Through these holes pins are stuck into the cushion. The threads with which the lace is formed are wound on bobbins, formerly bones, now small round pieces of wood, about the size of a pencil, having round their upper ends a deep groove, so formed as to reduce the bobbin to a thin neck, on which the thread is wound, a separate bobbin being used for each thread. By the twisting and crossing of these threads the ground of the lace is formed. The pattern or figure, technically called gimp, is made by interweaving a thread much thicker than that forming the groundwork, according to the design picked out on the parchment. Such has been the pillow and the method of using it, with but slight variety, for more than three centuries.[2]

Lace-making dates back to the sixteenth century, and tradition has always ascribed its introduction to Queen Catherine of Aragon, who, it is said, did much to develop the art in the villages. Whether this is true or not, lace-making seems to have been well understood by the time of Queen Elizabeth. To this day in Oxfordshire there is a lace which is commonly made, with a graceful fern pattern interwoven on the groundwork, and this is always known amongst the women-workers as the Queen Elizabeth pattern. It is interesting to notice that this pattern is identical with the lace carved on the statue of Elizabeth at Cumnor, and as far as can be ascertained from the workers, the pattern is of great age and has been handed down from mother to daughter through many generations.

It is more than probable that the Flemings had much to do with the lace-making in this part of England. Between the years 1570 and 1580, these Flemings escaped from the despotism of Alva and Philip II, and took up their residence in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire and came over the border into Oxfordshire.[7] In this

[1] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* 277.
[2] Palliser, *The Hist. of Lace* (1865), 28, 29.
[3] *A visit to Witney and Witney Mills.* Supplied to the writer by Mr. James V. Early.
[4] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 566–7.
[5] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823–4.
[6] Burn, *Hist. of Henley* (1861), 89.
[7] Palliser, *The Hist. of Lace* (1865), 351.

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county the industry was, of course, never a large one, but it seems to have been carried on by a few workers, and the art was never lost, being continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1778 a new style of lace was introduced which gave a slight encouragement to the trade, and this was called 'point ground' lace.[1] After the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, there was a steady influx of French émigrés to this country, and it is well known that in Buckinghamshire they engaged in the lace trade, and it is presumed that they undertook the same art in the immediately adjacent counties.[2]

Both Arthur Young and Mr. Brewer record the fact that lace was made at the beginning of the nineteenth century at Thame;[3] and it is evident that the industry was still fairly common in that neighbourhood in 1820.[4] But between 1810 and 1830 many lace-making machines were introduced, especially those of Joseph Heathcoat, with the result that the demand for hand-made lace began to decline. By about the year 1850 the lace industry of Thame had practically disappeared. In 1851, however, better times came. The Great Exhibition of that year gave a very considerable impetus to all forms of lace-making, and the hand-made lace industry revived by means of the introduction and great demand for Maltese guipures.[5]

In the four lace-making counties of Buckingham, Bedford, Northampton, and Oxford, there were in 1862 25,000 lace-makers, but only a very small proportion of these lived in Oxfordshire.[6] From this date until very recently there was again a great falling off in the number of those employed in this beautiful art. It is proposed by one who is deeply interested in the industry that this decline was due to the fact that the old parchment patterns of their ancestors had by that time been completely worn out by frequent use, and that the women-workers lacked the proper training for the creation of really good and perfectly accurate new patterns, for when they did trouble to prick out new sheets these were generally carelessly done, and many errors were to be found in the lace. On the other hand, a writer in the *Connoisseur* would put the cause of the decline down to a very different fact, and says:—

> The great fault of our English lace-workers is that they do not move with the times in producing up-to-date shapes, preferring to keep the same parchments and patterns that their grandmothers did, and which are not at all suitable for present day fashions.[8]

Much, however, to revive the industry has been done in recent years by purely private enterprise on the part of certain Oxfordshire ladies. The excellent results of this were to be seen in 1905 at the Albert Hall, where there was an exhibition of the Thame lace industry. At the present time lace is made in many other villages besides Thame. A very little is made in Banbury and its neighbourhood. It has never died out at Chinnor, and now there are about a dozen workers producing very excellent lace. At Sydenham, near Thame, the lace-making is also of a high standard, and in fact has been regarded of such capital quality as to gain prizes. In the neighbourhood of Henley the lace-woman still plies her craft, and at Stokenchurch fairly good lace is also being produced. In neither of these districts has lace-making ceased since its first introduction. In Wheatley this is not the case, for here lace-work died out completely, and has only been revived in recent years. The lace produced is now becoming extremely good and is being sold outside the village. This state of affairs is largely due to private enterprise and to the fact that there are technical classes for instructing the girls of Wheatley to keep up an industry which was the pride of their grandmothers.

LEATHER

Mr. Thorold Rogers has said that the tanning of leather was probably a by-product in most villages in England.[7] It may be safely concluded that since the early middle ages tanning and the other adjuncts of the leather industry have been undertaken by the people of Oxford, Burford, Witney, and Bampton. As early as the Norman Conquest there were probably leather-dressers in Oxford itself. Wood says:—

> Cordwainry or Cordiners Rew (in ancient evidences written 'cordwanaria,' 'corviseria,' 'corniseria,' and 'allutaria'); soe called from those that employ themselves about leather, that is to say, tanners, curriers, and shoemakers, having bin all probably in antient times of the same gild.
>
> Those that are called 'allutarii,' I suppose are the same that tan the skins of beasts and provide them for the 'corviserii' or 'corearii,' which are called curriers; and those that are 'cordwanarii' are those that work upon the leather soe provided either for shoes or bootes . . .
>
> The place therefore for the Cordwayners in Oxon (whose fraternity is as antient as the Norman Conquest,

[1] Palliser, *The Hist. of Lace* (1865), 361.
[2] Ibid. 358.
[3] Arthur Young, *Agric. of Oxf.* 328; Brewer, *Top. Hist. Desc. of Oxf.* (1819), 42.
[4] *Gent. Mag.* (1820), pt. ii, 396.
[5] Palliser, *The Hist. of Lace* (1865), 361.
[6] Ibid. 361. The average earnings per day at this time were 1*s.*
[7] Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (1894), 46.
[8] *Connoisseur* (March, 1906).

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if not before) as also thes here called 'corviserii' and 'allutarii' were in the parishes of St. Michael's at Northgate and St. Martin's as divers antient scripts testifye. . . . 'Tis evident that their shops were on the east side of North Gate Street.[1]

The antiquity of the Cordwainers' gild is well shown by the fact that it was reconstituted in 1131.[2] Liber Rubeus de Scaccario stated the fees paid by this gild in 1155,[3] and mention of these is also made by Anthony Wood.

Several of the names of these early leather-dressers have been preserved. Thus in the last few years of the reign of Henry II, Lambert was a cordwainer in Oxford.[4] Under King John, Hugh practised the leather trade in the parish of St. Edward's,[5] and Richard the cordwainer became an alderman of the city.[6] Under Henry III Hugh the cordwainer was evidently of some considerable importance in the parish of St. Edward's, as the chaplain acted with Hugh's 'consensu et consilio.'[7] This Hugh had probably a son who afterwards carried on the same trade, for between 1235 and 1248 there is mention of Hugh the cordwainer, junior.[8] Besides these were Ralph,[9] and Walter the currier;[10] Thorold and James flourished as tanners about 1240;[11] Robert Bonnallet was a cordwainer about the same time;[12] while James the currier held property in Oxford ten years later.[13] By means of the Hundred Rolls of 1279 still further names may be added to the above list. James was a cordwainer,[14] while the tanners for the most part lived in St. Ebbe's, two women being amongst them, Maud and Agnes, the men being John and Richard. The other tanners at this time were Jordan, Gilbert, Philip, and Roger.[15] Five years later, in 1283, it is recorded that leather was prepared within the abbey of Osney, which at that time possessed its own tannery.[16]

The ordinance for Oxford market was passed in 1318, and the tanners and cordwainers were arranged for as in the case of all other trades. Their situation was precisely that described by Wood.[17] On 18 January, 1321, Edward II issued a writ concerning the cordwainers. The gild of leather traders had prayed the king to confirm their charter from King Henry (III), and to grant further that they may use their franchises within the suburbs of Oxford. They specifically ask that a declaration shall be made that no one shall cut leather tanned or of Cordova, nor shall anyone be allowed to sell such leather within the town or its suburbs unless he be a member of the gild.[18] The king by his writ would appear to have been most anxious to encourage the gild of the industry of leather-dressing, and Ogle says that the writ

> expresses the King's stern displeasure with the Bailiffs for their disobedience to his repeated injunctions in favour of the guild of Cordwainers and Corvisors (leather cutters and shoe-makers), prohibiting foreigners to the guild from following their trade in the city or suburbs. The guild is to pay 2*s.* annually to the crown beyond their ancient fee of an ounce of gold and 5*s.* The Bailiffs are to appear before the King on Feb. 9 to answer for any neglect of this order.

On 18 July these injunctions were once more repeated.[19] Only two names are left on record as being connected with the leather trade in the reign of Edward III, viz. John Peggy a cordwainer, and John a tanner.[20] But that there were many more than these is shown in the reign of Richard II by the poll tax records of 1380, where there are mentioned twelve tanners, twelve cordwainers, twenty skinners, and four saddlers.[21]

Burford had by this time taken up the leather industry, as is proved by the mention of John Dyze or John Dye in the years 1378 and 1385.[22] Almost a hundred years later, in 1481, William Kempe, a leather-dresser, held a tenement in Burford.[23] The trade, however, still flourished in Oxford during the same period. In 1432 William Michel was a skinner; in 1439 William Chynnour is mentioned as engaged in the same craft; in 1442 John Barton was a 'corvysere,' and William Wykeham a skinner; in 1451 Gye Capellyn was a shoemaker; in the same year Thomas Martin was a 'corsere,' and in 1458 Thomas Awfyn, 'corveyser,' was a surety for Plomer Hall.[24] In 1512 the craft of cordwainers was still in existence, as seen by an award of that year,[25] and also by the fact that Richard Balle, a tanner, was possessed of lands in Oxford in 1514.[26] The saddlery trade continued, and in the *Lay*

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 479, 483, 484, 485. Clark proposes that Wood meant the west side of North Gate Street. He also asks, 'Is Shoe Lane a reminiscence of the Cordwainers?' The Cordwainery was in the position stated by Wood in 1190, 1286, and 1318.

[2] Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, i, 652.

[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 483–5, 497. 'Corvesarii de Oxenford reddunt compotum de quinque unciis auri de gersoma pro gilda sua rehabenda: in thesaurario xxx*s.* pro ij unciis auri et debent iij uncias auri' &c.; *Red Bk. of the Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 675; 'Corvesarii j unciam vel xv*s.* pro gilda.'

[4] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 3.

[5] Ibid. xxviii, 142.

[6] Ibid. xxxvii, 4.

[7] Ibid. xxviii, 323.

[8] Ibid. 441.

[9] Ibid. 431.

[10] Ibid. 165.

[11] Ibid. 364, 380.

[12] Ibid. xxviii, 174, 273.

[13] Ibid. xxxvii, 9.

[14] Ibid. xlvii, 25.

[15] Ibid. 19, 39, 45, 82, 87.

[16] Ibid. xvii, 209.

[17] Ibid. 477.

[18] Anct. Pet. File 133, No. 6607; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 121.

[19] Ogle, *Royal L. addressed to Oxf.* (1892), 28, 29; *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 786, 789.

[20] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 187.

[21] Ibid. xviii, *passim.* Note also the name of Bartholomew the tanner in 1388, mentioned in *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 18.

[22] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Var.* i, 61.

[23] Ibid. 63.

[24] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 18; *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 525, 527, 529, 616, 619, 675.

[25] *Records of the City of Oxf.* 7.

[26] *Arch. of All Souls* (1877), 395.

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INDUSTRIES

Subsidy Records of 1524 there are three men recorded as engaged in this business.[1] Henley, though by no means particularly famous for the leather industry, had at this time a tanner of its own.[2]

It was during the seventeenth century that Oxford and Oxfordshire became noted for their leather goods. Within the city the leather industry led to municipal honours on many occasions. In 1604 the mayor, Thomas Cossham, was a cordwainer;[3] in 1607 Richard Paynter, a fellmonger, was elected bailiff;[4] in 1624 Robert Wilmott held the same office,[5] and so also Thomas Tredwell in 1633.[6] Matthew Langley, a tanner, was bailiff in 1644,[7] and was succeeded by John Newman, saddler.[8] In 1648 Richard Mellor, fellmonger, became bailiff, and mayor in 1652.[9] In 1654 Anthony Kendall,[10] and in 1658 Richard Philipps,[11] both engaged in leather, became bailiffs of the city. These lists of city honours in themselves prove how popular the leather industry was, and by the time of the Restoration Oxford had a great reputation for its leather work, but in particular for its saddles.[12]

Burford, however, was soon to take away from Oxford its celebrity for saddles. Even at this time it was known for the excellent make and pattern, and Plot says in 1677, 'Burford has been famous out of mind for the making of saddles.'[13] The pride of the Burford people in their chief industry was exemplified on two occasions. The first was in March, 1681, when Charles II was going to a race-meeting. On his way he visited the ancient borough of Burford; he was met by all the members of the corporation and solemnly presented with a rich silver-laced saddle, holsters, and bridle.[14] The second occasion was in 1695. At this time one of the inhabitants of the town was reputed by the English to be the best saddler in Europe. 'Two of his masterpieces were respectfully offered' to King William III, 'who received them with much grace and ordered them to be specially reserved for his own use.'[15] Chamberlayne in 1700[16] noted that Burford was famous for saddles, and in about 1730 Cox[17] remarks the same.

Meantime Bampton and Witney had become well known for their leather-dressing. At Witney in 1677, Plot says that there were

> a great many Fell-mongers out of whom at the neighbouring Town of Bampton there arises . . . considerable trade, the Fell-mongers' sheepskins, after dressed and strained, being here made into wares, viz. Jackets, Breeches, Leather linings, etc., which they chiefly vent into Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, no town in England having a trade like it in that sort of ware.[18]

In the eighteenth century Cox says that the leather was dressed by means of a kind of amber that was found in the quarries at Bladen and Water Perry.[19] But the leather trades of Oxfordshire lost their celebrity as the century drew to a close, though between 1791 and 1798 there were in Burford several fellmongers.[20] Certainly a saddlery business belonging to Mr. Minchin was founded at Chipping Norton in 1795 and continues still; so also in the 1806 edition of Gough's *Camden's Britannia*, Burford is said to be famous for saddles, but the industry was then very different from what it had been in former times. In Oxford itself Mr. J. R. Green records the existence of the Cordwainers' Company as late as 1720, but it was a relic of the past.[21] A cordwainer of the name of John Ducker held four messuages in the parish of St. Ebbe's in Oxford in 1773,[22] but now tanning in Oxford has become a bygone trade, though some dozen saddlers at the present time help to keep up the old fame of the city for its saddlery and harness, while over a hundred boot and shoe shops and warehouses carry on a trade which has been so long established there.

GLOVE-MAKING

Many of the inhabitants of the county of Oxford are still interested in the making of gloves. The industry is of the greatest antiquity, probably going back to Anglo-Saxon times. At the present day Woodstock is the centre of the manufacture of these particular articles, but that ancient royal manor has only been connected with the making of gloves since the sixteenth century.[23] For many hundreds of years before that time the city of Oxford itself was busied in the glove industry, and several of the city officials were 'gaunters' or glove-makers.

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xviii, 68, 73.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. iii, 2710.
[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 34.
[4] Ibid. 34. [5] Ibid. 36.
[6] Ibid. 36. [7] Ibid. 37.
[8] Ibid. 37. [9] Ibid. 37.
[10] Ibid. 58. [11] Ibid. 58.
[12] Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* 69.
[13] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* 279.
[14] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds*, 356.
[15] Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.* (1889), ii, 538.
[16] Chamberlayne, *Angl. Notitia*, 24.
[17] Cox, *Oxfordshire*, 414.
[18] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* 279.
[19] Cox, *Oxfordshire*, 377.
[20] *The Universal Brit. Dir.* (1791–8), 411.
[21] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xli, 112, 115, 224, 238, 288.
[22] *Arch. of All Souls*, 168.
[23] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxf. and the Cotswolds* (1905), 51; Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 71.

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From the Hundred Rolls of the year 1279 it is evident that glove-making was practised, if not actually within the city walls, at least close by, for Adam the glove-maker is shown to be living within the parish of St. Clement's.[1] Thirteen years later there were regular glovers' shops established within the city itself, and these were attacked by an unruly mob, described as 'rude varlets.' The cause of this outrage is not, however, clear.[2] The gloving industry was not checked by this riotous conduct, and under the regulation of the market in 1318 the glovers were granted a regular position for the sale of their wares.[3] 'The sellers of gloves and whitawyers,' we are told, 'shall stand between All Saints' church and the tenement which was sometimes John le Goldsmyth's.' The exact spot indicated has been identified as being very near to the present Mitre Hotel. At this period, however, gloving does not appear to have been taken up by any great number of the inhabitants, and there are but few scattered references to the trade, as for example the mention of one John the glover in 1358.[4] And even at the time of the Poll Tax in 1380 there were apparently only eight men engaged in this occupation,[5] one of whom, at any rate, seems to have been a man of property, as in 1381 he was engaged in a suit for the recovery of land.[6]

Brighter times dawned for the glovers in the fifteenth century, although two only are actually mentioned, namely, in 1439 David Clowdesley, and in 1450 John Karyn;[7] yet their numbers were evidently on the increase, and by the first year of Edward IV they had become sufficiently important to form a gild of their own.[8] Still, their success is a mere matter of speculation, and there is a blank in the records of gloving until the Tudor period, except for the fact that the manorial records of Bicester state two prices for gloves during the fifteenth century; one pair of gloves cost 20 pence, while twelve pair, evidently of a poorer quality, were purchased for 5*s*.[9] That Oxford gloves were well known and valued is evident from a reference in January, 1512, in the king's Book of Payments, where it is recorded that a scholar bought Oxford gloves valued at 6*s*. 8*d*.[10] It is possible that these were made by John Palmer, one of the glovers of the day.[11] This man must have either given up business or died before 1524, because in that year he is not mentioned as a glover in the records of the Lay Subsidy, the only three glovers being John Brigeman, John Hulckyns, and John Pye.[12] Fifteen years later the mayor of Oxford was one John Berry or Barry; he was a native of Eynsham, and carried on the industry of gloving.[13]

After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, John Redshaw was one of the Oxford glovers, and practised his craft in St. Ebbe's between 1568 and 1585.[14] Glove-wearing now appears to have become more common than ever before; the gloves were heavily scented, and were frequently given as gifts. Thus Sir Thomas Pope and his wife were on several occasions presented with gloves by the university.[15] The city accounts illustrate this same practice:—

> Item, payed to Wylliam Asley for v payer of gloves, viz. iij payer for S[r] Fraunces Knolles and two payer for the Quene's soliceter, delivered to M[r] Mayer, xxx*s*.[16]

In 1575 a rather cheaper kind of glove was presented 'unto my Lord Dallawar's sonn.'[17] That Oxford gloves varied very considerably at this time both in price and in material is shown in a letter written by Owen Lloyd to William Pryse, on 13 October, 1580. The latter is desired to send sixteen pair of Oxford gloves of the very finest kind. They are to cost from five to six groats each, and are to be made of 'double chevrell.' Six pair are for women and six for men, while the remainder are for 'very ancient and grave men spiritual.'[18] This should be compared with a reference in the city records where the prices mentioned are very different, and where it is evident that gloves were regarded as well worth keeping. On 2 July, 1583, it is recorded:

> At this Counsell was delivered unto M[r] Baylie Lane and Edmunde Barton iiij payre of gloves of viij[d] and one payre of a marke, to be safelie kepte or solde to the best advantage and to thuse of this Cytie.[19]

Meantime these good prices seem to have brought the glovers' gild into notice once again. On 19 June, 1562, it was enacted by the whole of the city council that the town seal should be put to the book of the *Mystery of Glovers* so that the same should be allowed before the justices of assize.[20] From this date up to 1581 there are

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlvii, 67; ibid. xxviii, 301.
[2] Ibid. xvii, 488.
[3] Ibid. xvii, 476.
[4] Ibid. xxviii, 472.
[5] Ibid. xviii, *passim*.
[6] Ibid. xxviii, 245.
[7] *Mun. Acad. Oxon* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 523, 602.
[8] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 112.
[9] Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records* (1906), 218.
[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, pt. ii, 1454.
[11] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 27.
[12] Ibid. xviii, 68–74.
[13] Ibid. xv, 111.
[14] *Arch. of All Souls*, 165–6.
[15] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 111.
[16] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 330.
[17] Ibid. 376.
[18] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 683 (33). The variation in price is clearly shown by Mr. Thorold Rogers in *Agriculture and Prices*, v, 728–9. In 1584 New College presented two pair at 6*s*. the pair. In 1585 All Souls gave away five pair costing £3. A year later they presented to the lord treasurer and his wife two pair at 32*s*. In 1590 Magdalen College gave as much as 15*s*. for a single pair, while exactly a year later a single pair cost New College 40*s*. But even these prices rose in the next century, for St. John's College paid 55*s*. for a pair of gloves in 1633, and in 1660 the pair given to the chancellor by New College cost 85*s*. The ordinary glove, however, in Wood's lifetime, cost 1*s*., 1*s*. 2*d*., or 1*s*. 10*d*.
[19] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 433.
[20] Ibid. 184–6.

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more frequent references to the glovers themselves, such as William Asheley, Rowland Barber, William Inglesbe, Henry Wylkes, Robert Andros, Jenken Appowell, and Reynold Savige.[1]

It has been shown by Anthony Wood why it was that Oxford was so celebrated for its gloves. Writing in the latter part of the seventeenth century, he says definitely that the industry was largely due to the excellence of the water of the Cherwell.

'Besides also,' he writes, 'it hath soe great vertue therein that all skins of a more delicate kind (as it hath bin generally observed) are soe well seasoned with it for the making of white leather that none whiter, softer or better is hardly found.'[2]

It is probable that there were other reasons, not the least being the nearness of the Cotswold sheep, the wool of which went to the woollen districts, but the skins were sent into Oxford. The deer of Wychwood Forest also supplied much of the material, and at this period the forest borders came within easy reach of the city. Although in Wood's time there was still a master glover in the person of Mr. Harrison[3] at Oxford, yet there can be little doubt that the real centre of the glove industry had passed from the university city to the royal borough of Woodstock, situated on what were then the confines of Wychwood. Even as late as 1677 Plot speaks of Oxford and Bampton as being celebrated for gloves, and Cox says the same at the beginning of the eighteenth century,[4] but Woodstock had now become the headquarters of the trade.

Dr. Brewer, in his topographical account of Oxfordshire,[5] speaks of the glove industry as being introduced into Woodstock about the middle of the eighteenth century. He has either omitted an important reference to an earlier period, or perhaps means that the industry was taken up on a particularly large scale. As a matter of fact from a view of frankpledge as early as the year 1580 it is very evident that gloving was well known at Woodstock, and had probably been practised there for some time. In that year, 1580, it was laid down—

That no glover dwellinge within this toune shall from henceforth have above twoe buyers uppon any markett or fayer daye, and that no foren glover shall have anye buyer but himself or one for him, and non of them shall buye anye fell or fells before they be brought into the markett place appointed for the same (that is to saye) betwene the corner of Richard Lowe's house, the markett stone pitched against the Guild Hall unto the upper end of Crowne Lane, uppon payne to forfett for every offence to the contrary iiis. iiijd.[6]

Gloving having been once introduced into Woodstock, it has remained there with fluctuating fortunes to the present time. It is most likely that the gloves presented to James I by the university in 1616 were made in Woodstock, though there is no absolute proof.[7] Throughout the eighteenth century Woodstock was the chief centre of the industry; it was, however, surrounded by many rivals. At Oxford, for example, there was one Jenks a glover in 1721, and at Burford Jabez Wall & Son were glove-makers as early as 1755,[8] while the trade also continued at Bampton, but here it was fast decaying.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Arthur Young remarks upon the trade at Woodstock, only bestowing upon it a cursory glance and noting the fact that twenty or thirty dozen pairs of gloves were made every week within the borough and the neighbouring villages. But he pointed out what a great increase there had been between 1803 and 1813. In the latter year sixty to seventy men were regularly employed as 'grounders' of leather and cutters of gloves; their wages ranged from £1 1s. to £1 10s. a week. At the same time there were between 1,400 and 1,500 women and girls earning a weekly wage of between 8s. and 12s. He remarks that the particularly famous glove was one of doeskin, which would still be in a good state after using it regularly for driving for a whole year, and only cost 5s. The output was between 360 and 400 dozen pairs. The principal manufacturers were Mr. Cross, Mr. Dewsnap, and Mr. Eldridge.[9] But there were many others, as, for example, James Benham, Sarah Cross, Sarah Green, Joseph Groat, W. Hedges, J. Mears, N. Money, T. Morley, Nolder & Baughen, T. Taylor, J. Willis, and W. Windus.[10] The fame of Woodstock continued to spread,[11] but besides the industry gaining in notoriety,[12] it also played an important part in staving off the fear of 'unemployed' in the district. Thus in 1818 there is an entry in the vestry books of Burford to this effect: 'Agreed that a person shall be engaged to learn (*sic*) one person in every poor family to make gloves.'[13] But while the industry increased in some parts it steadily decreased in others. Between 1841 and 1851 the populations of Charlbury and Wootton increased considerably, and the census return of that period puts this increase down to the fact that people were attracted by the glove industry.[14] On the other hand in Bampton in the year 1848 there was only one glove-maker left, whereas in previous times there had been several.[15]

[1] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 376, 404, 417.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 395. [3] Ibid. 112.
[4] Plot, *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 278; Cox, *Oxfordshire* (1730), 413. [5] Brewer, 384.
[6] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 71.
[7] Ibid. [8] Kelly, *Dir.* 1903.
[9] Arthur Young, *Agric. of Oxf.* 329, 330.
[10] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[11] Arthur Young, *Agric. of Oxf.* 329.
[12] *Gent. Mag.* 1820, pt. ii, 396.
[13] Monk, *Hist. of Burford* (1891), 101.
[14] *Census Returns*, 1851.
[15] Giles, *Hist. of Bampton* (1848), 72–3.

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About the year 1850 the gloving industry at Woodstock was extremely thriving. The weekly output was 500 dozen pairs, and the numbers employed were about 100 men and 1,500 women.[1] At this time amongst other firms there were those of Money and also of Godden, two firms that exist in the present year, and have been in Woodstock for close on a century. In the following year Edmund Webley started his business, which still continues. At this time the 'splitting' was done almost entirely by hand, and practically no machinery was used. The period spent in learning the trade was longer than at the present time, for five years' apprenticeship had to be served to learn the most difficult process of the trade—cutting. It was probably a few years before this period that what is now known as the Manor Farm, Old Woodstock, was used as a glove factory.[2] Woodstock has ever had its rivals. There were two glovers at Banbury in 1852 and two also at Witney.[3] The present firm belonging to Mr. Pritchett at Witney was one of these. It was founded from 80 to 100 years ago by Mr. Pritchett's great-uncle. The founder had learnt his trade at Woodstock, then almost at the height of its fame, and had migrated to Witney.[4] Another important firm in the county for almost the last hundred years is that of Messrs. B. Bowen & Son, glove manufacturers, at Chipping Norton.[5] It was founded in 1825 by the father of the present senior member of the firm, who has been mayor of Chipping Norton on more than one occasion. The *Historical Gazetteer of Oxfordshire* for the year 1852 reports that a very large quantity of gloves were made at Chipping Norton by this firm, the fame of which had been spread throughout the country by their exhibits of gloves.

The gloving industry of Oxfordshire is at the present time scarcely as flourishing as it was fifty years ago. At the right time of year, however, the hedges are still covered with sheepskins and goatskins bleaching in the sun, while at the cottage doors both at Woodstock and in the neighbouring villages the women may be seen plying their needles.[6] This practice is more common in the Stonesfield district than elsewhere, for in the neighbourhood of Witney machine sewing is most general.[7] In 1904 it was estimated that about 2,000 women and girls worked at gloving[8] in this part of the county. At the glove-factory at Witney the chief manufactures are buckskin (made from reindeer-skin), imitation buck, doeskin (made from sheep and lamb skins dressed in oil), and driving gloves (made from tanned sheepskins imported from Cape Colony). In addition to supplying the home trade various kinds of gloves are manufactured for export to the colonies, the Continent, Japan, and the United States of America. The hands actually employed on the premises in Mr. Pritchett's works are about sixty, but from 200 to 300 makers and finishers are also continually busy in Witney itself, and in such villages as Hailey, Leafield, North Leigh, Fulbrook, Ducklington, and Finstock. Nearly all the work in this neighbourhood is paid for by 'the piece,' and the rates average about the same as those paid in other gloving districts in England. One great advantage of the gloving industry is that it is a very healthy one for those engaged in it, and accidents are practically unknown.[9]

At Chipping Norton the gloving is still carried on by two or three firms,[10] the chief one being that of Messrs. Bowen & Son, already mentioned. In the factory here, which is situated in the High Street, the most approved and modern developments in machinery and appliances are to be seen. The leather used by this firm for making their gloves is of their own dressing in the tanyard and dressing works near the parish church. The gloves are sewn and finished by hand, and consist principally of patent cut driving and military gloves.[11] At Charlbury there is (in 1905) a factory belonging to Messrs. Fownes, and in all the neighbouring villages lying on the borders of the forests of Cornbury and Wychwood the industry is still carried on.[12] Here the women buy their own machines, making five dozen pair of gauntlets and earning about £1 per week.[13] Besides the firms already mentioned as existing at Woodstock, there is also the factory of R. & J. Pullman, Limited. This firm succeeded about sixteen years ago to the business of Messrs. Russell & Sons. They prepare their own leather, having two mills at Godalming, where they are known as leather-dressers. Both English and foreign skins are used, but 1905 was a rather bad year for gloves, as the skin market was extremely high. Messrs. R. & J. Pullman make all kinds of gloves, real buckskin, mock buckskin, Cape gloves, and particularly all classes of athletic gloves. Their goods are sent from Woodstock all over the world, and every attempt is made to keep up to date. The

[1] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[2] Supplied by Mr. Edmund Webley.
[3] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[4] Supplied by Mr. W. S. Miller, Witney.
[5] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[6] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxf. and the Cotswolds* (1905), 51; Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 143.
[7] Supplied by Mr. Edmund Webley.
[8] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 143.
[9] Supplied by Mr. W. S. Miller, Witney.
[10] Kelly, *Dir.* 1903.
[11] Towns of England, *Business Rev.*
[12] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 143.
[13] Supplied by Mr. Edmund Webley.

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number of hands employed is about sixty in the factory and from 150 to 200 in the villages.[1]

The chief difficulty in the gloving industry is to get good cutters. The cutter is he who cuts out from the leather the 'trank'; he then forms the 'fourchette' or slip between the fingers, and also the 'quirk' or gusset near the thumb. The tan driving gloves are made with the greatest care and prepared by a peculiar method in which the yolk of eggs imported from Normandy, Ireland, and even Russia, plays an important part.[6] Every piece of the glove is numbered, and carefully fitted. The machine sewing is wonderfully accurate, and machines have now been invented to execute every kind of stitch. In all the factories in the neighbourhood a very perfect system of supervision is exercised, and it is impossible for anything of an inferior description to leave any of the establishments.

MALTING AND BREWING

The county of Oxford has been time out of mind celebrated for its brewing, and to-day the fame of Oxford ales is still widespread. The industry has been carried on in most of the towns, but in particular in Oxford, Witney, Henley, Banbury, and Deddington. In the city of Oxford itself the trade of brewing has been long established, but it was conducted under somewhat unusual circumstances. The brewers of the city were forced to compete with the private college breweries, and were at the same time under the strict surveillance of the university authorities. Although most of the colleges had at one time or another their brewhouses, yet the breweries of New College and of Brasenose College will ever remain the most famous. The latter ceased to brew in 1889 when the new buildings necessitated the removal of the brewhouse, but the remembrance of former days has been perpetuated by the collection of verses which were annually presented on Shrove Tuesday by the butler of the college.[2]

The brewing carried on in colleges can, however, only be regarded as a private undertaking, and not as an industry of the county. In 1240 Ralph the brewer was a man of substance, and land was conveyed to him by the prior and convent of St. Frideswide.[3] The price of beer about this time was determined by the assize of ale of 1251. In cities two gallons of beer were to be sold for a penny, while about half the price was to be charged in country districts. A strict watch was kept upon the brewers, and by an order of 1255 all men making beer for sale were to expose a sign, failing which they were to lose their beer.[4] Already there was an ancient brewhouse within the castle, for it is mentioned in Wood's *City of Oxford* for the year 1267.[5] The methods of the brewers do not appear to have been altogether exemplary, for on 21 May, 1293, they were forbidden to use the 'corrupt water' of Trill Mill Stream.[7] As in the case of the other industries brewing also fell under the ordinance of the market, and in 1318 the sellers of beer were to dispose of the liquor between St. Edward's Lane and the Chequers Inn.[8]

It is interesting to notice that the great fight in the streets of Oxford in 1354 between 'Town' and 'Gown' arose from a dispute between a scholar and a taverner over a quart of wine. The great feature of the affray as far as brewing was concerned lies in the fact that the powers of the university authorities were extended, and as an outcome of the riot the king granted 'to the Chancellor of the University, excluding the mayor entirely, the complete supervision of the assize of bread, *ale* and wine, and all victuals.'[9] About 1356 the assize of beer was issued and two gallons of beer were to be sold for a penny. If, however, malt rose in price twelve pence a quarter the price of beer was to rise or fall accordingly one farthing a gallon.[10] This interference on the part of the university did not in any way check the brewing trade. At this time Henry and Aubrey his wife are recorded as brewers in Cheney Lane, and in 1331 William Pirye had a brewhouse near St. Mary's Church.[11] In 1380 there were no less than thirty brewers in Oxford.[12] Twenty years later Mr. John Sprunt brewed ale in Shoe Lane. In 1405 he was fined for throwing out dirty water and ashes, and when he died in 1419 his will was found to contain a list of taverner's plant consisting of vessels of wood, lead, and brass. He was evidently a wealthy man, for he possessed houses in the parishes of St. Michael's and St. Mary's. The brewers once again do not seem to have practised their trade with strict honesty, for in

[1] The Manager of R. & J. Pullman, Ltd.

[2] 'Brasenose Ale,' the first poem in the collection, is probably of 1705 or 1709.

[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 112.

[4] *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* ii, 776.

[5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 274. On page 275 this brewhouse is shown to have been in a bad state of repair in 1331.

[6] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 143.

[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvi, 27. [8] Ibid. xvii, 476.

[9] Ashley, *Economic Hist.* (1893) i, pt. ii. 192.

[10] *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* ii, 182–3.

[11] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxix, 152, 173.

[12] Ibid. xviii, *passim*.

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the *Munimenta Academica* for the year 1434 it is recorded as follows :—

Seeing how great evils arise both to the clerks and the townsmen of the City of Oxford, owing to the negligence and dishonesty of the brewers of ale, Christopher Knollys, commissary, assembles the brewers together in the Church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and commands them to provide sufficient malt for brewing ; and that two or three shall twice or thrice in the week carry round their ale for public sale under a penalty of 40*s.* ; and John Weskew and Nicholas Core, two of their number, are appointed supervisors of the brewers.[1]

Some years later the brewers again supplied poor ale, and in 1449 they were forced to swear to let their ale stand for twelve hours before sending it into college.[2] The manorial records of Bicester for the reign of Henry VI show that brewing was carried on during that period in that town. On one occasion 132½ gallons of beer were bought from John Spinan, Alice Bedale, and other brewers, and for this large quantity the astounding sum of 4*s.* 10*d.* was paid.[3] A common trouble at this time was the refusal of the brewer to brew unless it suited him. This refractory conduct was generally punished by suspending the offender from practising the trade of brewer, and this was what happened to Alice Everarde in 1439.[4] A few names of brewers in Oxford during this century have been preserved. In 1447 there were Thomas Whithicke, John Clif, John Keele, Robert Wode, John Wilmott, Agnes Treders, John Walker, Henry Ffelipe, William Hans, Ricard Coore, John Milton, Thomas Bertone, William Hanell, Thomas Hanell, John Blakethorne, John Belymasone, John Skynnere, Thomas Sherman, William Dagvile, and Henry Barwike.[5] Several of these in 1449 were accused of violating the assize and of making their beer weak and unwholesome.[6]

In 1452 W. Angle is recorded as a 'brewer,'[7] and in 1458 the name of John Bek or Beek occurs as a brewer and surety.[8] Nicholas Bishop was a wealthy brewer at this time and flourished between the years 1429 and 1460. He is famous as desiring to be a historian, as he prepared a treatise on the subject of North Gate Street.[9] In 1460 Robert Heth was one of the chief brewers in the city ;[10] but he, like all the others, was not able to regulate the price by open competition, but had to abide by the price fixed by the commissary. This official in 1462 was David Husbond, and he fixed the price on 12 November at 19*d.* 'pro quarter melioris cerevisiae.'[11] The appointed officers for the regulation of beer were then sworn in ; they were ordered to test the quantity and quality of the beer in the colleges and halls ; and it was further ordained that the beer shall be allowed to cool before being sold.[12] From documents preserved at All Souls College, it is evident that there was a brewery in St. Mary's parish, which on 1 September, 1466, was leased by the college to Richard and Joan Frier, together with all the utensils required for brewing.[13] The parish of St. Mary's, however, was not the head-quarters of this industry in the fifteenth century, but Grandpont Street during this period was the chief situation for the Oxford breweries, two of which in the reign of Henry VII had in previous years been residences for scholars, the one Trill Mill Hall, the other Woodcock Hall.[14]

At the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII the best-known brewers were George Havile,[15] who had a brewhouse in Broad Street, and Robert Dynham,[16] but the trade was now under the double restriction of the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the Brewers' Corporation.

[1] Barnard, *Breweries of England* (1889-91), iii, 461–4 ; *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* ii, 506.

[2] *Mun. Acad. Oxon*, ii. 541–2. 'Anno Dominicae incarnationis millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo nono, in crastino S. Mathiae pandoxatores juraverunt coram cancellario ut salubriter pandoxarent, ita quod aquam tamdiu coquerent super ignem quamdiu emitteret spumam, et quod mundarent spumam ab aqua, et quod facerent cerevisiam novam post mundificationem stare tempore sufficienti, in quo faeces cerevisiae descendere ad fundum vasorum, et tunc illam mitterent sic defaecatam ad loca in universitate ; et Ricardus Benet juravit tunc quod cerevisia sua staret per duodecim horas in defaecando, antequam portaretur in aulam sive in collegium, et quod non faceret mixturam faecis cum cerevisia quum portaretur in loca universitatis.'

[3] Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records* (1906), 212.

[4] *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* ii, 523. Memorandum, quod Alicia Everarde, pandoxatrix villae Oxoniae, eo quod dixit quod nollet pandoxare ad vendendum cerevisiam plebi domini regis in villa Oxoniae, ab arte pandoxandi est perpetuo suspensa. Actum vicesimo secundo die Augusti, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo nono, et anno regis Henrici sexti decimo septimo.'

[5] *Mun. Acad. Oxon* ii, 577.

[6] Ibid. 589. 'Item dicunt per eorum sacramentum, quod Henricus Berwicke, Johannes Bailymason, Thomas Wythig, Wilhelmus Hans, Wilhelmus Hanell, Robertus Wode, Johannes Keell, Henricus Ffelipe, et Wilhelmus Miltone, pandoxatores, brasiaverunt et fregerunt assisam, necnon faciunt ex consuetudine cerevisiam debilem, corpori humano insalubrem, non bene coctum nec ejus pretii habilem, quin potius modici aut nullius valoris, in grave et non modicum detrimentum utriusque communitatis, scilicet universitatis et villae.'

[7] Ibid. 638. [8] Ibid. 676.

[9] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxix, 68.

[10] Hutton, *St. John's College* (1902), 7. His brewhouse was called Trill Mill Hall, and it is mentioned as a brewery in 1504 and 1525. See *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 42. [11] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvi, 57.

[12] *Mun. Acad. Oxon.* ii, 695.

[13] *Archives of All Souls* (1877), 165.

[14] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 84 ; xv, 300, 304.

[15] Ibid. xvii, 78 ; xxxix, 131.

[16] Ibid. xxxviii, 27.

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INDUSTRIES

On 22 February, 1513, the vice-chancellor held a court at the house of the Master of the Brewers' Corporation, and there certain ordinances for regulating the brewing of beer in Oxford were confirmed by the university.[1] But these were not sufficient, and in 1525 it was ordained that sixteen brewers were to brew in Oxford and no others.[2] The brewing craft had thus become a monopoly, and the gild did its best to shut out any who wished to brew. In 1530, when William Frear the mayor was a brewer,[3] the commissary of the university complains of the restrictive principle, and he remonstrates against the conduct of some of the members of the gild, pointing out

that Mychaell Hethe and other of the brewers of Oxford, will let no man entre unto the crafte of bruers, unlese all or the more parte of the said craft will agree thereunto.[4]

It was probably due to such complaints as these that the town council in 1534 agreed that brewing was to be done under the fixed scale of the town.[5] On 23 November, 1533, Thomas Munday, butcher, took up the trade of brewer, as on that day All Souls College sold to him the implements of their brewhouse in the parish of St. Peter le Bailey.[6] Between 1545 and 1552 the three brewers recorded were Ralph Flaxney, who had a brewhouse in the parish of St. Michael,[7] Richard Gunter,[8] and John Brooks.[9]

[1] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* (1880), 10. 'M^d that at a court holden in the house of Robert Donham, master of the craft or occupation of brewers in Oxford, the 22 of February in the 4th yere of the raigne of Kinge Harry the Eight, it was enacted, established and statuted for evermore hereafter, that if any bruer of Oxford which hath refused or else hereafter doe refuse to brue, and give over his house by the space of a hole yere and afterward will take a brue house and bryw againe wthin the towne of Oxford and the suburbes of the same, or else if that any bruer in time of derth of malte doe refuse and will not brew, and afterwards in time of good cheap of malt will take uppon him to bryw againe, that then the person or persons so taking apon them to bryw shall first make such fyne to the occupation of bruers aforesaide as the hole body of the said occupation or the more part of them shall putt to him, of forfetor and losse XLs for every borden or brywinge made to the contrary, halff thereof to be applied to my Lord Chancellor of the Universite or his commissary for the tyme beinge, and Xs parcell of the other halfe to the use and profytt of the sayd occupation of bruers, and Xs the residue thereof to be applied unto the use of the master and wardens of ye saide occupation for the time being. In witnesse whereof, &c.'

[2] Ibid. 334.

[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 29.

[4] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 87.

[5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvi, 16.

[6] *Archives of All Souls*, 162, 388.

[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvii, 90.

[8] Ibid. xxxvii, 30.

[9] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 212.

Brewing had been carried on in Witney for some time,[10] but in the reign of Edward VI definite laws were laid down in that town for the regulation of the trade. Thus in 1549—

At a cortt holden ye 19 day of April hytt ys agred byffore ye Cort, ffor ye assysse of ale, to sell ytt yff hytt be good and holssomly brewed to be rated at 20^d. ye dossin.

A order taken at ye same courte ffor ye assise of alle. Item ytt every brewer sshawle brew good and holssom alle, and to ssell from and after this day by order of the same courte, every dossen of alle beynge brewed, ye som off 2*s.* 1*d.* ye dossen, and ye typlar to sell one thurdyndale (3 pints) off good alle at ½^d.

Item, also ytt is agred by order of the same courte ytt every brewer shall provide for ye comfort of ye pore people, good and holesome drynke, and to allow a gawne and a half for a 1^d., and every brewer to allow of small drynke ffor ye brewyng off a quarter of mawlt 12 gawnes.[11]

In 1552 brewing was still further restricted in Witney. In that year a decree was

made at this Courte that all brewsters in this toune, shall sell a dozen of ale not above 11*s.* viii*d.* and the ganyker (innkeeper) shall sell a thurdyndale for a penny, as well within the dore as wt owte the dore.

In 1558 it was

ordered that every brewer and tippler that breweth ale to sale, shall send, and give sufficient warning to the ale taster, at every time of their brewing to taste their ale under payne of forfeyting iii*s.* iv*d.*[12]

The brewing at Witney does not seem to have affected that industry in Oxford. Christopher Arundell brewed in the parish of St. Peter-le-Bailey in 1558, his landlord being the college of All Souls.[13] In 1562 a brewhouse existed in the parish of St. Thomas,[14] but the brewers were still liable to annoying restrictions, as, for example, the order laid down in 1568 that all Oxford brewers were bound to have their grinding done at the old Castle Mill.[15] For their better protection on 4 February, 1571, the ordinances of the Company of Brewers were enrolled by Nicholas Todde, the mayor, and the rest of the council. The supplication of the brewers to the City for their establishment consisted of seventeen articles. The following six are the most important :—[16]

Art. 1°. The master and wardens of this craft or mistery of brewers is to be chosen the Sunday next after the nativitie of St. Mary the Virgin, accordinge to the grants of the progenitors of our soveraigne lady the Queene that nowe is etc.

Art. 5°. No man must entice away one another's customers under the payne of xs.

[10] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 104.

[11] Ibid. 106, 107.

[12] Ibid. 107, 110.

[13] *Archives of All Souls*, 165.

[14] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 528.

[15] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 325.

[16] Ibid. 334.

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Art. 6°. No brewer to serve any typler or hucster with bere or ale unless he is suer that ye sayde typler or hucster standeth clearly out of danger for ale or bere with ye person he is indetted to, or at the least hath compounded for it; nor unless the said typler hath entred into recognisance for kepinge good rule in his house etc. under payne of forfeyture of xx*s.* for every such offence.

Art. 7°. No customer, typler, or hucster may lend, sell, breke, or cutt any brewers vessell or put therein any other ale or beare then of ye owners, of the same vessell, under the payne of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the fellowship of the brewers.

Art. 8°. None but freemen may brewe ale or bere under peyne of forfeyture of their drinke to the Baylives and 40*s.* to the company.

Art. 15°. Journeymen out of service or ale bearers must by 6 of the cloke in the morninge present himselfe at St. Peter's Church dore in the Bayly, there to be hired.

On 16 February, 1571, the Brewers' Corporation was confirmed and sealed,[1] and on 30 October of the following year the town clerk was appointed to act as their solicitor.[2] The brewers were by no means freed from the authority of the university. In 1574 the Earl of Leicester, as chancellor, ordered ale to be sold for 3*d.* 'the gallone and not above uppon (payne) of forfetting of every such mesure.'[3] The formation of the Brewers' Corporation proved a mistake. It was viewed with jealousy on all sides, and in May, 1575, it was brought to an end because it had been—

newly devysed to the disturbance of the liberties of the Universitie, is and hath bin one of the chief and originall causes of the variance and strife betwixt the Universitie and citie.[4]

Their great rival in the regulation of brewing having been done away with, the university authorities continued to set the price of ale, and in May, 1579, the vice-chancellor decided that best strong ale should be sold at 3*s.* 4*d.* a kilderkin, best double beer at 3*s.*, best single at 1*s.* 6*d.*[5] The retail price per gallon was to be 4*d.*[6] Still further commands were issued in 1581 by the university, and certain days were appointed for brewing. It is not surprising to find that one brewer at least refused to obey, and for his refusal Thomas Smith of St. Aldates was imprisoned in the castle.[7]

At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries Henley commenced its celebrity for malt and brewing, which it has retained to the present day. In 1587 one Evans Arderne, described as a gentleman, 'was authorized and allowed to be beerebrewer, and to brew good and holsome drink for man's bodye' in the town of Henley.[8] On 23 December, 1608, orders were issued in Henley concerning the price of the beer. Barrels of the best beer were to be sold at 8*s.*, and small beer was priced at 5*s.* a cask. A full quart of best ale was to cost 1*d.*, while two quarts of small ale were to be sold at the same price.[9] From a letter written by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke in 1637 it is evident that the Earl of Berkshire was a man of some inventive genius, and while possibly hoping to benefit himself he also proposed a scheme for the assistance of the Henley brewers. Whitelocke, however, did not approve either of the inventor or of the scheme, and wrote :—

The Earl of Berks hoping to repair his indigent fortune by setting on foot and engaging in new projects and monopolies, had gotten a patent from the King for the sole making of a new kind of kiln, for making of malt, and laboured to bring the same in use, particularly in Henley, a great malting town ; and he was to have money of all those who got up the new kiln. The better to persuade those of Henley to make use of his new kiln, which he pretended would save them much money in expense of firing : he offered me a share in his project, that by my interest in Henley it might have the better reception. But I looked upon such projects as dishonourable and illegal and little better than cheats.[10]

Dr. Plot, writing in 1677, had evidently heard of some such contrivance as the one proposed by the Earl of Berkshire, and there is reason to suppose that the invention had been taken up by some of the inhabitants of the town, for Plot wrote—

The malt kilns of Henley are so thriftily contrived that the kiln-holes are placed in the backs of their kitchen chimnies, so that drying their malt with their wood the same fire serves for that and all other uses of their kitchen beside.[11]

He regarded the malting industry of Henley-on-Thames at this time as very considerable.

From the lists of mayors and bailiffs of Oxford during the seventeenth century, brewing and malting must have been the most popular trades of the time. In 1603 Richard Hans was a brewer and bailiff;[12] in 1615 and 1618 William Blake and William Willis were the same.[13] Oliver Smyth, a brewer, was mayor in 1619, 1624, and 1631.[14] Henry Bosworth, a brewer and maltster, was elected mayor in 1625. Thomas Wicks was a brewer in 1628,[15] and William Dewy is mentioned of the same trade in 1635.[16] Oliver Smyth's son Thomas not only followed his father in the brewing industry, but was also

[1] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 335. [2] Ibid. 347.
[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xvi, 69.
[4] Ibid. xvi, 71. [5] Ibid. 72–3.
[6] *Rec. of City of Oxf.* 400–1.
[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xli, 342.
[8] Burn, *Hist. of Henley* (1861), 64.
[9] Ibid. [10] Ibid. 81.
[11] Plot, *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 265.
[12] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 34. [13] Ibid. 35.
[14] Ibid. 35. [15] Ibid. 36. [16] Ibid. 215.

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elected mayor in 1638 and 1643. Another son of Oliver, John by name, was a maltster, and succeeded as mayor in 1639, one of his bailiffs being Walter Cave, a brewer, who became mayor in 1650.[1] In 1643 Ralph Chillingworth was a brewer;[2] in 1657 Francis Heywood was a brewer and bailiff, and he was succeeded by Thomas Tipping.[3] Arthur Dimock was the next bailiff connected with the trade in 1661, and three years later the mayor was John Wyhte.[4] In 1671 Francis Heywood, a former bailiff and brewer, was appointed mayor.[5] About this time a brewery belonging to Mr. Carpenter stood in Brewers Street, and a brewhouse and malthouse were also situated in Paradise.[6] In 1678 and 1685 the bailiffs were selected from the maltsters; in the first case Badger and Fertrey, in the second Walker and Neale. As bailiffs for the year 1688 Richard Carter, brewer, and John Willer, maltster, were appointed, the former being elected mayor in 1690.[7]

Meantime the university continued to exercise its authority over the brewers of Oxford. In 1615 the price was once again altered by the then vice-chancellor, Dr. Goodwin, and he ordered that a barrel of double beer was to cost 10*s.*, while a quarter of ale was priced at 5*s.* 4*d.*[8] The university seems to have struggled almost in vain for the production of good and wholesome ale, and although Dr. Plot says that the 'maulting trade of Oxford' was considerable, yet the brewing industry does not seem to have been carried on to the advantage of the consumers. This is particularly clearly shown by the notice issued by Vice-Chancellor Bathurst on 22 June, 1676:—

Whereas it hath been observed yt the Common Brewers of this place consulting more y^r^ own private gain than the health and benefit of others, have not of late years made ye beer and ale of equall goodness with that in former times: And whereas severall complaints have been made to me of the unwholsomness both of beer and ale, occasioned chiefly by the rawness of such worts as were never boyled (the ale-brewer (as I am informed) not boyling his first and the Beer-Brewer his 2^d^ wort) Whereby a mixture of crude and sweet with bitter wort, both become less wholsome for man's body. For remedy whereof these are straitly to require and command all the public Brewers of this place upon forfeiture of their respective Licenses, That after the 24th day of this instant moneth of June, they and every of them well and sufficiently boyle or cause to have so boyled, all their several worts for the making of double Beer, middle Beer and Ale: and that they also take particular care, yt the said sorts of Beer and Ale in all other respects be made good and wholsome and agreeable to the assize which from time to time be printed and presented them.'[9]

It is interesting to notice how the university kept to the same price for beer. In 1615 the price had been, as shown, 10*s.* a barrel. In November, 1701, Roger Mander, the vice-chancellor, issued an order—

that no public Ale Brewers nor Beer Brewers within the precincts of this University, presume to sell their double Beer or Ale for more than ten shillings the Barrel (besides the duty of Excise) and so proportionately for any other vessel.[10]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Henley is as famous as ever for its malt industry,[11] and Burford had now a large malting business, and it was here that malt mills of stone were first made by Valentine Strange.[12] One name left on record as a brewer at Henley in the eighteenth century is that of John Blackman, who is mentioned in the minutes of the corporation for 1721.[13] The next year Henry Stevens, a brewer, died in Oxford, but little or nothing is known of him.[14] But by this time a well-known brewery had been established in Oxford itself, known as the Swan's Nest Brewery. From the original deeds still in the possession of Hall's Brewery this old firm was in existence in 1718.[15] Its name was probably due to its situation, for close to the castle where the brewery afterwards stood there was a place called the Swan's Nest, which is mentioned for the years 1571 and 1576. It is probable that the city kept a flock of swans at this point, and bred them for the table.[16] The brewery continued to flourish, and malt-making was also carried on to a very considerable extent, the malt being conveyed by barges to London.[17] Some time previous to 1780 the Swan's Nest Brewery passed into the hands of Sir John Treacher,[18] who was both an alderman and mayor of Oxford, and came of a well-known Oxford family.[19] In 1795 Mr. William Hall purchased the brewery from Sir John Treacher, and many of the old public-houses that had been connected with the old brewery, and some, indeed, that had been licensed as far back as the seventeenth century, now became connected with Mr. William Hall's firm. In the first year of Queen Victoria's reign the brewery passed to Henry Hall, and in 1860 it came into the hands of the father of the present manager. On 15 December, 1896, the Swan Brewery, that had so long retained at least part of its ancient title, was converted into a company, under the name of Hall's

[1] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 37.
[2] Ibid. 216.
[3] Ibid. 38.
[4] Ibid. 38.
[5] Ibid. 39.
[6] Ibid. xv, 308, 579.
[7] Ibid. xxxvii, 40.
[8] Ibid. xvi, 72.
[9] Ibid. 89.
[10] Ibid. xvi, 129.
[11] Chamberlayne, *Angl. Notitia* (1700), 24.
[12] Fisher, *Hist. of Burford* (1861), 13.
[13] Burn, *Hist. of Henley* (1861), 56.
[14] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlviii, 2.
[15] The writer is indebted to Mr. A. N. Hall.
[16] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxix, 76.
[17] Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* 108.
[18] The writer is indebted to Mr. A. N. Hall.
[19] This family was particularly connected with Carfax Church, vide Fletcher, *The Church of St. Martin, Oxf.* (1896), *passim*.

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Oxford Brewery, Limited, with its head offices at the Swan Brewery. During the year, the firm purchased Wootten's Brewery in St. Clements, and on 25 January, 1897, they also completed the purchase of Weeving's Eagle Brewery. By 1898 they had added Hilliard's Brewery of Wallingford and Shillingford's brewing business at Bicester. On 2 February of that year they purchased the City Brewery.[1] This had been founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century by David Hanley of Oxford. Under the management of his two sons Charles and Edmund Hanley a new brewery was built. It was turned into a limited company about 1890,[2] and then became the property of Hall's Oxford Brewery, Limited. This firm, made up of so many amalgamations, has a share capital of £300,000; the debenture stock is £250,000. The chairman of the company is Mr. A. W. Hall, and the managing director Mr. A. N. Hall.[3]

Previous to the purchase of the Old Swan's Nest Brewery by Mr. William Hall, there were several brewers in Oxford of some repute. One of these was Henry Drought, while Benjamin Tubb, whose relatives were closely connected with Oxford, had a malthouse in Grandpont.[4] At this time the price of beer went up, and Mr. J. R. Green records the fact that in 1793 there was a meeting of the bursars of the different colleges for taking into consideration the advance of 2*s.* per barrel laid on beer by the Oxford brewers.[5] Amongst these brewers would be the already-mentioned Sir John Treacher, and John Archer, Edward Tawney, Thomas Sutton Hood, and Anne Turner.[6] It would appear that at this time there were few maltsters in Oxford, for in the *Directory* for 1791–8 there only occur the two names of William Burrows and Thomas Ward.[7] Soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century the brewery now known as Morrell's (Trustees) Lion Brewery, in High Street, St. Thomas's parish, came into existence. It then belonged to Mr. James Morrell, and he, together with Mark Morrell, are recorded as partners in 1823.[8] It has always been in its present situation, and it is said to be one of the largest single-handed breweries in England.[9] In 1807 a brewery is recorded to have been under the control of a Mr. Davis, and both Hall's and Archer's breweries were flourishing concerns, the former in St. Thomas's, the latter in St. Aldates.[10] In 1823 two new names appear amongst the brewers of Oxford, namely, Edward Micklem in Brewhouse Lane, and James Wicken in Corn Market.[11] Malting again seems to have revived,[12] and several maltsters are recorded, such as Thomas Baylis, William Burrows, William Rowland, William Sheldon, and Henry Ward.[13] The last of the Oxford breweries to be mentioned is that of W. G. Phillips & Sons, Limited, who have carried on for some years the industry at the Tower Brewery.

Meantime brewing was a flourishing industry in other Oxfordshire towns. About 1756, the present firm of W. H. Brakspear & Sons, Limited, came into existence under the title of Messrs. Hayward & Brakspear, in connexion with the old Henley bank of Messrs. Hayward, Fisher & Brakspear. This brewery has been famous for many years for the excellence of its beer, owing to a most interesting reason. The water from which the beer is brewed is obtained from a well of very great depth situated on the premises. The water closely resembles the Burton water in its constituents and purity. The firm is also very careful to purchase only the very best bred barleys and finest hops, thus ensuring that the beers shall be of the purest possible character.[14] In 1823, besides Messrs. Brakspear's firm, there were two other brewers, Joseph Appleton & Co. in New Street and Henry Byles in Friday Street, and at the same time there were eleven maltsters.[15] In 1852 the brewing firms in Henley were Brakspear's, and those of Edmund Chamberlain, R. Cox, and Messrs. Byles & Sons.[16] Later on, the firm of Messrs. Holmes & Steward were engaged in brewing at Henley, but their business was taken over by Messrs. W. H. Brakspear & Sons, about 1896.[17]

About the end of the eighteenth century Deddington was famous for 'the goodness of its malt liquors,'[18] and in the early part of the nineteenth century the two maltsters residing here were J. Arlidge and G. Petty.[19] Chipping Norton was also famous for its ale, and as early as 1796 the firm of Hitchman & Company Limited was founded. Their premises at Chipping Norton, known as 'The Brewery,' occupy a wide area of ground, and steam-power machinery and the most modern improved appliances are employed. The brewing industry

[1] Mr. A. N. Hall.
[2] Barnard, *Breweries of Engl.* iii, 461–4.
[3] Mr. A. N. Hall.
[4] *Archives of All Souls*, 168.
[5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xli, 233.
[6] *New Universal Dir.* (1791–8), pp. 150, 153, 154, 155.
[7] Ibid. 151, 155.
[8] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[9] The writer is indebted to Mr. H. M. Dowson, manager.
[10] Oxford City Notices, Bodl. Lib.
[11] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[12] Brewer, *Top. Desc. Oxf.* (1819), 42; *Gent. Mag.* 1820, pt. ii, 396.
[13] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[14] The writer is indebted to Messrs. W. H. Brakspear & Sons, Ltd.
[15] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[16] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. of Oxf.* (1852).
[17] The writer is indebted to Messrs. W. H. Brakspear & Sons, Ltd.
[18] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxf. and the Cotswolds* (1905), 58.
[19] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823

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affords a good deal of work for those who live in the ancient town.[1] Besides the business of Messrs. Hitchman & Co. there were two other maltsters in Chipping Norton in 1823, namely T. Mathews and J. Phillips.[2] Witney is also celebrated for its brewery. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were five maltsters in the town, one of whom was Mr. J. Clinch.[3] Giles in his history of Witney speaks of Mr. Clinch's famous brewery in 1852, and it still continues to flourish.[4] Bicester has been a centre for brewing and malting for many years. In 1823 there were two brewers of the names of J. Bache and W. Phillips,[5] besides seven maltsters, and later there was the brewery of Messrs. Shillingford taken over by Hall's Oxford Brewery in 1898.

In Banbury and its neighbourhood brewing has been carried on for many years. In Banbury itself in 1823 there were three maltsters,[6] and by 1852 these had increased to fourteen.[7] Meantime in or about 1840 Mr. Thomas Hunt founded a brewery upon a still more ancient private brewhouse attached to one of the old inns at Banbury. Shortly after the foundation, Mr. Hunt was joined by Mr. William Edmunds, and these two successfully carried on and largely increased the business. In 1896 it was converted into a limited company under the style of Hunt, Edmunds & Co., Ltd., and the buildings of the brewery now cover about 6 acres of ground in Bridge and Fish Street, Banbury.[10] At Shutford, near Banbury, a brewery was founded by Mr. George Cross in 1840. It was successfully conducted by his son Mr. V. G. Cross and is now in the hands of the grandson of the original founder.[11] In 1849 Mr. John Harris established the Hook Norton Brewery, which was rebuilt according to modern requirements in 1899. In the following year the business was converted into a limited liability company with a share capital of £67,000. It employs about 50 men, and is under the management of three directors, one of whom is the son of the original founder.[12]

The ancient town of Burford had for many years a reputation for its malting business, but at the end of the eighteenth century this industry seems almost to have died out, and by 1799 the malting houses of Burford appear to have been in a state of decay. Certainly in 1823 there were still two maltsters left Mr. W. Arthur and Mr. J. Tuckwell,[13] but by 1891 all the members of the old trade had gone. Since that date, however, some of the bygone industry has been restored by Messrs. Garne and Sons, brewers, who have established their business in the town of Burford.[14]

QUARRIES

The county of Oxford is peculiarly rich in stone-quarries, and materials for building abound in all districts. Quarries of freestone are very numerous; limestone is plentiful, and slate is found in several places. The antiquity of these quarries is well established, and their importance has been recognized from very early times. It is extremely probable that the remnants of Anglo-Saxon buildings that still exist are composed of stone that came from the neighbouring quarries. In fact the stone used in the tower of St. Michael's, and in the early portions of St. Peter's in the East, together with the Norman foundations of Carfax Church, came from a very ancient quarry at Chilswell.[8] In 1303 there was a quarry of some repute near Wheatley, known as 'Cherlegrave,'[9] and here quarrying was carried on for some considerable time. But this quarry was quite overshadowed by the far more important quarries of Headington near Oxford and Taynton near Burford. These two quarries have continued up to the present time as valuable depositories of stone. That Taynton stone was used very early in Oxford itself has been proved by the library building account of Exeter College, in which it is recorded that 'William the mason' was paid 'for stone from Teynton 12 marks 7 sh.' There is, too, another reference showing a large purchase of stone—'carriage of stone from Teynton £7 0s. 10d.'[15]

During the fifteenth century the quarry-owners of Oxfordshire were particularly busy, as, during this period, there was a great demand for stone, both for the building of the colleges, and also for the erection or restoration of certain churches in the county. Between the years 1437 and 1442[16] the college of All Souls was built from the two chief quarries of Headington and Taynton. On 26 October, 1438, Edmund Rede sold to John Dinell, master of the works of All Souls College, part of his quarry at

[1] 'Towns of England,' *Business Rev.*
[2] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Giles, *Hist. of Witney*, 55.
[5] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. of Oxf.* (1852).
[8] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxix, 36, 59.
[9] Ibid. xvii, 316.
[10] The writer is indebted to Mr. C. F. Edmunds, Director of Hunt, Edmunds & Co., Ltd.
[11] The writer is indebted to Mr. A. V. Cross, the present owner.
[12] The writer is indebted to Mr. A. A. Clarke, Managing Director of the Hook Norton Brewery Co., Ltd.
[13] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[14] The writer is indebted to the Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D.
[15] Boase, *Reg. of Exeter Coll.* 344.
[16] Grant Robertson, *All Souls* (1899), 6.

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Hedendon.'[1] In 1442 Thame Church building account affords an excellent insight into the current prices for stone, and also shows from what parts the stone came. Headington stone was used chiefly, but for carvings and ornaments the church builders fell back upon the less perishable stone of Taynton. From the following selections some idea of the prices may be obtained :[2] —

		s.	d.
1442	'Rychard lavender for a lode of stone from hedendon	1	2
	'ffor caryage of 3 cartful stone from hedyndon, exspenys mete and dryng	1	1
	'John Kyng a lode from hedyndon .	1	3
	'ffor stone y bowte at teynton . .	3	0
	'ffor caryage of ye same stone and stone for ye boteras from teynton to oxsynforde 8 lods, from oxsynforde to tame 6 lods	17	4
	'To the wyndow John beckely of hedyndon stone	15	6
	'To a man of yekeford for a lode .	1	0
1443	'ffor 2 lods of stone from hedyndon to Jon mechel of resborow	2	2
	'ffor 2 lods of stone from hedyndon to Jon borne of Yekford . . .	2	4

The steady demand for Headington and Taynton stone continued. Merton College purchased in 1449 a very large quantity from both quarries. Taynton supplied 1,200 square feet, and 159 loads were ordered from Headington. The Taynton stone cost £10 10*s.* 6*d.*, the carriage being 2*s.* a load; the carriage from Headington was naturally much less, varying from 5*d.* to 5½*d.* a load. The wages for the quarrymen were from 4*d.* to 4½*d.* per day, and the total wage bill was £12 13*s.* 2*d.*[3] The Manorial Records of Bicester in the reign of Henry VI also show the price of stone during that period, for the following entry occurs: 'To William Skerne and his fellows hired to dig stones for the walls at the quarry beyond Crokkewell 23*s.* 4*d.*'[4] Magdalen College was the next great purchaser from the Headington quarries. In 1467 the outer walls of the college were built from material that came from the quarry.[5] Six years later stone for the college itself was obtained from the same spot. There seem to have been three quarries then in use. One of these was royal property and rented by the college from the king; a second was rented from Sir Edmund Rede; a third was owned by the college itself. These three, however, were not sufficient, and stone was also brought from Wheatley, Thame, and Milton, the last of which is well known at the present time.[6] In 1495 Magdalen College had still the ownership of the quarry at Headington, and an agreement was drawn up on that subject between the president and scholars of the college and the prior and convent of St. Frideswide.[7]

The early part of the sixteenth century still witnessed a considerable demand for stone for college buildings, and the ownership of Headington quarries remained in several hands. Among the muniments of Magdalen College there is a quaintly worded document of 1513 that illustrates this fact. Several men from Oxford walked out to 'Hedington Quarry, and called all the said men working in diverse men's quarries together, and they all sat down upon a green bank and did drink a pennyworth of ale.'[8] These 'diverse men's quarries' at Headington supplied stone to Cardinal Wolsey when he began to build Cardinal College, and the stone used for Christ Church came not only from Headington but also from Burford, Taynton, and Holton, near Wheatley. The lime that was also necessary was brought into Oxford from the neighbouring villages of Beckley and Stanton St. John.[9] About the same time a quarry was also worked in North Hincksey.[10] Two or three decades later Leland refers most probably to the quarry at Taynton or at Upton when he remarks, 'There is a notable quarry of fine stone about Burford.'[11]

Although there were so many quarries in Oxfordshire, yet the Headington quarries held their own against the many competitors, partly because of their proximity to Oxford, and partly owing to the ease with which the stone was worked. Thus, early in the seventeenth century, Merton College purchased stone from Headington for the Fellows' quadrangle, which was built between 1608 and 1610;[12] and in 1613 Wadham College was erected, and is regarded as one of the best examples of a building made from Headington stone.[13] Stonesfield was at this time the district from which slates were procured, though University College in 1635 employed Robert Perry, of Burford, as their 'slatter,' paying him for the slates and the labour 16*s.* a hundred.[14] A new quarry had by this

[1] *Archives of All Souls* (1877), 162.

[2] *Gent. Mag.* 1865, pt. i, 181–9. The above references are only a few selected from a large number. The whole account is very interesting and useful as showing the prices that were usual at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[3] Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 258–60.

[4] Hone, *Manor and Manorial Rec.* (1906), 213.

[5] Wilson, *Magd. Coll.* 21.

[6] Ibid. 22.

[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxviii, 269. 'Ijdem Presidens & Scolares per presentes concedunt prefatis Pr. & Con. unam acram terre in quarrera lapidicina in Hethyngton iuxta Oxon prout per metas & bundas modo limitatur, Habendam & tenendam predictam acram predictis Pr. & Con. & successoribus suis in perpetuum, Reddendo & soluendo inde annuatim predictis Presidenti & scolaribus & successoribus suis ij[d] legalis monete Anglie ad festa Pasche & S. Michaelis Archangeli per equales porciones.'

[8] Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* (1882), 20.

[9] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 413. [10] Ibid. xxxix, 15.

[11] Leland, *Itin.* vii, 63*b*. [12] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* iv. 71.

[13] Kelly, *Dir.* 1903.

[14] Carr, *University Coll.* (1902), 207.

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time come into existence at Handborough, where stone is still obtained. As early as 1619 stone from this quarry had been brought into Woodstock, at 2*s.* a load.[1] The Burford and Taynton quarries during the latter part of the seventeenth century were probably more famous than at any other period either before or since. Wood speaks of the Taynton quarry as the 'Leper's Quarry,' and the quarries half a mile south-west of Burford were called Christopher's or Kitt's quarries. It was from these quarries that Sir Christopher Wren is said to have obtained much of the stone for the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral after its destruction in the Great Fire in 1666. It was here, too, that one of the master quarrymen, named Kempster, having made sufficient money in his transactions with Wren, built a large stone house in 1698.[2]

Dr. Plot, in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, published in 1677, supplies more information than any other historian on the subject of Oxfordshire quarries. Writing of Headington quarry, he says:

> Of the stone afore-mentioned consists the gross of our buildings; but for Columns, Capitals, Bases, window-lights, door-cases, cornishing, mouldings, etc., in the chiefest work they use Burford stone, which is whiter and harder and carrying by much a finer arris than that at Heddington: but yet it is not so hard as that at Teynton, nor will it like that endure the fire of which they make mault kills and hearths for Ovens; but then they take care to 'surbed' the stone, i.e., set it edg-ways contrary to the posture it had in the bed, for otherwise there will be some danger of its flying.
>
> Besides the fire it endureth the weather, for of this mixed with another sort dug near Whately on the Worcester Road side as it passes betwixt Holton and Sir Timothy Tyrrils, are all the oldest colleges in Oxford built, as Baliol, Merton, Exeter, Queen's, Canterbury (now part of Ch. Ch.) College, Durham (now Trinity) College, New College, Lincoln, All Souls, Magdalen, Brazen-nose, and the outermost quadrangle of St. John Bapt. Coll. Yet it endures not the weather so well as Heddington, by reason, I suppose, of a salt it has in it which the weather in time plainly dissolves, as may be seen by the Pinnacles of New College Chapel made of this stone and thus melted away. . . . Other quarries there are also of considerable use, as Bladen, Little Milton, Barford, and Hornton, whereof the last has the best firestone of any in the county. . . . At Cornbury Park there was a sort of stone, the quarry whereof is now quite exhausted, that never would sweat in the moistest weather, of which the pavement of the Hall in the house there still remains as sufficient testimony.[3]

Dr. Plot speaks of the well-known slates of Stonesfield, an industry which at that time was far greater than it is now. There are still pits in the neighbourhood, and slates are still obtained in much the same way as that described by Plot, but it is only on a small scale. One of the best-known buildings roofed by these slates is a portion of Balliol College, which work was carried out in 1856.[4] Writing of the method of obtaining the slates, Plot says that the stone

> is dug first in thick cakes about Michaelmas time or before, to lye all the winter and receive the frosts, which make it cleave in the spring following into thinner plates, which otherwise it would not do so kindly. But at Bradwell they dig a sort of flat stone, naturally such, without the help of winter, and so strangely great that sometimes they have them of 7 ft. long and 5 ft. over.[5]

During this time limestone was quarried at Charlton, Langley, Little Milton and Shotover. At Bletchingdon a grey marble was obtained which was used for the making of chimney-pieces, and 'the pillars of the portico at St. John's College.'[6] At Clifden Hampden a peculiar stone of the 'pyrites aureus' character was also found. This struck fire very plentifully, and was sought after for 'carbines and pistols, whilst wheel-locks were in fashion.'[7] Another and very peculiar form of quarrying is recorded by Dr. Plot at Kidlington. He gives the following account, and says that

> the scarcity of firing has induced some people to burn a sort of black substance. . . . called Lignum fossile . . . . it consumes but slowly, and sends forth very unpleasant fumes: it is found in a pit or quarry called Langford Pitts, in the parish of Kidlington, not far from Thrup, about 18 ft. deep under the rock, where it lies in a bed about 4 in. thick.[8]

The Taynton quarry was used very extensively for the building of Blenheim Palace between 1710 and 1722,[9] but the great buildings of Oxfordshire were now almost complete, and there is little further mention of that quarry. During the eighteenth century a stone pit was opened at Hardwick and worked by the parish. It was, however, used up by the year 1855.[10] In 1748 there is evidence of a quarry at Breck, near Banbury, but no returns are available.[11] Throughout this period the old quarries continued to be worked, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century Headington was used for both freestone and ragstone. It cut 'soft and easy' when in the quarry, but hardened on exposure to the weather. In 1813 the vein was from 12 to 14 ft. deep, but at the bottom the stone was found to be too soft and sandy for use. This stone then, as now, was too coarse and porous for ornamental work; it varied much in quality, both soft and hard stone lying indiscriminately mixed in the quarry.[12] In 1852 the Headington quarries were worked by Mr. Thomas

[1] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Bor. of Woodstock* (1896), 77.
[2] Fisher, *Hist. of Burford* (1861), 73.
[3] Plot, *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* 76.
[4] *Gent. Mag.* 1856, pt. ii, 571.
[5] Plot, *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 77.
[6] Ibid. [7] Ibid. 71. [8] Ibid. 65.
[9] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds* (1905), 299.
[10] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxiv, 164. [11] *Gent. Mag.* xviii.
[12] Brewer, *Top. Oxf.* 262.

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Snow,[1] but at the present time they are but little used. This is not the case in other parts. From Banbury there still comes the famous limestone locally known as 'Banbury marble,' and a somewhat similar coarse marble is found in the Forest of Wychwood.[2] The Milton quarries mentioned by Plot in 1677 are still worked, and it is from these that Portland stone[3] is obtained, and has been used to reface parts of the colleges where the Headington stone has been weather-worn. Great as was the work in the Oxfordshire quarries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, yet now the business is a declining one. At the present time there are thirty-nine quarries in Oxfordshire, but only 127 quarrymen in the whole county to carry on what was formerly a celebrated and important industry.[8]

IRON ORE INDUSTRY

The workable iron ores of Oxfordshire belong to the marlstone rock of the middle Lias, and this is extremely well developed in the country round Banbury, being met with as far south as Fawler, and stretching out of the county to the west to the Edge hills.[4] By the year 1850 it was thought that the available supplies of raw material for the iron and steel industry were well ascertained. With regard to large supplies this was certainly the case, but it is since that date that the iron ore of Oxfordshire and of a few adjacent counties has been worked as a profitable business.[5] The iron ore at Fawler and at Adderbury has been obtained intermittently ever since the year 1859, but since the opening of the Banbury and Cheltenham railway line the ore has been worked regularly at both Hook Norton and Adderbury.[6] In 1874 the brown hematite got out at Adderbury was valued at £7,721, and weighed 36,808 tons. In 1879, however, there was a falling off, for only 1,233 tons were worked, and these were valued at £266.[7] Since that period Hook Norton has been the scene of a busy industry. The ore obtained in this neighbourhood at points where the beds come to the surface is in most cases a hydrated peroxide of iron or brown hematite. The metallic iron in the workable ore varies from about 18 to 32 per cent.; the richer ore in most cases being more siliceous than the poorer stone, which contains much lime.

Owing to the high percentage of moisture which this ore contains, and also because of the heavy railway rates, it has been found advisable to calcine it before sending it away. For this purpose, during the last seven years, calcining kilns have been erected at Hook Norton by Lord Dudley and the Brymbo Steel Co. Three of these kilns are still at work, those of the Brymbo Steel Co. being fired by produce-made gas. This is a very important matter for the company concerned, as by this means the ore is reduced in weight for railway carriage, and the percentage of iron is increased.

The majority of the ore from Oxfordshire is sent to the blast furnaces of South Staffordshire and North Wales, but the industry is not as fully developed as it might be owing to the heavy railway rates. Nevertheless, about 150 men are being employed, and the output from the mines is fairly considerable.[9] The government returns are, however, only available for Oxfordshire and Rutland taken together, and the amount in 1904 was 132,579 tons.[10]

AGRICULTURAL MACHINE-MAKING AND IRON-FOUNDING

Banbury, situated in the northern portion of Oxfordshire, stands supreme as the home of agricultural machine-making in this county. Mr. Beesley in 1841 records in his history of Banbury that that ancient borough had already some reputation for machine-making. He says, 'Various patent turnip-cutting machines, a patent land-presser or roller made on the lever principle, a patent drill on the same principle, a steel drill, a cake crusher, and a hand-threshing machine, all by Banbury inventors,' were fairly well known at this date.[11] It was, however, due to Sir Bernhard Samuelson rather than to anyone else that Banbury obtained its industrial character. In 1841 the population of the town was only 7,241, while twenty years later it had increased to 10,238. During this period

[1] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[2] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 572. The author is referring to 1841 and previous to that date, but the limestone is still worked.
[3] Kelly, *Dir.* 1903.
[4] The writer is indebted to Mr. W. H. Littleboy, of the Hook Norton Iron Ore Mines.
[5] Ashley, *British Industries* (1903), 5.
[6] Mr. W. H. Littleboy.
[7] Kelly, *Dir.*
[8] *Mines and Quarries General Report and Statistics*, pt. iii, 167.
[9] Mr. W. H. Littleboy.
[10] *Mines and Quarries General Rep. and Statistics* (1904), pt. iii, 166.
[11] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 569.

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Banbury, a dormant borough, had blossomed into an active centre of industry, and had gained for itself a notoriety among engineers. Sir Bernhard Samuelson was not only the man who founded Banbury's present prosperity, but he has been well called 'its presiding genius for half a century.'

The development of Banbury as a centre for agricultural machine-making was due in part to the French Revolution of 1848. Owing to the disturbed state of France, Sir Bernhard Samuelson found it quite impossible to carry on the railway works which he had established at Tours in 1846. For this reason he returned to England and found that a small implement factory at Banbury was for sale. For some years previous Mr. James Gardner had carried on with success the manufacture of agricultural implements, particularly the 'Banbury' turnip-cutter, which was his own invention, and owing to which he had won a considerable reputation. Mr. Gardner died and his business was put on the market at exactly the moment that Sir Bernhard Samuelson required an opening. The business was at once bought, energy was devoted to the concern, its operations were extended, and the 'Britannia Works' were founded. At first the works that did so much to transform Banbury were of a very humble character, and Sir Bernhard was his own manager, his own correspondent, and even his own commercial traveller. It is recorded that his wage bill for the first week was £32 paid to twenty-seven employés. This was only for a time, because the proprietor saw the needs of the agriculturists, and by patience and skill soon succeeded in producing those labour-saving machines which have so ably assisted the English farmer. So rapidly did the works expand that it is said that if necessary 120 reaping machines could be laid down and finished in one day. In the year 1872 the Britannia Works produced the enormous number of 8,000 reaping machines.[1] Sir Bernhard devoted his attention for a good many years to the development of this business, and many of the implements still made owe their existence to his inventive genius. At first mowers, reapers, and automatic sheaf-binders were the firm's specialities, but in later years the list of the manufactures of the firm has been extended in several other directions. In 1887 Roots blowers were taken in hand,[2] and the various parts of these and the exhausters are now fitted with the most perfect mathematical precision. The internal beaters have to be so adjusted that barely a sheet of ordinary notepaper can pass between them as they revolve.[3] The Roots blower was followed by the Longworth patent pneumatic hammer, moulding machines, and other types of agricultural machinery. Another special feature of the Britannia Works is roller milling machinery. In this connexion, however, the firm does not manufacture for the consumer direct, but only for the well-known firm of Messrs. Briddon and Fowler of Manchester, to whose designs the machinery is made.[4] In 1888 the concern was converted into a limited company, the shares being privately held; it is now under the management of a board of directors, which was presided over, until his death in May, 1905, by the Rt. Hon. Sir Bernhard Samuelson, bart.

The extensive Britannia Works occupy three sites, known respectively as the 'Upper' works, the 'Canal Side' works, and the 'Lower' works. All these are connected by a tramway, which affords convenience for the transport of machines. The 'Upper' works consist of a group of buildings ranged round the original shop, extensions having been made as the necessities of the business outgrew the existing accommodation. In these works are the lathe and drilling shop, the erecting shop, the mower-fitting shop, the beam shop, the binder and reaper erecting shop, the blower shop, and gallery, &c. In the 'Canal Side' works there are long lines of sheds, providing ample accommodation for stocking all kinds of machinery, the smithy, the engine shed, grinding, fettling, and carpenters' shops, the stores, and foundry. In this last are annealing furnaces, capable of producing about ten tons per week, for a large quantity of malleable castings is used by the firm. In the 'Lower' works several thousands of machines are stocked awaiting the season's trade.[5]

The firm of Messrs. Samuelson & Co. is by no means the only one in Banbury. Other agricultural implement makers have carried on their industry with success. In 1852 Mr. Charles Lampitt was engaged as an iron-founder at the Vulcan Foundry, Neithrop, and Joseph Parnell and William Riley, are recorded as agricultural implement makers.[6] About fifty years ago Mr. Barrows established the firm that is now known as Messrs. Barrows & Co. Ltd., engineers and boilermakers. The particular work carried on by this firm is the construction of portable engines, mortar machines, water

[1] *The Banbury Guardian*, 11 May, 1905.

[2] *The Machinery Market: Notable Establishments*, No. xl.

[3] *The Merchant and Shipper*, May, 1, 905.

[4] Ibid.

[5] *The Machinery Market*, supra. Sir Bernhard Samuelson was born 22 November, 1820, at Hamburg. His father was an English merchant, and his grandfather was connected with the City of London. He was educated at Skirlaugh, Yorkshire. From 1842 to 1845 he was employed by Sharp, Stewart & Co. on the Continent. In 1853 he started his furnaces in the Cleveland district. In 1870 he constructed the Britannia Works at Middlesbrough. He first sat in Parliament in 1859, and resigned his seat in 1893. Died 10 May, 1905.

[6] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.

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carts, and threshing machines. A great deal of the machinery that is here manufactured is exported abroad, particularly at the present time, to Greece, India, South America, and Australia. This firm has supplied the government departments of the War Office and the India Office; and has gained prizes and medals not only in the United Kingdom, but also in France and Germany.[1]

Banbury is not the only place in Oxfordshire where iron-founding and agricultural machine-making are carried on. In the city of Oxford itself there are a few firms that are engaged in these industries, and one is at any rate of some antiquity. The firm now known as W. Lucy & Co. Ltd. was first of all founded as far back as the year 1760. The headquarters of the business are in the Eagle Ironworks, near Walton Street. The present company was formed in 1897. The work in this case is not agricultural machine-making, but rather iron and steel book-cases, and some of these are in the Bodleian Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Patent Office, and His Majesty the King's private library at Windsor. But besides book-cases this firm makes a very large number of lamp posts, both for arc lights and incandescent gas; the former have been supplied to numerous places in the United Kingdom, and to Port Elizabeth; while the latter are common throughout England, and have also been exported to Johannesburg.[4]

The Oxfordshire Steam Ploughing Company is another important firm in Oxford, having its headquarters at Middle Cowley. The business was founded in 1868, when agriculture was in an extremely prosperous state, and when there was a considerable demand for steam-ploughing. From 1868 to 1878 the business became one of importance purely as a steam-ploughing concern. After the very wet season of 1879 there was a falling off in steam-ploughing, and this lack of demand continued until 1886. At that date more energetic management was introduced, and the business has gradually developed, not only in steam-ploughing and in steam-rolling machines, but most particularly in the engineers' department. The works at Cowley now cover three acres of ground, and are complete with every modern appliance necessary for the building of ploughing or traction engines. The number of those employed is considerable, for 200 hands are engaged in the industry. The business, the sole proprietor and general manager of which is Mr. John Allen, of Iffley, has fulfilled several contracts for the government, and during the late war considerable orders were placed with this firm by the War Office.[5]

BELL-FOUNDING

The numerous industries carried on in Burford have for the most part disappeared, but bell-founding, for which the ancient town had formerly some reputation, still continues. Bell-founding has not been a very considerable industry in Oxfordshire, because most of the bells of this county, or at least of the northern portion, owe their origin to the famous foundry of the Bagleys just over the border in Northamptonshire at Chacombe.[2] During the reign of Charles I there was, however, a bell-founder of repute at Burford, Henry Neale by name. He was buried in Burford Church, and the north transept still preserves his memory under the title of the Bell-founder's Aisle.[3] Henry Neale recast the bells of Burford in 1636, and the churchwardens' book of that date contains the accounts for this work.[6]

Chardges layed out for the new casting of four bells as followeth:

For three hundred weight of Bell Mettell at iiii*li.* v*s.*	xii*li.*	xv*s.*	
For carriage		vi*s.*	viii*d.*
For 44*li.* and a halfe at vii*d.* of the pound		xxv*s.*	i*d.*
xxiii*li.* more of mettle at vii*d.* the pound		xv*s.*	
Payed to the Bell founder for the takinge down, castinge, and hanging up of the four bells	xv*li.*	xvi*s.*	
Bringing the Bells from the Church and carriage back again		iii*s.*	
Pd. for making Scales to weigh the Bells		ii*s.*	
Pd. for a piece of oake for the Stocke of the Bells		ii*s.*	
Pd. for rent for the Roome where the Bells were cast		vi*s.*	

At the time of the Restoration bell-making was still an industry in Burford,[7] and probably the

[1] Supplied by the senior member of the firm.

[2] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 538, says in a footnote: 'Most of the bells in the neighbourhood were cast at Chacombe by the Bagley family; the principal of whom, Henry Bagley, who died in 1684, lies buried in Chacombe churchyard. The foundry stood in what is now (1841) the malt-house garden; no vestige remains. Tradition says that the descendants of Henry Bagley left Chacombe in consequence of the loss occasioned by the bursting of his mould while casting a bell. Henry Bagley lost his life while testing a piece of ordnance at Woolwich.'

[3] Falkner, *Hist. of Oxf.* (1899), 218.

[4] The writer is indebted to W. Lucy & Co. Ltd.

[5] The writer is indebted to Mr. John Allen.

[6] Monk, *Hist. of Burford*, 190.

[7] Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxf.* (1902), 108.

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name of Simon Neale, which is inscribed on the tenor bell at Milton,[1] records a relative of the Henry Neale of that ancient borough. During the nineteenth century the firm of Mr. Henry Bond continued Burford's celebrity for bell-casting, and in 1885 they recast the fourth bell of Witney Church.[2] From that time to the end of 1905, Mr. Bond continued his work, which only ceased with his death; the firm, however, is stated to be likely to continue an industry which, though perhaps not of great size, is at least historically connected with that interesting town.

Bell-casting was by no means confined to Burford, for the industry was carried on both at Woodstock and in Oxford. Lukis, in his 'Account of Church Bells,' speaks of Richard and James Keene as having a foundry at Woodstock which flourished between 1626 and 1681.[3] There is evidence, however, to show that the foundry continued at least as late as 1686.[4] These two bell-founders were celebrated throughout the county, and cast many of the bells for the Oxford churches.[5] On the fourth bell of King's Sutton Church there is the following inscription:—

> Know all men that doth me see
> That James Keene made me.—1626.

The fifth bell of the same church was also made by James Keene.[6] In 1638 one of these bell-founders was paid by the churchwardens of Yarnton 2*s*. quarterly to look after the bells.[7] One of the bells at Kidlington was cast by Richard Keene in 1661,[9] and he also made the sixth bell at Thame in 1664, as evidenced by the inscription: 'Richard Keene cast me, 1664.'[10] The fifth bell at St. Michael's, Oxford, the first and second at Holywell Church, were cast by Keene in 1668 and 1677.[11] This same Richard Keene in 1679 received £89 8*s*. for 'new casting the bells of Carfax and adding *mettle* to make the five bells six, and for making the frame for them and hanging them up.'[12] Richard Keene's last work in this neighbourhood would seem to be in 1686, when he received £19 18*s*. for casting a bell for Stow-on-the-Wold.[13]

Before closing this account of bell-casting a few notices which concern the industry in Oxford itself may here be briefly mentioned. In 1611 and in 1619 the bells of Yarnton were recast in Oxford.[14] But the Keene foundry seems to have had most of the work in the southern part of the county, and the next bell-caster to be heard of in Oxford was William Rose, who during the period of 1791–8 was engaged in this industry as well as that of brass-founding.[15] At the beginning of the nineteenth century bell-founding was carried on in the city by Messrs. W. and J. Taylor, brass, iron, and bell founders. Their works in 1823 were situated in St. Ebbe's,[16] and one of these Taylors is recorded to have recast the bells of Enstone in 1831. Since this period, bell-founding, which was never very extensive, has been steadily on the decline in this county.

STEEL-WORK

The steel-work of Woodstock had in former years considerable notoriety, and the excellent workmanship was known in many parts of England. Small portions of this type of industry are still in existence, as for example very beautifully executed swivels for watch-chains; but all these must have been created before 1850,[8] as no steel-work has been done since that date in Woodstock or the neighbourhood. The remarkable feature of the articles of polished steel lies in the fact that they were entirely made from the old nails of horse-shoes. These were formed into small bars before being applied to the various purposes of the delicate workmanship. The lustre of the different articles that were thus tediously wrought was eminently fine, and the polish was restored at a trifling expense. The neatness of the execution, the cleverness of the design, and the ingenuity of the designer were all remarkable. There can be but little doubt that this industry was of considerable antiquity, dating at least as far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It has been proposed by one writer that the date of this work can only be traced to the third decade of the eighteenth century,[17] but this is an obvious error, for in 1598 there is a clear reference to this steel-work in John Marston's *Certaine Satyres*. He is anxious to describe the ruff of a beau of his day and says:

> His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting
> Than Woodstocke work in painfull perfecting.

Mr. T. Warton[18] in discussing this matter says of Marston's description: 'The comparison of the

[1] *Gent. Mag.* 1820, pt. i, 106.
[2] Monk, *Hist. of Witney*, 201.
[3] Lukis, *Acct. of Ch. Bells* (1857), 13.
[4] Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock* (1873), 185.
[5] Ibid. 184. [6] Ibid.
[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxiv, 266.
[8] Fullerton & Co., *Gazetteer.*
[9] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxiv, 54.
[10] Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock*, 185.
[11] Ibid. 104, 185.
[12] Fletcher, *Ch. of St. Martin, Oxf.* (1896), 9.
[13] Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock*, 185.
[14] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxiv, 265.
[15] *New Universal Dir.* 1791–8, 154.
[16] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* 1823.
[17] Brewer, *Top. Hist. Des. of Oxf.* 384.
[18] Marshall, *Hist. of Woodstock* (1873), 265.

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workmanship of a laced and plaited ruff to the laboured nicety of the steel-work of Woodstock is just.' It is presumed that the work was continued in the seventeenth century, and certainly it was in full swing in 1720, when it was under the management of Mr. Metcalfe, who has been regarded by some as the inventor of the trade. There, are, however, practically no records concerning the industry, but it is well known that the prices obtained for some of the specimens of the Woodstock steel were very considerable. These prices convey perhaps better than anything else the skill and labour bestowed upon the small bars before they became ornamental and useful articles. In 1813 Mr. Brewer records that a chain weighing only two ounces was sold in France for £170 sterling. A box in which the freedom of the borough was presented to Lord Viscount Cliefden cost thirty guineas; and for a garter star made for his grace the Duke of Marlborough, fifty guineas were paid.[3]

From a reference in the *Gentleman's Magazine* it is obvious that the trade still continued up to 1820,[4] but from that time it began to disappear, and had entirely ceased to exist before the middle of the nineteenth century.

THE OXFORD MINT

The history of Oxford previous to the Norman Conquest is for the most part shrouded in the mists of antiquity. It is almost impossible to find anything concerning the ancient trades of this city before 1066, and it is only by studying the history and progress of the moneyer and his 'pennies' that imagination can be drawn upon to furnish some idea of the extensive trade that centred in Oxford. Fortunately the study of the moneyer and his handicraft in Oxford has been considerably lightened and the path made clear by Mr. C. Stainer's excellent work on 'Oxford Silver Pennies.'[1] The first pennies that have been found and are known to have been minted in Oxford are for the reign of Athelstan. At the beginning of this reign, about 925 to 930, there was possibly only one moneyer in this city,[2] but in the later portion of the reign there were eight men who carried on this industry, their names being, Ingelri, Mathelwald, Raegenward, Sigeland, Eardulf, Uthelric, Wynelm and possibly Othelric. Under Edmund there were evidently moneyers who lived in Oxford, the only name left on record being that of Reingrim, who is also to be found in the reign of Eadred with a co-worker Wynnelm. Suddenly between the years 955 and 959 there is a gap in the history of minting in Oxford. This gap is probably due to the fact that no pennies have been discovered for the reign of Eadwy, it being most unlikely that the moneyers' industry had been checked by any sudden stoppage either in the national progress or in the commercial advance of Oxford itself. From 959 to 975 Edgar was ruler of all England and his pennies were coined at Oxford as elsewhere, the moneyers being Æthelwine, Leofsige, and Wulfred, the latter extending his work into the reign of Eadweard II.

The evidence afforded by the number of Oxford pennies that were minted in the reign of Æthelræd II and still exist, should show that the city was advancing and taking up an important position in the country. There are no fewer than sixty-one of these Oxford pennies for this reign mentioned in Hildebrand's Catalogue of the great national collection at Stockholm, besides others in Copenhagen, Christiania, Helsingfors, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library. These pennies were minted by numerous moneyers, and several names have been preserved, though sometimes it is extremely likely that the same name occurs in a varying form. The names known are as follows, Ælfmaer, possibly the same as Æthelmaer; Æthelric or Æthlric; Alfwold; Brihtwine or Brihtwin or Brihtwen or Bryrhtwine or Byrhtwne; Coleman; Eadwi; Godine; Leofman or Leoman; Leofwine, and Wulfwine. There are no pennies of the reign of Edmund Ironside, while those of the reign of Cnut appear to be most common though rarely found in England. In Hildebrand's Catalogue the number of Oxford pennies is fifty-eight, the moneyers being more numerous than in the reign of Æthelræd; and, excluding the same names as those already mentioned, although they need not have been the same men, there were in Oxford Algelric, Coleman, Edwig, Godman, Godwine, Lifinc, Saewine, Sibwine, Wulmaer and Wulwi. Under Harold Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor the industry continued, and during the reign of the last of these kings the legend PAC or PACX first occurs on a penny. This is said to refer to the great meeting of the Witenagemot which was held in Oxford in A.D. 1017–18. Mr. Keary remarks that:

The terms of this agreement of Oxford were to a certain extent embodied in a series of statutes identical with or similar to those which bear the name of Cnut in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws. We may

[1] Stainer, *Oxford Silver Pennies. Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlvi. Mr. Stainer does not agree with the opinion of some writers with regard to the 'Orsnaforda' coins of King Alfred. A controversy still continues as to whether these coins were minted at Oxford or not.

[2] *Anct. Laws and Institutes of Engl.* 88.

[3] Brewer, *Top. Hist. Des. of Oxf.* 384.

[4] *Gent. Mag.* 1820, pt. ii, 396.

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assume that the coins with the legend 'PAX' have some reference to the agreement at Oxford, or to the promulgation of Cnut's laws, and to the theory that the peace of Edgar had been re-established.[1]

At the period of the formation of Domesday, minting was still carried on at Oxford, but it appears that there was no profit attached to the work. In the reigns of William I and II Æglwine and Ægelwi and probably about the same time also Brihtred and Godwine were moneyers.[2] The mint continued up to the reign of Henry III and then ceased.[3] Sagrim and Sawi were the moneyers under Henry I. The latter was probably followed by his son, and the name survived in Sewy's Lane. Sweting struck Oxford pennies for Matilda. Gahan or Gihan, Sweting, and Walter minted in the city during the reign of Stephen, while Adam, Ashetil, and Rogier did the same under Henry II. Geoffrey de Stockwell, Henry Simeon, Adam Feteplace, and William le Saucer were all moneyers in the reigns of John and Henry III, and they all appear to have held at one time or another high official positions in the city.[4]

A very considerable period now elapsed before Oxford was again famous for its mint. The Civil War, of Parliament against the king, broke out in September, 1642, and Charles I was driven to make his head quarters in the loyal city. Here in January, 1643, a mint was erected for turning into money for the payment of the soldiers all the plate from the different colleges, and this mint was situated at New Inn Hall.[5] The mint had been originally established, on the outbreak of the war, at Aberystwith.[6] Thomas Bushell was master of that mint and lessee of the silver mines there. It was then moved to Shrewsbury, where a good deal of the university plate was turned into coin. But for want of good workmen and instruments it was found that only £1,000 a week could be coined here, and so the mint was removed to Oxford.[9] Here it was placed under the direction of Sir William Parkhurst and Mr. Thomas Bushell, and the regular workmen of the mint were brought to Oxford.[10] It had been agreed that all coins made at Aberystwith should have the plume on both sides, but this does not seem to have been very strictly adhered to, though when the mint was removed to Oxford the minters retained this peculiar mark.[11] But there were, of course, variations, for the plumes on the Shrewsbury coins sprang from a large coronet with no bands under it; those on the Oxford ones from a smaller coronet with bands. It is most likely that no gold coins were minted at Shrewsbury, but at Oxford between 1642 and 1644 £3 gold pieces were regularly issued.[12]

The coin peculiarly called the Oxford crown [says Hawkins], is very beautifully executed by Rawlins, with great spirit and attention to details; underneath the horse is a view of Oxford with its name OXON. and R, the initial of the artist's name.[13]

One of the mint masters was Mr. Robert Hunt, who died on 19 October, 1643.[14] In this year what were called Oxford double crowns were issued, but all forms of coins down to pennies were minted in New Inn Hall.[15] The workmanship of the latter part of 1643 was very superior to that at the beginning of the year. In 1644 the gold coins were marked with OX and the date was placed below; but in the following year the letters OX were omitted. In 1646, however, the OX marking was once again instituted, but on coins of this year the date is placed above the letters and not below.[16] As Oxford surrendered to the Parliamentary forces on 24 June, 1646, the royal mint naturally came to an end, and the history of minting at Oxford ceased for ever.

TILES AND BRICKS

From very early times tiles have been made in Oxfordshire, and thirteenth-century tiles were discovered amongst the foundations of Carfax Church.[7] In 1380 there were apparently four tilers in Oxford, as is shown by the poll-tax of that year.[8] From the manorial records of Bicester, in the reign of Henry VI, tiling seems to have been carried on at Banbury, for there is the following entry: 'To John Coventry of Banbury, tiler for roofing . . . £4:0:1.'[17] During the same period the cost of tiles at Oxford was 2*s.* 6*d.* a thousand.

Brick-making is not so old an industry in the county as tile-making, but it is now carried on in many parts. In 1604 bricks at Woodstock

[1] Keary, *Cat. of Eng. Coins in the B.M.* ii, lxxxv.
[2] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xv, 161.
[3] Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Eng.* (1887), 177, 181, 191, 193, 197.
[4] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xlvi, *passim.* Mr. C. Stainer's work is of the highest value to all students of early English coins, and for this early history of the mint the writer is deeply indebted to that author.
[5] Ibid. xix, 94, 95.
[6] Kenyon, *Gold Coins of Eng.* (1884), 154.
[7] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxix, 60. [8] Ibid. xviii, 32, 33.
[9] Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Eng.* (1887), 319, 320.
[10] Kenyon, *Gold Coins of Eng.* 154, 157.
[11] Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Eng.* 325.
[12] Kenyon, *Gold Coins of Eng.* 149, 154, 158.
[13] Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Eng.* 319.
[14] Fletcher, *The Ch. of St. Martin, Oxf.* (1896), 139; *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxvii, 233.
[15] Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Eng.* 362.
[16] Kenyon, *Gold Coins of Eng.* 154, 156.
[17] Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records* (1906), 213.

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cost 10*s.* a thousand,[1] and from this time onwards brick-kilns and clay-kilns seem to have existed. Between 1642 and 1644 the clay at Shotover does not seem to have been used so much for bricks as for making tobacco pipes for the king's soldiers then quartered at Oxford.[2] The clay, too, at Marsh Baldon and Nuneham was, according to Dr. Plot, used for making some kind of pottery, but he remarks that it was abandoned before his time. In 1677, however, he records two places where bricks were made.

> About Nettlebed [he says] they make a sort of brick so very strong that whereas at most other places they are unloaded by hand, I have seen these shot out of carts, after the manner of stones to mend the Highways, and yet none of them broken.

At Caversham they also made bricks at this period, and these were of a somewhat peculiar shape, being 22 in. long and 6 in. broad; they were called Lath bricks.[3] At both these places brick-making continues to be carried on, together with the manufacture of tiles and drain-pipes. In 1852 it is recorded that at Nettlebed 'are manufactured by steam power every description of sanitary stone-ware pipes, pipes for agriculture, tiles for roofing, etc.' At this time the business was under the management of Mr. William Thompson. At Leafield, too, there were potteries worked by Mr. Philip Franklin, and in Banbury there were as many as ten brick-makers.[6]

Clay is dug for brick-making in the neighbourhood of Bicester, at Finmere, Goring, Long Handborough, and at Caversham and Nettlebed. The kilns and brickworks at the latter place are known as the Soundless Kiln, and were until a short time ago under the superintendence of Mr. George Eustace. Besides these there are also brickworks at Sandford-upon-Thames, belonging to Messrs. Benfield & Loxley; at Wheatley, belonging to Messrs. J. A. & J. Cooper; at Headington Quarry, Milton-under-Wychwood, Deddington, Shiplake, Culham, Wolvercote, Banbury, and Great Milton.

GLASS-MAKING

There are but very few references to this industry, which has now entirely disappeared. It is first mentioned by Dr. Plot in 1677, who records the fact that glass was made at Henley by a Mr. Bishop and then by a Mr. Ravenscroft. The learned historian describes the materials used by these glass-makers—

> The materials they used formerly [he says] were the blackest Flints calcined and a white christalline sand, adding to each pound of these . . . about two ounces of niter, Tartar and Borax.[4]

Between the years 1700 and 1720 Cox, in his account of Oxfordshire, seems to have known of these glassworks at Henley. He speaks of a certain sand at Nettlebed being sent to the glass-house at Henley. He also records that sand for glass-making was to be found at Finstock, Ledwell, and Shotover.[7] When the glassworks at Henley came to an end seems to be unknown; certainly in 1861 there was no trace of this glass-making business, though the tradition of it still lingered, as Burn says that the glass-making of Dr. Plot's reference was probably carried on at the north end of Bell Street.[8]

BOAT-BUILDING

The county of Oxford being situated as it is with regard to England's greatest river, there can be little doubt that the art of boat-building must have been known to the very earliest inhabitants. That boat-building was a necessity is obvious, and that many barges and lumbering boats plied between Oxford and the metropolis in very early times is shown by petitions from the merchants to Edward I or Edward II.[5] But the very fact that boats were common was sufficient for their history to have been placed on one side, and there is little or nothing to show that there was any real boat-building industry in Oxford or the river-side towns previous to the end of the eighteenth century.

Between the years 1791 and 1798, Stephen Davis is recorded as a boat-builder of Oxford,[9] and either he or his son probably entered into partnership about the beginning of the nineteenth century with a Mr. King. After a time the firm became that of Isaac King only, and in 1858 Mr. John Stephen Salter purchased the business. Meantime there was another firm belonging to Mr. Hall,

[1] Ballard, *Chron. of the Roy. Boro. of Woodstock* (1896), 68.
[2] Plot, *Natural Hist. of Oxf.* (1677), 65.
[3] Ibid. 251–2. [4] Ibid. 72, 75.
[5] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii, 109. Compare *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* iii, 214, where the people of Abingdon are shown to have placed a toll on boats passing to Oxford, as early as 1060. Burcot was the great harbour, and frequently goods were carried from here by road to avoid this toll.
[6] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. Oxf.* (1852).
[7] Cox, *Oxfordshire* (1730), 411.
[8] Burn, *Hist. of Henley* (1861), 80.
[9] *Universal Dir.* (1791–8), 151.

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and this was also purchased by Mr. Salter in 1870. In 1874 the firm was known as John Salter, but since 1890 it has been known as Messrs. Salter Brothers. In past years this boat-building firm executed orders for both the University crews, and for seven or eight years in succession they built the boats used in the Inter-university Race. Besides building all sorts of pleasure boats, they now build motor, electric, and steam launches of both steel and wood, and they have recently constructed a steel stern-wheeler for the Congo Mission. At the present time they have an order for fifteen boats for the Orange River Colony, and in the past they have sent many boats to India, Ceylon, and China; but in the last two cases there is no longer so great a demand for English-built boats, as the natives have learnt to construct them on the same lines. One of the chief parts of the business of Messrs. Salter Brothers is the running of pleasure steamers from Oxford to Kingston during the summer months. These steamers are built by the firm at Folly Bridge, Oxford.[1]

In 1871 Mr. Clasper established a boat-building business in Oxford, which was taken over by Mr. F. Rough in 1883, in whose hands it still continues. At the works, near Long Bridges on the towpath, Mr. Rough constructs rowing boats, but a speciality is made of racing craft, both for the college rowing clubs and also for purchasers in Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Australia, and America. Mr. Rough has also invented and patented an improved method for making joints water-tight, and this is especially used in carvel-built boats, ships' decks, and punts. Besides these two firms at Oxford there are several other boat-builders who carry on the industry.[2]

Oxford is not the only town in the county celebrated for boat-building, for there are firms at Goring, Shiplake, and Henley. Saunders's Patent Launch Building Syndicate, Ltd., have their chief works at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, but they also build at the Springfield Works, Goring. These are situated on the Thames, about half a mile above Cleave Lock, and about one and a half miles from Goring station, with 500 ft. frontage to the river. They have a well-equipped and powerful slipway, capable of dealing with craft from 25 to 30 tons. The business was originally established in 1830, but the firm of Saunders was started some thirty-five years ago by Mr. S. E. Saunders, who is the inventor and patentee of the sewn construction. Four years ago the firm was formed into a syndicate for the purpose of extending and fully exploiting the patent. This patent system of construction consists of either two, three, four, or more skins, the total thickness being from one-eighth of an inch upwards. First the stringers are placed in position, then a skin is placed diagonally, then a fabric waterproofed with the firm's own solution; next, a reverse diagonal skin is put in position followed by another solutioned waterproofed fabric; lastly (in the case of three skins) the outer skin or planks are placed horizontally. All these are sewn together with specially annealed copper or bronze wire, with stitches varying from half-inch pitch upwards, and are countersunk by a process which is part of the patent. The result of the whole is a hull of uniform strength, which, while possessing great elasticity, is free from vibration. All the launches and boats (up to 60 ft. in length) are built at the Springfield works bottom up. When the skin is sewn they are turned right way up for finishing. The firm have carried out contracts for the King, the Admiralty, the colonies, Trinity House, the Eastern Telegraph Company, and many yacht clubs.[5]

The firm at Shiplake is that of East's Boat Building Co., Ltd., but its head quarters are not in Oxfordshire, being situated at Reading, where it was founded some twenty-eight years ago. Since 1890 the firm, which then belonged to Mr. A. H. East, established a branch at Shiplake, and eight years later the business was turned into a limited liability company. Boats have been dispatched to every part of the world, and all kinds of launches and boats are constructed.

CHAIR-MAKING

This industry is not of any great size, but affords a certain amount of employment in the eastern and south-eastern portions of the county. As early as 1380 one chairmaker is recorded as having his business in Oxford.[3] The history of the industry is, however, a blank from this time until the nineteenth century. Pigot, in his *Commercial Directory*, gives the name of J. Langbourne as a chairmaker at Henley in 1823.[4] At Kingston Blount, Chinnor, Oakley, and Stokenchurch, chair-making was carried on in 1852,[6] and about the same time Thame had some celebrity for its beechen chairs. The principal centre of the industry is now at Stokenchurch, though it is also carried on at Chinnor, Watlington, and Caversham. The chief types of chairs made are low, plain wooden chairs with rush seats, and a large number of church chairs are also manufactured.

[1] The writer is indebted to Messrs. Salter Bros.
[2] The writer is indebted to Mr. F. Rough.
[3] *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xviii, 27.
[4] Pigot, *Commercial Dir.* (1823).
[5] The writer is indebted to Mr. S. E. Saunders.
[6] *Hist. Gaz. Dir. Oxf.* (1852).

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BANBURY CAKES

Banbury is perhaps best known to the commercial world as a centre for the manufacture of agricultural implements, but to the ordinary man it is most celebrated for three things—the Banbury Cross, Banbury cakes, and Banbury cheese. Ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth Banbury has been famous for its cakes.[1] In 'a treatise by T. Bright, doctor of physic, 1586', the following paragraph proves how early Banbury cakes were known to the outside world, though probably they had long been familiar to the inhabitants of that town.

> Sodden wheate [wrote Dr. Bright] is a grosse and melancholie nourishmente, and bread especiallie of the fine flower unleavened : of this sorte are bagge-puddings or panne puddings made with flower, frittars, pancakes, such as we call Banberrie cakes, and those great ones confected with butere, egges, etc., used at weddings.[2]

Philemon Holland, the celebrated translator,[3] records in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1609, that Banbury amongst other things was celebrated for its cakes. Thus early was the cake trade connected with the town, and it is evident that the connexion was sufficiently appreciated in England, because Ben Jonson in his *Bartholomew Fair* in 1614 introduced a character formerly a baker of Banbury. Thus the baker's enemy is made to say—

> I remember that too ; out of a scruple he took, that in spiced conscience, those cakes he made were served to bridalls, maypoles, morisses, and such profane feasts and meetings.[4]

In 1615 Richard Braithwait published *A Strappado for the Divell*, and compared Banbury to Bradford and mentioned the cakes.[5] In the next year title-deeds were drawn up that prove the shop now in Parsons Street to have existed as early as 1616, and it is most probable that cakes were made in what is now a parlour, but what was then perhaps a bakehouse.[6] Whether the cakes were made here or in another shop, they are mentioned in 1627, and again in 1636 by John Taylor the Water Poet.[7] The industry undoubtedly continued with variations and fluctuations, and it would be gathered from Addison in the *Tatler* in 1710 that the cake trade was not as flourishing as it had been at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[8] But on 10 March, 1711, Hearne remarked that Banbury was celebrated for its cakes and that the judges, when on the Oxford assize, were presented with a cake.[9] During this century the White family were the celebrated cake-makers, and towards the close of the century Betty White was perhaps the most famous of all cake-makers, her reputation and name being still well remembered in Banbury.[10]

During the nineteenth century the cake trade flourished even more than ever before. In 1838 the fame of the cakes was spread abroad by a consignment being sent from Banbury to India. The shop that had previously belonged to the White family passed into the hands of Mr. Samuel Beesley, and in 1840 he sold 139,500 of the twopenny cakes, and during the month of August they were sold at the rate of 5,400 weekly. Besides this wonderful output, it is noticeable that some cakes were sent to America and Australia.[11] So famous had the cake trade become, and so small was the agricultural machine-manufacturing business, that in 1847 Banbury is recorded as being principally known for its cakes. According to the *Directory of Oxfordshire* for the year 1852, there were two well-known cake-makers living in the town, Mr. Claridge and Mr. William Betts, the grandson of Betty White. Mr. Claridge was said at that time to be the oldest cake-maker. His business was very extensive, for besides having a contract for a weekly supply of cakes to the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, he also had to satisfy the demands of about 150 sellers in London, and others in the principal towns, and at the same time he exported 150 boxes of these articles of pastry to Calcutta.[12] The coming of the railway must have benefited the cake-makers very considerably. The trade still continues in Banbury, there being three chief cake-makers, two of the name of Betts, and one of the name of Brown at 12, Parsons Street, which house, according to Mr. Evans, is said to have been the 'original cake shop.'[13]

[1] Nare, *Glossary*, i, 48 (ed. 1882).
[2] Edwards, *Words, Facts, and Phrases*, 43.
[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxvii, 151.
[4] Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, act 1.
[5] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 568.
[6] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxf. and the Cotswolds*, 64. [7] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury* (1841), 568.
[8] Addison, *Tatler*, No. 220.
[9] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, i, 218.
[10] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 569.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of Oxf.* 1852.
[13] Evans, *Highways and Byways in Oxf. and the Cotswolds*, 64.

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INDUSTRIES

BANBURY CHEESE

The celebrity of Banbury for its cakes still remains as widespread as in the past, but this is not the case with regard to Banbury cheese, which was once so famous, for now the industry has practically disappeared. From the corporation books of Banbury it is evident that the Banbury cheese was well known in 1556, and 8*s.* were paid for 'vj copull of ches yt wer sennt to London.'[1] Camden speaks of the town as being famous for its good cheese in 1586. To the playgoers of the Elizabethan period the Banbury cheese must have been a familiar object, for Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* makes Falstaff's companion, Bardolph, compare Master Slender with a Banbury cheese.[2] This reference is somewhat elucidated by another in Jack Dunn's *Entertainment* where the phrase 'You are like a Banbury cheese, nothing but paring,' is introduced.[3] As a matter of fact the cheese for which Banbury was so justly celebrated was a rich milk cheese about an inch in thickness.[4] Philemon Holland, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, also mentions Banbury's famous cheeses, and in this he is followed in 1636 by John Taylor the Water Poet.[5]

Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, bestows upon the cheeses of Banbury a high encomium when he says, 'Of all cheeses, I take that kind which we call Banbury cheese to be the best.'[6] In 1677 the studious Dr. Plot refers to the cheeses of Banbury just as he does to so many of the industries of the county.[7] As late as the eighteenth century Banbury still retained its fame. In 1700 Chamberlayne remarks that 'the rich and fine town of Banbury' is celebrated for cheese;[8] and a few years later Defoe writes, 'Banbury has a considerable trade, especially in cheese.'[9] A recipe for making this particular cheese is to be found in the MS. Sloane, 1201, fol. 3.[10] The fame of Banbury cheese slowly disappeared, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it had entirely gone, though another kind of cheese was made about 1841 which, to a certain extent and for a short period, replaced the old kind. This was a very rich kind of cheese made at a late season, never before Michaelmas. It was called 'latter-made' cheese, and cost from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* a pound.[11] In the sixteenth century the name of Banbury at once brought to the mind of the hearer the famous cheeses, but in the twentieth century this is no longer the case.

[1] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury* (1841), 568.
[2] Shakespeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act 1, sc. 1.
[3] Brewer, *Reader's Handbook*, 76. [4] Ibid.
[5] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 568.
[6] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 568.
[7] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.*
[8] Chamberlayne, *Angl. Notitia*, 24 (ed. 1700).
[9] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 568.
[10] Halliwell, *Dict. of Arch. and Prov. Words*, i, 138.
[11] Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, 568.

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AGRICULTURE

IN dealing with Oxford from an agricultural point of view it is necessary to treat of the various methods of culture which result from its varying soils. As the county is almost fifty miles long, and contains close on 480,000 acres of land, it is not surprising to find that the soils vary to a very large extent, and that consequently there is no fixed rule or custom of farming general to the shire. Compare for instance the high stonebrash land extending from Witney to Burford, Chipping Norton, Charlbury and Woodstock, which is easily cultivated and carries sheep more or less all through the year, with the heavy plough-land extending roughly from Bicester to Merton, White Cross Green, and indeed nearly to Oxford along the banks of the River Ray. Or again, compare the upper chalk and flint of the Chiltern districts from Goring to Henley with the fertile meadows of Waterstock and the deep meadow-lands of Water Eaton. So many varieties of soil necessitate correspondingly different modes of farming and stocking the land, each applicable to the peculiarities of soil and climate of its own locality.

Oxfordshire may be roughly divided into the following districts :—

1. 80,000 acres of red land lying towards Banbury, Wardington, Hook Norton, Adderbury, Bodicote, Wigginton, &c.
2. 166,000 acres of stonebrash round Blenheim, Black Bourton, Chesterton, from Witney to Burford, towards North Aston, Charlbury, &c.
3. 66,000 acres of flinty-covered ground about the Chiltern district.
4. 168,000 acres of miscellaneous soil, such for instance as that about Stadhampton, Culham, Warborough, Nuneham, Forest Hill, Kidlington, Chiselhampton, Sandford, Great Haseley, &c.

1. The red land has for the last century been spoken of as sound responsive land, neither too light nor yet too strong, but with staple enough to withstand the extremes of either wet or dry seasons. The rent of such land varies only from 25*s.* to 30*s.* an acre, 27*s.* being a fair average.

2. The stonebrash is excellent land for sheep and barley, but requires a wet day once a week. So healthy is it considered for sheep that lambing pens are erected upon it, and the Oxfordshire sheep are bred, kept and fattened on the arable land. The excellent barley grown on this soil finds much favour with the Burton brewers. One serious drawback however in the cultivation of this land is the constant presence of charlock, which no agriculturist up to the present time has successfully combated. Ninety years ago stonebrash is said to have let for 20*s.* to 25*s.* an acre, but from 15*s.* to 20*s.* an acre is nearer its market value at the present time.

3. The Chiltern district is very variable, but the sub-soil may be safely said to be of chalk, and although some fields are covered with brown flints

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they are worth much more an acre than a stranger would suppose. Along the banks of the Thames towards Reading, excellent flat arable fields are to be found, which in wet seasons are very productive, but in hot, dry summers get terribly burnt up. It is fair to put the rents of this district at from 12*s.* to 15*s.* an acre.

4. The miscellaneous district is the most difficult division to describe agriculturally, for, as its name implies, it comprises many kinds of soil, such as light gravel, deep clay, rich grazing and milking pastures. It would be tedious to describe at length the localities and varieties of soil found in this division, and it is sufficient to state that its value may be fairly estimated as second only to the red-land district. Its variety commends itself to those farmers around Thame and elsewhere who wish to produce shire horses, to those in such districts as Water Eaton who make a speciality of dairy work, and to those who adhere to the general opinion that sheep are to Oxfordshire farmers what Hereford, shorthorn, and Welsh bullocks are to the Northamptonshire graziers. The rent of these lands may be reckoned at 20*s.* to 22*s.* 6*d.* an acre.

Between forty and fifty years ago, when prices of corn were high and there was apparently no sign of labour becoming scarce, many acres of woodland were grubbed up. Such lands have, however, gradually fallen in value and owners have sustained a heavy loss from the conversion.

Poultry-farming has considerably increased during the last ten years in consequence of the general use of movable poultry houses, by means of which the health of the fowls is improved and their productiveness increased.

The method of cropping and cultivating land in Oxfordshire deserves special notice. Although the four-course rotation (i.e. roots, barley or oats, seeds, wheat) forms the basis of nearly all the systems, yet there are several variations of it, due mostly to the large head of sheep kept on the arable land, especially on the red soil in the north, the stonebrash in the middle, and the chalk and gravel soils of the south. To provide keep for sheep a system of catch cropping prevails, and as the soils enumerated occupy the bulk of the county, the four-course rotation is constantly being broken in upon. Instead of mixed seeds, clover, and beans or peas, many farmers grow a quarter roots, a quarter barley or oats, an eighth clover, an eighth beans or peas, and a quarter wheat; the clover, and beans or peas, as the case may be, being reversed, so that clover comes but once in eight years.

In the autumn, rye and winter vetches are sown on land intended for roots; these green crops, together with Italian rye grass (sown the previous spring with a corn crop), early spring-planted vetches, and winter-planted cabbages, are eaten on the ground by sheep. Immediately the crop is consumed the ground is ploughed; several harrowings are sometimes followed by a slight turn with the cultivator, the soil is then pressed, and swedes, turnips or rape, and sometimes thousand-headed kale are sown on the flat; if it is too late for these, mustard is planted; thus two green crops are grown in succession, both being eaten on the ground by sheep. It will easily be seen that when the land has been first dunged and has then received about 3 cwt. of superphosphates per acre drilled in with the seed, this system tends to enrich the soil to a very marked extent, especially when it has been supplemented by cake

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and corn fed to the sheep. The good effect also of the treading of this light class of soil must not be lost sight of. After this treatment many farmers take two corn crops in succession: first oats, then barley, sown out with clover or mixed seeds. Should the weather be very dry about the month of April, when the last swedes of the main crop are being eaten off, some farmers, rather than risk the failure of late drilled corn, drill roots again, as the danger of finger-and-toe is small, owing to the abundance of lime in the soil. This is found to be a much better system than risking a miserable late corn crop abounding with annual weeds. Many landlords now allow their tenants to cross-crop as much as is necessary, provided they maintain the fertility of the soil and keep the land free from weeds; others, so long as the tenant crops one quarter of the arable land with roots, insist on no rule as to the cropping of the remainder, whilst a few still hold their tenants to the rigid four-course rotation, which received a fresh lease of life after the publication of Arthur Young's *Agriculture of Oxfordshire* in 1813. The rigid four-course rotation is known to succeed in counties with a deeper sub-soil and a more humid summer climate, but in Oxfordshire it will break more farmers than it will make. Under favourable conditions as many as three crops may sometimes be seen in one year, namely, winter vetches or rye, followed by rape or mustard, then turnips. Again there are occasionally crops in rotation of winter vetches, rape and mustard, which are eaten on the ground by sheep; then wheat is sown and this often shows well in the drill in November; thus we have actually four different crops occupying the ground in the same year. These winter crops help to retain in the soil the more soluble constituents of the manure, which on light or 'hungry' soils are very liable to be washed down by winter rains into the porous subsoil. Bare fallowing does not enrich these soils, as it does clay lands, but rather the reverse. Heavy clay soils are still summer-fallowed to about as great an extent as they were in the middle of the nineteenth century. For this class of soil the common rotation, with slight modifications, is an eighth bare fallow, an eighth clover, a quarter wheat, an eighth roots, an eighth beans, a quarter barley and oats. Few sheep are kept on the clay soils and the roots are mostly drawn off; those left are eaten early in the season so that the ground can be ploughed up and exposed to the winter frosts.

The wheat grown in Oxfordshire at the present time is principally red wheat, red-chaff square-head being the favourite. Arthur Young, in 1813, estimated the yield for the county at 24 bushels an acre; Clare Sewell Read, in 1854, at 26 bushels an acre; and taking the average yield from the *Agricultural Returns* for the ten years 1894–1903, we have 29½ bushels an acre. This is not so satisfactory as may appear at first sight; for considering that the acreage under wheat in 1867 was 59,146 acres, and in 1904 only 28,845 acres, and remembering that the worst yielding land always goes out of cultivation first, we do not seem to grow any more wheat per acre than we did half a century ago. This is very disappointing, especially when we bear in mind how much cheaper artificial manures are now than they were in 1855. The average price of wheat in 1854 was 72*s.* 5*d.* a quarter against an average for 1904 of 28*s.* 4*d.*, while in 1813 the general opinion of those persons best able to judge was that wheat should make 7*s.* 6*d.* a bushel or

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60*s.* a quarter to pay, as it was said the expenses had of late years risen so greatly. It is strange to look back a hundred years and note that even with the enormous rise in taxation, both local and imperial, it is now considered possible to grow wheat to a profit at 4*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, and this too, when we receive some 28,000,000 quarters of wheat, together with flour, which may be fairly classed as wheat, from outside our own country.

As regards the sowing of wheat and every other description of English-grown grain, it is universally admitted that drilling is the best and most sure system to adopt, sowing broadcast being only very slightly practised, and dibbling being now a custom unknown. Early in the nineteenth century the then marquis of Blandford, a great farmer himself, wrote, that in his opinion corn should be sown broadcast or dibbled, especially considering the fact that employment was required for the poor. It is rather interesting to note the varying prices of wheat for the 100 years ending in 1885. In 1785 the average price of wheat was 48*s.* 7*d.*, and in 1885 39*s.* 9*d.*, whilst our population has increased from twelve to thirty-six millions during the century.

'Chevalier barley' is the kind mostly grown in Oxfordshire, and is preferred by brewers and maltsters to any other. Arthur Young, in 1813, estimated the yield for the county at 32 bushels an acre; Clare Sewell Read's estimate in 1854 was 36 bushels an acre; taking the average yield for the ten years 1894–1903 we have 31½ bushels. The acreage under barley in 1867 was 52,069 acres, and in 1904 had gone down to 36,356 acres. Here we not only have a large decrease in the acreage under this cereal, but also a lower average yield per acre. We must bear in mind, however, that neither Arthur Young nor Clare Sewell Read could have had nearly as good data from which to form an estimate as we have in the agricultural returns of to-day. We must also note that it has become more common to take barley after another white crop, especially where the two-green-crop system before mentioned prevails. Farmers find there is less likelihood of the barley lodging, and though the quantity is lessened, the quality is better, so that 8*s.* to 10*s.* a quarter more for quality fully makes up for the loss in quantity. The average price of barley in 1854 was 36*s.* a quarter against an average for 1904 of 22*s.* 4*d.* Whereas early in the nineteenth century barley was sown from about 10 March to 10 April, an earlier date is now considered better, much of this grain being put in as early as February if the season is propitious.

The oats chiefly grown are black and white tartars, but of late years a good many different sorts, both black and white, have been introduced, such as 'Abundance,' 'Newmarket,' 'Waverley,' 'Potato Oats,' black and grey winter oats, &c. Oats are perhaps the most adaptable of all the cereals, and are grown in Oxfordshire after roots, after clover and seeds, and sometimes very successfully after old sainfoin; in fact, provided that the land is in fairly good condition, they succeed after any sort of crop. Arthur Young, in 1813, put the yield for the county at 40 bushels an acre; Clare Sewell Read, in 1854, put it at about 56 bushels; the average from the *Agricultural Returns* for the ten years 1894–1903 is 40 bushels. The acreage under oats in 1867 was 22,862 acres, and in 1904 had gone up to 35,645 acres; here, in marked contrast to wheat and barley, we have a large increase in the acreage under

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oats. It will be noticed that Arthur Young's estimate at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the average for the end of it are the same. Whether the yield given for the middle of the century shows the result of seasons better than those occurring in the period dealt with by Mr. Young, or whether Mr. Read visited and took his statistics from the better class of farms only, it would be difficult to tell; but 56 bushels an acre, the figure given by Mr. Read, seems too high an average. The average price of oats in 1854 was 27*s.* 11*d.* a quarter against an average in 1904 of 16*s.* 4*d.*

Beans are still grown to a fair extent in Oxfordshire, especially on the heavier soils, but the average has shrunk from 17,071 acres in 1867 to 5,392 acres in 1904. Some farmers favour the winter variety, and others the spring, but there is little difference between the two, the winter sort being perhaps less liable to blight, and yielding on an average rather more bushels to the acre. Beans are always drilled, and along with clover, precede wheat. The average yield is about 28 bushels an acre.

The pea crop takes much the same place on light soils as the bean crop takes on strong soils, but with peas as with beans there has been a great reduction in the acreage sown since 1867. In that year 8,591 acres were under peas, whereas in 1904 the acreage was 3,565. Provided they are not grown too often on the same ground, peas may be relied upon as a fairly sure and useful crop; if well harvested the straw is useful as fodder, either for ewes or beasts, and as they harvest early they can be followed by stubble-turnips or mustard. The average yield is about 30 bushels an acre.

Rye is not much grown in the county, but where grown it is the first green crop on which sheep are penned when taken off the swedes in April. It is seldom allowed to stand as a corn crop.

Vetches are largely grown, two plantings in the autumn and one or two in the spring forming a succession of sheep-feed. Only occasionally are some allowed to seed.

Turnips and swedes are still largely grown in Oxfordshire; indeed, without these two root crops farming arable land would be an impossibility. The number of sheep and cattle a farm can keep almost entirely depends on these two crops, and if they are good, the succeeding crops in the rotation are all likely to be the same. As a rule quite three-quarters of the crop is consumed on the spot by sheep, together with corn, cake and hay, and this treatment tends much to the enrichment of the soil. The purple-top swedes are the most largely sown, with a fair proportion of the green-top variety; the latter, though of a more hardy nature, are not such big croppers. A few yellow-fleshed turnips are sown, but as a rule the soil and climate are too dry for them, consequently they suffer much from mildew. The white turnip answers best, and is largely grown, followed by a quick-growing stubble-turnip for later sowing. Swedes are mostly drilled on the flat, but an increasing number of farmers are in favour of baulking, as the crops can be horse-hoed as soon as they are through, and the horse-hoeing can be continued to a later date; the thinning is also made easier. In a very dry season, however, roots grown on baulks suffer more from drought than those grown on the flat, so that should the roots be allowed to remain in the ground through the winter for ewes and lambs, those on the flat suffer less from frost because they grow deeper into the soil.

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The valuable mangold roots are now largely grown, being much more appreciated and understood than formerly. On account of their keeping qualities, mangolds are highly valued by flock-masters, and are fed to sheep together with rye, vetches, &c., all through the summer and even into September. The mode of cultivation is similar to that practised for swedes, though mangolds are if possible sown as early as April, and must be stored in clumps before frost sets in. They respond freely to heavy manuring and stand drought better than swedes or turnips; for in dry weather, when other root crops are languishing for moisture, mangolds are frequently to be seen standing out fresh and green. The yellow-globe, and tankard varieties, as well as the intermediate, are the sorts mostly grown in this county, and extraordinarily heavy crops of over 60 tons per acre are frequently obtained. The descriptive names given to the various roots do not always indicate uniformity of quality. Care should be taken to obtain the best strains of the respective kinds.

Of cabbages, kohl rabi and rape are grown for sheep-feed, and thousand-headed kale to a smaller extent.

Potatoes are now more largely planted than formerly, for the acreage has doubled within the last forty years, but it is difficult to understand why even a greater acreage is not grown, seeing that much of the soil of the county is well adapted for the production of good cooking potatoes, especially the second early, and late or main-crop varieties; the cold winds in spring and night frosts make the growth of early sorts precarious. The average yield is five tons an acre. Though potatoes are considered by many an exhausting crop, they are not more so than any other crop sold off the farm, and the potato quarter is at any rate always clean and free from weeds.

Carrots are grown on a small scale for horses and cows.

Lucerne is sometimes included in rotation grasses, but in summer time, when it shoots up ahead of the other grasses, it is most unsightly. The late Mr. James Mason, of Eynsham Hall (Oxon)[1] carried out field experiments on a large scale with lucerne, growing it as a full crop: he laid down several hundred acres, but with the exception of two fields, one of 35 and the other of 11¾ acres, it does not seem to have been a financial success. Mr. Mason wished to test the theory of Hellriegel and Wilfarth that leguminous plants gather nitrogen from the atmosphere; and having failed, by sowing it too frequently, to obtain a satisfactory growth of clover, he was driven to try lucerne, a crop hitherto unknown on the Oxford clay. The experiments showed beyond doubt that lucerne was able to fix nitrogen in the soil quite as well as any other leguminous plant. A plot near to the farmyard is most valuable for cutting green. Provided that the ground is well manured every year and weeds kept out, it will produce four and five cuttings a year, and being a very deep-rooted plant it grows well in dry weather. Very generally the soil of this county suits it well.

Sainfoin is still largely grown, especially on the shallow stonebrash and chalk soils. The kind chiefly cultivated is the common sainfoin, which lasts longer than the giant variety, and is sown with the barley crop. In the first year it is cut twice for hay; after that it is cut once for hay and then

[1] *The Result of the Agricultural Experiments of the Late Mr. James Mason, Eynsham Hall, on Clay Soils*, by Mr. A. D. Hall, M.A., will well repay careful reading.

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fed over with sheep; as a rule at the end of the fifth year the worn-out sainfoin is ploughed up and a crop of mustard is sown; this is ploughed in green, or fed off; wheat is then planted, or the ground if very foul is thoroughly broken up and cleaned for roots, or perhaps ploughed during the winter for spring oats. The hay from sainfoin if cut young and well got is excellent, and is highly valued by flock-masters for its feeding properties. The Board of Agriculture apparently appreciate the value of lucerne (*medicago sativa*), and endeavour to encourage its further cultivation, for according to the agricultural returns the acreage has increased since 1899 from 32,000 to 53,000 acres.

Red, or broad-leaved, clover is largely grown, as being the most valuable of all clovers for one year's ley, and it is either cut twice for hay, or cut once and then fed with sheep, or perhaps it is cut once for hay and the second crop is left to ripen for seed; it is also recognized by farmers to be the best preparation for a wheat crop.

Perennial red clover, commonly called cow-grass, is also fairly extensively grown, and is treated in much the same way as red or broad-leaved clover; it is of a more durable nature than the latter, and is for this reason included by preference in permanent grass mixtures. Perennial red clover, however, should not be mistaken for the true cow-grass, which is the red clover found in very old pastures, recognizable by its zigzag stems; this clover seeds so sparingly that no seed of the true cow-grass is sold by seedsmen. The other varieties, such as alsike, white and trefoil, are included in the different mixtures for temporary and permanent pastures.

The acreage of land laid down to permanent pasture increases year by year, and has increased from 130,772 acres in 1867 to 203,694 acres in 1904. Several causes have combined to bring this about, such as the low price of corn, the increased cost of labour, and the diminished capital of agriculturists. Many landowners have been laying down land to permanent pasture every year, as farms with a large proportion of grass are in much greater demand and are more easily let than those with a large proportion of arable.

It would be impossible for any thinking man to view the question of excessive hay-selling in any other than a serious manner. For years Oxfordshire has supplied London and other markets with meadow hay, clover hay and sainfoin in far too great quantities—that is if the natural fertility of the soil is to be maintained. Farmers who are short of capital, and who practically live from hand to mouth, dispose of clover hay almost before the 'sweat' is out of the stack and, so far as one can observe, fail to replace at all adequately the valuable matter which they too hastily hurry off to market. The fact that high-class farmers as a rule sell little or no hay and straw is proof positive that the produce of a farm should be consumed upon it. There are exceptional occasions, no doubt, and no wise landlord or agent could object to considerable sales taking place if hay realized say £5 a ton and straw £3, but thousands of tons of both commodities find their way to market when the former realizes only 50*s.* to 60*s.* and the latter 30*s.* to 35*s.* a ton.

Looking back fifty years it is quite clear that the former fertility of the soil in Oxfordshire was largely due to the absence of railways and

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other means of transport, and it is to be regretted that easy and cheap railway facilities, whilst benefiting agriculturists in many ways, have much to answer for in robbing the land of excellent and considerable quantities of farm-yard manure and reducing the stock-keeping capabilities of many holdings.

Considering the many different manures now at the command of the agriculturist, farmers in this county, as in others, can easily apply the necessary nitrogen, phosphoric acid and potash in different forms. Farm-yard manure (dung) still holds a high place in their estimation and on the whole this is better managed than it used to be. Covered yards are now more common, and when the dung in these is thrown up into a heap drainage and excessive fermentation are guarded against. On many farms, were it not for the seeds of grasses and weeds in the meadow hay, dung would only be allowed to ferment to a slight degree, and would be applied to the land in a fresh state. There is still, however, too much of the valuable perfect manure wasted by having its most soluble constituents washed away and damaged by throwing it up into loose heaps and allowing fermentation to go on unchecked for too long a period.

Mineral superphosphates are largely used with the greatest success. This artificial manure, as a source of phosphoric acid, seems to suit the soils of the county better than anything else, and seeing that the cost is only one half of what it was fifty years ago, and less per unit than any other phosphatic manure, it is well entitled to its popularity. Potash is used principally in the form of kainit and sulphate of potash. This manure is less understood in Oxfordshire than any of the others and is not used half enough, especially in the light soils. Where used along with superphosphates for the root crop the effect is very noticeable, not only on the roots and barley, but especially on the clover following. Nitrate of soda is chiefly used by those wishing to apply nitrogen to their crops, although some prefer sulphate of ammonia.

Green manuring is practised to a fairly large extent, mustard being the principal crop grown for this purpose. It is ploughed in when quite green, and that this plan has great merit is shown by its marked effect on the succeeding crops. The following is the average system of manuring the principal crops in the county :—

If dung is applied wheat land generally receives from ten to sixteen loads per acre, and in the spring it is top-dressed with nitrate of soda at the rate of from 1 to 2 cwt. per acre, but if planted after clover no dung is given.

Following a root crop which has been fed off by sheep receiving cake &c., barley and oats are not as a rule top-dressed, but when following another corn crop these receive about 3 cwt. of superphosphates per acre, and 1 cwt. of nitrate ; if a good sample of malting barley is required the nitrate of soda will be omitted.

Swedes and turnips usually receive a dressing of from ten to sixteen loads of dung, together with 3 to 4 cwt. of superphosphates per acre, and in some cases 1 cwt. of sulphate of potash, or 2 cwt. of kainit.

The dressing for a mangold crop is usually from fifteen to twenty-five loads of dung per acre, 3 cwt. of superphosphates, and 2 cwt. of nitrate of soda, and, as a top-dressing after the plants are set out, from 1 to 2 cwt. of

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nitrate of soda is given again. Many also sow 2 cwt. of sulphate of potash, and others sow 3 to 4 cwt. of salt per acre before the land is cultivated.

Where rotation grasses are top-dressed they receive from 1 to 2 cwt. of nitrate of soda and about 3 cwt. of superphosphates per acre. When permanent pasture is top-dressed to produce a crop of hay, it has the same manure as rotation grasses applied to it; but where manured to improve the pasture then about fifteen loads of dung is applied. On light soils, if dung cannot be had, 4 cwt. of superphosphates and 4 cwt. of kainit makes an excellent top-dressing. Clay lands receive from 6 to 10 cwt. of basic slag per acre, but the best way to improve permanent pasture is to keep on it plenty of stock well fed with linseed and cotton cakes.

The University College, Reading, has since 1894 carried out in Oxfordshire field trials and experiments, of which the results are published every year, and the information derived from these reports as to the suitability of different manures for different crops and soils is most valuable. The college also analyses at a very cheap rate manures, feeding stuffs, milk &c., and gives advice upon any subject which the farmer is unable to deal with himself. From the *Report* for 1905, farmers will do well to note how careful they ought to be in buying mixed manures, compound cakes, and mixed meals.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Arthur Young visited Oxfordshire, all the ploughs in use were made of wood and were drawn by three or four horses. Now, the two-wheeled plough, made of iron with steel mould-board and drawn by two horses, is in common use, though on the clay soils three horses are often required. On the light soils, double-furrow ploughs, drawn by three horses abreast, are becoming more numerous every year, and are a great saving of horse labour. Special-purpose ploughs, such as the ridging plough, the digging plough, and the potato-raising plough, are also in use. Ploughing is now universally done by horse and steam power. During the middle of the last century and up to recent years bullocks were worked on the land, but scarcely a team of these animals can now be found. Steam cultivation immediately after harvest, as well as in the spring and during the summer months in cases of through-fallows, is adopted on all hands. Harrows, which are on the zig-zag principle, are made of iron, in sizes for three horses, two, and one. Chain-harrows are used principally for gathering couch and for harrowing pastures. Several forms of curve-tined drag-harrows are in use; these are most useful in making a good tilth and for dragging out couch. The spring-tooth cultivator, which is now largely used, has its frame-work carried on wheels, so that it can be set to the desired depth; the shaking of the spring-teeth make it an excellent implement for breaking up the soil and for clearing itself from couch and other weeds. Rollers and pressers are extensively used to make a good tilth and to consolidate the land. Both for corn and manure drills are used all over the county and it is the exception to see seed of any kind sown as it commonly was fifty years ago by hand. Horse-hoes are to-day common enough, and whereas Arthur Young only saw two during his travels through the county, it is a small farm indeed that does not now possess at least that number. Chiefly used for carrying purposes is the Woodstock wagon, though other types of wagon and the two-wheeled cart are also largely in use throughout the county.

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All the grass and clover intended for hay is cut by mowing machines, and the scythe is only used where it is impossible for a mowing machine to work. During late years many improvements and additions have been made to hay-making machinery, such as tedders, swath-turners, horse-rakes, ted-rakes, hay-loaders, hay-sweeps &c., and in several parts of the county the hay may be seen being conveyed to the elevator at the side of the rick without a single pitchfork having been used.

The corn crop is almost entirely cut by the binder, a machine which has attained to a high state of efficiency. The fagging-hook is still used to cut peas and badly-laid corn crops. Corn winnowing machines are to be seen in all barns, often accompanied by a corn screen, such as the 'Boby' and the adjustable rotary screen. Nearly all farms of any consequence are equipped with steam or oil-driven grist mills, bruising and chaff-cutting machinery.

Looking back ninety years we cannot fail to be struck with the difference between the thrashing machine of then and now. It is recorded that about the year 1813 the bishop of Durham, who then farmed in Oxfordshire, had a thrashing mill built worked by only two horses, and that this thrashed five quarters in a day of eight hours, and that the then Lord Macclesfield had a similar machine erected at a cost of £120, whilst a Mr. Knapp of Kidlington had one costing only fifty guineas, which with two horses thrashed six quarters of wheat in a day. At the present time steam traction-engines draw about from farm to farm a thrashing-box which, at a charge of 25*s.* to 27*s.* 6*d.* a day (the owner finding coal), can thrash thirty to fifty quarters of corn. It is perfectly certain that in a few years more the cost will be still further reduced by the more general use of the suction gas-engine now finding its way into farms and manufactories. By this invention motive power is being produced at from 10*d.* to 1*s.* a day for a 10 brake-horse-power engine, as against 10*s.* a day, which is a fair estimate, for the cost of steam. The most practical way of appreciating the saving effected by the use of modern machinery is to realize that agriculture could not now be carried on without the binder, the tedder, the elevator and the modern thrashing-machine.

Having spoken at considerable length on the methods of farming and cropping, on the application of manures and the use of good machinery, we now come to the all-important question of stocking the land. With the one exception of sheep the livestock of Oxfordshire calls for no particular remark. The working horses are, taken generally, rather light in substance, but during the last fifteen years the introduction of heavy and active shire stallions has done much to improve the breed of the farm horse. Many farmers are now members of the Shire Horse Society, and have their best mares registered. The demand for heavy geldings has been very considerable up to within the last few years, but it is to be feared that the further introduction of steam and other motive powers will before long act detrimentally on the horse-breeding industry. The shorthorn is the beast of the county, and no horned animal can ever hope to supersede it for producing beef and milk. Though a good many Irish polled cattle now find their way to Oxford, but few of this breed are produced in the county. The Oxfordshire or sandy pig, a cross betwixt a Tamworth and a Berkshire, is considered the pig of the county, and except that he feeds rather slowly, is a most profitable, hardy and reliable animal.

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AGRICULTURE

No account of Oxfordshire farming could be written without describing the breed of sheep reared to such a state of perfection in the county, namely, the 'Oxford Down.' This now famous and profitable breed, for many years known as the 'Down Cotswold,' originated in the county, and was a cross in the first instance between a Cotswold and a Hampshire; but although the excellence of the breed was well known, it was not till the year 1862 that the Royal Agricultural Society of England recognized it and awarded prizes. At the show of that year the judges objected to the want of uniformity, and this adverse criticism was repeated in the years 1865–8, but in the years 1870–2 both type and quality were highly spoken of, and since then the improvement has been more than maintained. For rent payers these sheep cannot be beaten, and their robust constitutions and early maturity make them highly esteemed for crossing purposes all over the British Isles. They feed readily and are by far the heaviest wool-producers of Down type known to the British agriculturist.

The prices quoted below bear practical testimony to the great merit of the breed. In the local markets at Oxford, Woodstock and Thame, Oxford Down tegs, born in the same year, realized by public auction in October, November and December, 1904, 66*s.* 6*d.*, 63*s.*, and 71*s.* 6*d.* respectively, and in October and December, 1905, 70*s.* and 78*s.* It would be safe to assume that no pure-bred, or indeed cross-bred tegs in the British Isles could show such satisfactory results as are here recorded, and not only recorded but authenticated.

C. S. Read, writing of Oxford Down sheep in 1854, says:

> But the present 'Glory of the County,' the most profitable sheep to the producer, the butcher and the consumer, are the half-breds; a more intelligent name for this class of sheep and one that might generally be used would be the Down Cotswold.

He speaks of them making 9 stone, or say 54*s.*, and clipping 7 to 8 lbs. of wool. It is thus clear that from a mutton-producing point of view the breed has greatly improved.

Not only are Oxford Downs valuable to the breeder from a feeding point of view, but thousands of rams and ram lambs are bred every year to be sold for crossing purposes, many finding their way up to Scotland where they are used with the greatest success on the cross-bred and Border-Leicester ewes. Lincoln, Northampton and Warwick farmers are good customers for this justly popular 'Down.' It may be interesting to know that the first O. D. F. book was published in 1889. Whilst speaking in such glowing terms of the Oxford Down it is not cheering to note that according to the *Agricultural Returns* of 1905 the number of sheep in the county is small and compares badly with the numbers in Hereford, Kent, Leicester, Lincoln, Devon, Dorset, Sussex, Wilts, Northants, Northumberland, Denbigh, Brecon and Glamorgan. Whilst Oxfordshire only counts one sheep for every two acres of land under cultivation, several of the counties enumerated above have over a sheep per acre, whilst others reckon close upon one and a half sheep for every two acres.

Sheep-breeders would do well to study a special report which has been prepared for the American Wool and Cotton Manufacturers' Association by Mr. Frank Bennett of Boston. This report contains some interesting figures pointing to a general dwindling of the world's sheep, and expressing

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the opinion that no early decline in the prevailing high prices of wool is to be feared in consequence of sheep-breeding on a large scale being restricted to Australia, the Argentine and South Africa. The total figures for the world show that in 1895 the estimated number of sheep amounted to 526,867,135 as against 455,046,906 in 1905; the decline in Europe alone amounting to 11,312,233 head.

Tenancies commence generally from Michaelmas Day. As long ago as 1815 long leases were not favoured in Oxfordshire by either landlord or tenant. In 1855 the landlords appear to have again agreed as in 1815 that 'To grant long leases is to give away your estate; it is to bind yourself and leave your tenant free; it gives him a knowledge of the exact time at which he can begin to depreciate without injury to himself.' In 1815 Young said: 'The year to year system retains great power in the hands of the landlords, but it is the most expensive folly they can be guilty of.' In 1854 C. S. Read said: 'A bad tenant with a lease is a great burden on an estate;' 'If leases are discarded as objectionable, compensation clauses for unexhausted improvements might be appended to every agreement. Proper covenants of this nature and 12 months' notice to quit are perhaps better than long leases.' These latter sentiments are to-day, after fifty-one years, in accord with the opinions of most landlords and agents, especially so now that both the conditions spoken of by Read are compulsory and have become law. At the present time leases are the exception, as most landlords object to grant leases to tenants who at any time might become bankrupts and so have to dispose of the lease.

Farm buildings have been much improved since the fifties, but much remains to be done. Many steadings are not well arranged either for economic working or as regards aspect, neither are they spouted in an efficient manner. This latter fact has been brought home to owners and occupiers of high-lying farms during the last few dry seasons. Hundreds of farmers cart water for at least three months of the year, whilst their landlords from ignorance or poverty allow long ranges of buildings to collect and then waste millions of gallons of valuable water. Few open yards are surrounded by spouted sheds and few farms have any rainwater cisterns, consequently the manure is wasted by wet, the cattle do badly because of their water-logged lair, and there is neither reserve of water for preservation of the homesteads from fire nor a supply for stock during the summer months. It would be impossible to point to a more glaring instance of waste. Covered yards and more frequently covered rick-steads are springing up, but such improvements are few and far between.

It would be safe to say that the size of farms has not altered very much since Young's time. In the best farming districts they vary from 100 to 450 acres, but round villages and where the land is more enclosed a farm of from 50 to 200 acres is more usual.

The covenants between in-coming and out-going tenants are by no means satisfactory. The in-coming tenant may enter the wheat lands in August and has certain stabling allowed him, whilst the out-going tenant has the use of stables, barns, &c., up to March, to thrash and deliver his corn, and has the right to spend his straw and cavings in the yards, leaving the manure for the new tenant. Surely nothing can be more unsatisfactory than this over-

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lapping and joint occupancy of land and buildings. By another very unsatisfactory arrangement the outgoing tenant is paid by valuation for all the operations he has performed in producing the root crop, the turnips being valued by the number of ploughings, scarifyings, harrowings, rollings, and cost of manurings, and not by the value of the crop. Fallows are paid for in the same way, so that the land is often ploughed when too wet, whilst little attempt is made to clean it properly because the price will depend on what has been done rather than on the manner in which the work has been carried out. This however is the custom of the county, and there appears to be no desire or wish on the part of either landlord, tenant, or valuer, to alter a system which would be much disapproved of by farmers and others north of the Humber.

In arriving at the figures for valuation of acts of husbandry, the allowance per acre is made on some such basis as the following :—For ploughing, from 10*s.* to 13*s.*; dragging, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; carting dung and spreading (from 10 to 12 loads per acre), 10*s.* to 15*s.*; harrowing, 6*d.* to 1*s.*; cultivating (Massey Harris), 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; rolling, 9*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.*; pressing (with Cambridge roller), 1*s.* to 2*s.*; drilling (dry), 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; drilling (with water drill), 4*s.* to 5*s.*; horse hoeing, 2*s.*; hand hoeing, 5*s.* to 8*s.*; barrowing and harrowing small seeds in, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*

The valuation for unexhausted manures and feeding stuffs used on a holding is taken at a third of the cost of such articles, and a set-off is generally made by the valuer for the incoming tenant in respect of dilapidations, such as cross cropping, neglect of hedges, ditches, gates, &c.

With regard to the hiring of agricultural labour, the custom of Oxfordshire varies very much from that of, say, the East Riding of Yorkshire. In the latter young farm hands are hired for the year and boarded in the hirer's house, but there is no such custom in Oxfordshire, where the labourers receive from 12*s.* to 14*s.* a week, and cowmen, shepherds, and horsemen, who work seven days a week, generally have their cottages rent free. They have some potato land found for them on the farm, and at harvest take the harvest work at so much an acre to cut, generally carrying the corn and stacking it by contract. This custom only holds good on large farms. Where the holdings are small extra allowance is made for beer and extra wages paid for overtime. The general hours of work are from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., with an hour off for dinner. The wages are low, the cottages often very miserable, and the general aspect of the labourer inferior to that of the north country farm hand.

The following quotation will show that over eighty years ago landlords and farmers were confronted with just such difficulties as have to be faced at the present time :—

> The practice of employing roundsmen for agricultural purposes, and making up their wages in proportion to their families from the parish rates, having totally destroyed all inducement to industry among the labouring poor and swelled the assessment to an enormous extent, a special vestry is appointed and the farmers undertake to find piecework at a fair price for a certain number of men in consideration of Sir G. O. P. Turner, Bart. agreeing to extend his works and employ the remainder of the labourers belonging to Bicester parish in a similar way at Blackthorns Hill. The result is, the rates are immediately reduced one half, and a letter of thanks signed by the Overseers and Churchwardens transmitted to the Baronet, with whom the plan originated.[1]

[1] Dunkin, *Bullingdon and Ploughly* (1823), ii. This work contains a most interesting account of the agricultural labour question.

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Consequent upon the low wages mentioned above, the food of the Oxfordshire labourers has for years been insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality. It is therefore not to be wondered at that they have not grown up with such constitutions and physique as are to be met with in districts where for some generations wages have been higher, and consequently the necessities of life more easily obtained. Youths are now kept at school till they are fourteen years old, when they go on to the farms at from 4*s*. to 9*s*. a week.

The question of proper housing of the agricultural labourer has received far less consideration than it deserves both at the hand of landlord and tenant. It is fair and reasonable to assume that a farm should have one cottage to every 100 acres of land attached to it. Each cottage should have a good-sized garden, and be so situated that whilst the workman is close to his work, the cowman, carter, and other stockmen can easily cultivate the garden during spare moments. In Oxfordshire, speaking generally, the labourers live in villages away from the farms, so that the farmer's loss in labour is considerable during the course of a year, and the wear and tear on the men's energies is unnecessarily increased.

It would be incomplete to close these remarks on matters agricultural without saying one word as to the County Agricultural Society, one of the oldest in the kingdom. The Oxfordshire Agricultural Society was founded in the year 1811, or ninety-five years ago, and from 1876, when the society had only £102 in hand, to the present time close on £2,000 have been invested as a reserve fund. The society has done much towards improving the stock of the farm, and in consequence has met with very great support and help from landlord and tenant farmers.

Oxfordshire agriculture suffers from the same cause that has considerably reduced all farming profits in other counties, namely, the cost of distribution, for it frequently costs about half as much to put the article on the market as to produce it. It has been said that the yearly expenditure on food, clothing, and furniture in the United Kingdom amounts to £720,000,000, and that 33 per cent. of this huge sum, namely £240,000,000, is spent in distribution. If these figures are correct the outlook is most serious, and urgently demands that most energetic attempts be made to bring the Oxfordshire agricultural producer and the world's consumers into closer relationship.

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FORESTRY

THE county of Oxford was, from the earliest historical days, one of the best-wooded shires in England; in fact it was, in the main, woodland down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The ancient chase of Woodstock lay to the north of Oxford, and adjoined the considerable forest of Wychwood on the west. Immediately to the east of Oxford were the forests of Shotover and Stowood, whilst on the north-east, near Bicester, was the Buckinghamshire forest of Bernwood, a considerable section of which over-lapped into Oxfordshire. On the south-east were the wild stretches and dense beech-woods of the Chilterns; and the circle was completed on the south by the woods of Cumnor and Bagley.[1]

It was doubtless the considerable and varied area so well suited for hunting, accompanied by its easy reach from the capital of the kingdom, that made this shire so favourite a residence of our Norman kings. In order to secure good accommodation when indulging in the pleasures of the chase, Henry I built himself an important house at Beaumont on the north side of Oxford. The same monarch established a hunting-lodge at Woodstock, where his Saxon predecessors had often sojourned, and surrounded the park, which was seven miles in circuit, with a stone wall. Within this park the king maintained a menagerie of foreign wild beasts, including the porcupine, 'covered over with sharp pointed quills, which they naturally shoot at the dogs that hunt them.'[2]

The Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III abound in references to the various royal forests of Oxfordshire. The forest of Wychwood was of independent ministration. The forests of Shotover and Stowood had their own officials, but were sometimes considered as members of the great stretch of Bernwood.

Thomas de Langley, throughout the earlier part of this reign, was the master forester of fee for Wychwood. In 1216 he received orders from the crown to permit the abbot of the Cistercian house of Bruern to take a third wagon-load of wood out of the forest in addition to the two already granted him by charter.[3] In the following year Langley was instructed to allow William de Brewere to take ten wild boars and to fell ten trees in this forest.[4]

Order was made in 1218 for the perambulation of Wychwood for the establishment of its ancient bounds and for the disafforesting of recent additions.[5] The foresters, verderers, and agisters of Wychwood were instructed, in October, 1221, to see to the due agistment of pigs, and to the presentment of owners of swine found in the forest without warrant.[6]

Robert Arsic obtained royal permission, in 1223, to hunt the fox and hare with hounds throughout Wychwood.[7] In the same year Thomas de Langley was instructed to take two wild boars, and to transfer them to the royal forest of Havering in Essex.[8] Another order received by the master forester this year was to deliver four dead oaks to the prior of Lanthony to serve for fuel. In 1224 John de Beauchamp was permitted to take a buck in this forest, and Ernald de Bosco, two years later, two does.[9] Like entries of royal gifts of game and timber from this forest continue throughout the reign. Fallow deer and wild boars seem to have been fairly abundant, but references are rarely made to red deer.

Forest Pleas were held at Oxford in 1229, when Thomas de Langley, the forester of fee, had to pay the exceedingly heavy fine of £100 to the crown, to be quit of the results of a variety of forest trespasses of which he was convicted before the justices.[10] The offender was allowed to retain his office. In 1231 Langley was instructed to send the tithe of all venison taken in this forest to the abbess and nuns of Godstow, whether the king was hunting in person or otherwise.[11]

Full accounts are extant of the Forest Pleas held at Oxford for executing the forest laws throughout the county in 40, 51, and 56 Henry III.[12] A very brief abstract of the proceedings at the pleas of 1255–6 may be given as an example.

The pleas were held at Oxford before William le Breton and three other justices. On the first day (14 January) the initial business was the receiving the 'essoins' or reasons for absence of

[1] Cox, *Royal Forests*, 257.
[2] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* 349; Camden, *Brit.* (ed. Gough), i, 286.
[3] *Cal. of Close*, 1204–24, p. 298.
[4] Ibid. 330.
[5] Ibid. 367.
[6] Ibid. 473.
[7] Ibid. 562.
[8] Ibid. 566.
[9] Ibid. 576; 1224–7, p. 98.
[10] Ibid. 1227–31, p. 326.
[11] Ibid. p. 537.
[12] MS. Index Plac. For. (P.R.O.), 129–31.

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officials and others who had been summoned to attend. Twenty-five instances of absence for the irrefutable reason of death were entered on the roll, together with the names of those who appeared to swear to the death. This was followed by the enrolment of officials who were present, to the number of forty-seven; the list is headed by 'Walterus le Mareschal de Wudestoke.' There was also in attendance a jury of fifteen, drawn from all parts of the county where forest law prevailed, such as the hundreds of Chadlington, Banbury, and Bullingdon. A considerable number of defaulters were fined for non-attendance, some for not being present at the opening day of the session; these fines were usually half a mark, but varied from 40*s.* to 2*s.* The particularity of the forest laws is shown in the first case of venison trespass that was brought before the justices. An offender had been arrested with the skin of a brocket, or hart of the second year, in his possession, five years before and committed to the castle of Oxford. From this and other pleas it is clear that Oxford Castle was the prison for all forest offenders throughout the county, whether from Wychwood, Shotover, or Bernwood. Such offenders were, as a rule, speedily released on bail, and often had to wait many years before the next pleas were held. The venison trespasses were for the most part leniently treated, half a mark being a usual fine on this occasion. Four trespassers caught a doe in Wychwood Forest and cut its throat; the chief culprit was fined 10*s.*, and the rest half a mark apiece.

The vert offenders presented before the justices far exceeded those of venison. The list of amercements *de defalco*, or of felling timber, in the hundred of Chadlington (which included the forest of Wychwood), embraced sixteen offenders, who were fined either half a mark or 2*s.*—save in one case, that of John the parson of Bampton, when the fine amounted to 20*s.* There were twelve cases of timber felling in other hundreds, Peter Folyot incurring the heavy penalty of 100*s.*, and the prior of the small alien house of Cogges 40*s.* It was usual at these forest pleas, so long as they existed, to take into account the position of the offender as well as the extent of the offence when imposing fines. Those charged at these pleas for the lighter offence of taking loads or back-burdens of green wood were far in excess of those who had cut down saplings of trees; their fines were sometimes half a mark, but more usually 12*d.* In three cases those thus charged were able to establish an *alibi*, and in a like number of cases they were excused any fine on the score of poverty.[1]

Shotover Forest, which was so much nearer to Oxford than that of Wychwood, was constantly supplying wood for both fuel and building purposes, by royal grant, during the reign of Henry III. During the first fifteen years of that monarch, gifts were made of loads of dry wood for fuel to the Oxford hospitals of St. John Baptist and St. Bartholomew, to the Dominican and Franciscan friars of Oxford, to the prior of St. Frideswide's, and to the bishop of Chichester for his hearth at Oxford.[2]

Among the more interesting grants from Shotover Forest for building purposes, during this period, the following may be mentioned. In 1223 twenty tie-beams (*copulas*) were ordered to be supplied to William, chaplain of the bishop of Winchester, towards the rebuilding of the church of St. Budoc, Oxford, below the castle; it had been thrown down during the recent war for strategic purposes.[3] In the same year the requisite timber for constructing a gaol at Oxford and for the general repairs of the castle was also obtained from Shotover.[4] Ten loads of timber suitable for fencing were granted by the crown in 1231 to Elias, chaplain to the earl of Cornwall, to enclose the churchyard of Horsepath, of which place he was rector.[5] The parish of Horsepath was within the bounds of Shotover parish.

In 1231 the king, at the instance of the archdeacons of Chester, Leicester, and the East Riding, as well as of the chancellor of Oxford and of the whole university, granted liberty to Thomas de Compton, Henry de Kinneton, and three other clerks, who had been arrested and lodged in the king's prison at Oxford for having been found in the forest of Shotover with bows and arrows.[6]

The Close and Patent Rolls are equally prolific during the reign of Edward I with regard to forest incidents of Oxfordshire, of which a few of the more salient examples may be cited. In June, 1276, Philip Mimekan, keeper of the wood of Shotover, was ordered to supply Sir Francis de Bononia, LL.D., with eight trees and their loppings for his fire, of the king's gift. At the same time, the curious order was issued to John son of Nigel, the keeper of the forest of Bernwood, to supply Sir Francis with two young bucks and four young does, and also four live hares and six live rabbits, which were to be placed in the king's garden at his house at Beaumont, Oxford, in accordance with a verbal promise made by the king to the learned doctor.[7] In 1277 the keeper of Wychwood was directed to supply the archbishop of Canterbury with six trees for fuel, and a like number to the abbot of Bruern.[8] In 1280 six live does were sent to the earl of Lincoln from Wychwood, to help to

[1] Exch. T. of Rec. Forest Proc. No. 251; there are eight membranes of these pleas; they include the usual particulars as to encroachments, &c.
[2] Close, 1204–24, *passim*.
[3] Ibid. 559.
[4] Ibid. 540.
[5] *Cal. of Close*, 1227–31, p. 474.
[6] Ibid. 520.
[7] Ibid. 1272–9, p. 296.
[8] Ibid. 368.

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stock his park at Middleton, together with fifteen does for a like purpose from the manor of Woodstock.[1] Eight live does and four bucks from Wychwood were granted in 1284 to Thomas de Charlcote towards stocking his park at Haseley in the south of the county.[2] Bucks, as venison, were continuously granted by the crown, throughout this reign, to distinguished persons, from the forests of Wychwood, Shotover, and Bernwood, as well as timber for building purposes, chiefly to the religious orders.

Mandate was issued to the king's foresters, in 1283, not to implead the king's cousin, Edmund earl of Cornwall, touching thirty-eight bucks and two harts, lately taken by him with the king's licence in the county of Oxford; namely seven bucks in Wychwood Forest, seven bucks and two harts in Shotover and Stowood, and thirteen bucks in the forest of Bernwood.[3] From this it is clear that there were then red as well as fallow deer in Shotover Forest.

From an inquisition taken in 1283, it appears that the hospital of St. John, within the west gate of Oxford, held a wood in the forest of Shotover, called St. John's Wood, by ancient grant of the crown. Other woods in the same forest were held by the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and by the respective abbeys of Osney, Westminster, and Eynsham.[4]

Edward I, in 1284, granted pannage to the hospital of St. John, Oxford, for fifty pigs in the forest of Shotover, fifty in Bernwood, and fifty in Whittlewood.[5]

John de Langley, bailiff or forester of fee for the forest of Wychwood, appears to have somewhat abused his trust, like his father before him. In May, 1305, in consideration of a fine of twenty marks made by him before Hugh le Despenser, justice of the forest, John de Langley was pardoned for all the forest offences that he had committed; at the same time his bailiwick, which had been taken by the justice into the king's hands, was restored to him.[6]

Two years later, in consideration of a fine of a hundred marks made by the abbot before the same justice, the abbey of Eynsham was permitted to hold the woods of Eynsham and Charlbury within the metes of Wychwood Forest, and the wood of Eton within Shotover Forest, quit of regard or definite inspection, on condition that the venison was well kept, and the covert of Eton wood not destroyed. The keepers or woodwards appointed by the abbey were to take oath not to commit venison trespasses, and all such trespassers were to be attached by the king's forest ministers.[7]

The nearness of Oxford to various woods and forests seems to have been a source of distraction to the scholars in mediaeval days. A petition was presented to Parliament in 1421 complaining of the grievous conduct of a number of the scholars and clerks of Oxford, who, armed and arrayed as though for war, broke into parks, warrens, and forests of the counties of Oxford, Berks, and Bucks, and hunted with dogs and greyhounds, taking deer, hares, and rabbits, and threatening the lives of foresters, keepers, and parkers. It was further complained that clerks thus offending had been taken from ordinary custody and merely fined by the chancellor of the university. Whereupon it was enacted that all such scholars thus offending were to be judged by the ordinary law of the land, and to be outlawed if they came not to answer; and that the chancellor was to be certified by the justices of such outlawry, and the outlawed scholars by him expelled from the university.[8]

There is a record extant of the sale of underwood in May, 1352, in Wychwood Forest, returned by Thomas de Brewosa, keeper of the forests south of the Trent, and carried out by Thomas de Hugele. Fourteen acres of underwood were sold in one place to fifteen persons, at 12*s.* an acre, and twenty-two acres in another place, producing a total of £19 19*s.*[9]

The farm of the forest of Wychwood was assigned in 1281 as part of the dower of Queen Eleanor, the king's mother, and from that date it was usually in the hands of the queen. There is a somewhat damaged account roll extant of the commissioners of the queen for the wood-sales and expenses of Wychwood Forest in the year 1436–7. The receipts from the sale of certain parts of the undergrowth amounted to £26 17*s.* 11*d.*, but the expenses reached £34 18*s.* 3*d.*, leaving an adverse balance of over £8. The enclosing expenses (*clausure forest*) came to £16 1*s.* 11*d.*; the repairs of the lodges, to make them fit for a visit from the queen, £15 12*s.* 10*d.*; whilst other sums were expended on taking venison and providing meat and drink for the queen's hospitality.[10]

After every sale of underwood there was always a considerable outgoing for enclosing; because when a coppice had been cleared it was necessary to fence it in stoutly with pales for several years, so as to allow the undergrowth to shoot up again without molestation from the deer. In every well managed royal forest a certain amount of undergrowth was cleared every year. In Wychwood, where the growth was slow, a coppice generally had a twenty years' growth before it was considered fit to cut, but the more usual period was from ten to fourteen years.

[1] *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, p. 73.
[2] Ibid. 253.
[3] *Cal. of Pat.* 1281–92, p. 77.
[4] MS. Index Plac. For. (P.R.O.), 59.
[5] Peramb. et Plac. For. 12.
[6] *Cal. of Pat.* 1301–7, p. 341.
[7] Ibid. 493.
[8] Rolls of Parl. iv, 131; Stat. at Large, 9 Hen. V, cap. viii.
[9] Forest Surv. 1½.
[10] Ibid. (Exch. K.R.), 1½.

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The sale of underwood at Wychwood realized £4 2*s.* 3*d.* in 1535, and the enclosing cost £9 9*s.* The wood was chiefly oak, but there was some ash; the coppice cleared that year amounted to twenty-eight acres.[1]

The customary division of the acre for these sales in Wychwood was into braids, bredes, or breadths; each acre contained forty breadths, a breadth being one pole long and four broad. The wood was offered in the first instance to the poorer tenants, in these small lots or breadths, and no one was suffered to buy wholesale.[2] The extant wood-sale accounts at the Public Record Office almost invariably give the number of breadths purchased and the name of the purchaser.

A very large number of the wood-sales of Shotover Forest during the reign of Queen Elizabeth are extant, and supply many interesting particulars as to the prevailing customs, which differed somewhat from those in vogue at Wychwood.

The certificate of Thomas Collins and John Gadburye of the sale of woods and underwoods of the forest of Bernwood (Shotover portion) in the county of Oxford for the year 1572, shows that the coppice of Horsepath was cut and sold that year, by Mr. Edward Martin, the queen's woodward, by virtue of a warrant of the Lord Treasurer of England. This coppice was sold for the most part by the acre, not by the breadth. The first entry of sale is—'Imprimis to Mr. Lewes Bachiler of Dewinitye in Christchurche in Oxon, for on acre of underwod per warrant 30*s.*' This, or 33*s.* 4*d.*, was about the usual price per acre; but the dean and scholars of Christchurch paid £5 for two acres. Among other purchasers were the president of Magdalen, the provost of Queen's, the president and fellows of Corpus Christi, the president and fellows of Brasenose, the warden of New, and the bursar of All Souls. Another purchaser was 'Mr. Thomas Smithe, the beare brewer,' who paid £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for two acres. There were also various smaller lots sold at 10*s.*, 5*s.*, and 4*s.*, each. The total of the sales was £92 8*s.* 9*d.* The size of the coppice was 80½ acres, including several roods of underwood on the waste, which realized about 3*s.* a rood. In addition to the underwood, certain 'dote' or dotard oak trees were felled and sold for fuel; the term implying an old oak tree whose topmost boughs were dead and bare. The president and fellows of Corpus Christi bought 20 of these 'dote tres of oke' for 40*s.* They realized in all £8 7*s.* Certain 'stems' of oak and ash were also exempted from the undergrowth and obtained special prices. Thus two stems of oak realized 16*d.* and a single one 12*d.*, whilst two stems of ash fetched 8*d.* All the stems produced 52*s.* 11*d.*

From these and other small receipts had to be deducted the large sum of £23 17*s.* 5*d.*, for hedging in the coppice, and further sums for preparing the stakes and poles, making gates, purchasing locks, &c., so that the clear sum paid to the queen was £79 11*s.* 3*d.*[3]

The presentment and certificate of William Collins and John Banyster, regarders of Stowood, parcel of the great forest of Bernwood, and the wood-sale of the coppice called 'Princefall Coppice,' sold by the queen's woodward in March, April, and May, 1573, are also extant, though very indistinct in places. The fellows of Brasenose purchased twenty dotard oaks for 50*s.*, and the fellows of Corpus Christi twelve for 30*s.* Fifty-three oaks were cut down to provide stake timber for the after enclosure, and forty more to provide post timbers. Forty of the best timber oaks in all the forest were cut down under special warrant, valued at £22 for 'the Buylding of a college in Oxon called Jesus College.' The oak bark of the coppice was valued at £9 4*s.* 4*d.*, but this was the fee of the chief forester.[4]

The coppice of Horsepath was again cleared in 1592. The account of the woodward of Shotover for the sales opens with the entry of 'My Lord Norris of Ricot 1 acre of underwood 26*s.* 8*d.*' This was the usual price at that date. The colleges were again among the principal buyers. The total of the underwood sale amounted to £85 10*s.* 10*d.* Dotard trees produced £16 12*s.* Twenty timber trees were sold by special warrant to the master and fellows of Balliol at 8*d.* each. The stems of ash realized £3 17*s.* 6*d.*, and the stems of oak £22 10*s.* 4*d.* The tops of the stake trees brought in £4 9*s.* 10*d.* The charges for 'securing' the coppice by hedging and ditching amounted to £36 3*s.* 10*d.*, leaving a clear profit of £115 12*s.* 1*d.* for the queen.

The presentments showed that the keepers had cut fourteen loads of oak and sallow boughs for deer-browse in the winter. Two offenders were presented for cutting 'great arms of green oak' for their own use, whereby the 'Queene is damnified' in the respective sums of 6*s.* 8*d.* and £7.

John Addam and Thomas Penge, churchwardens of Headington, were presented, for taking a load of boughs to make a bower, and a young oak 'to make them a maypole att Whitsontyde as they had been accustomed being foresters'; the damage was valued at 18*d.* The churchwardens of Marston also took boughs at Whitsuntide, for a bower, valued at 12*d.*, and those of Beckley a bower and maypole at 18*d.* The churchwardens of Horsepath took a tree, valued at 5*s.*, in which sum the queen was damnified. Another offender took wood without warrant

[1] Forest Surv. (Exch. K.R.), $\frac{14}{8}$.
[2] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* 262.
[3] Forest Surv. (Exch. K.R.), $\frac{15}{25}$.
[4] Ibid. $\frac{15}{26}$.

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to wattle his house. The regarders also presented that Redhill coppice was greatly spoiled by the putting in of horses, and by leaving the gates open and thus letting in the deer; they estimated the damage, for which Lord Norris and his keepers were responsible, at £10.

In 1598 about £30 was expended in putting in repair both the Old and the New Lodges at Shotover Forest. In that year the churchwardens of Headington, of Beckley, and of St. Clements were presented as having taken loads of green boughs at Whitsuntide according to custom, valued at 12*d.* in each case, but there is no reference to maypoles. Richard Alder, keeper, had cut thirty loads of deer browse, but five loads, valued at 15*s.*, were 'to bigge for Browse,' and he put them to his own use.

A peculiarly interesting entry of the wood-sales of this year states that 'Sixe tymber Trees (were) solde in Weecke Copis to Mr. Bodly by vertue of a warrante from Sr John Fortescue for the buyldinge of a publique Liberary in Oxon, and were soulde for xl*s.*'[2]

In the following year a special presentment was made by John Golde, for forty years a regarder and wood-salesman of Shotover Forest, to the effect that the juries at the Swainmote courts deliberately declined to give any verdict, and smothered up all defaults to the great spoil of Her Majesty. He stated that John Stevenson, the woodward, had for fourteen years past cut down two or three hundred ashes at unseasonable times, kept back when coppices were cut, and they did not shoot up again; he also appropriated two or three hundred young oaks yearly, to the value of £20 or £30. He considered that the forests of Shotover and Stow were worse than they were thirty years ago to the value of £2,000.[3]

Oxfordshire affords a striking example of the mischievous and unfortunate attempt that was made to revive strict forest jurisdiction in the time of Charles I. A forest court was held at Headington on 9 June, 1636, for the forests of Shotover and Stowood, before foresters, verderers, regarders, and a whole posse of officials newly appointed on the old lines. The presentments and consequent convictions were absurd in their severity, and entirely contrary to true forest procedure if it had been rightly studied. A shipwright for felling fifty oaks and exposing them for sale was fined £2,050; two husbandmen for removing an oak worth 3*s.*, £5; and another delinquent was fined 40*s.* for taking an oak worth 6*d.* A fine of £10 was imposed for removing three cart-loads of ash, worth 20*s.*, and there were several fines of 20*s.* for taking green wood, valued at 4*d.* Among venison trespassers Roger Gardiner was fined £100 for killing two does and two bucks.[4]

The officers of the Navy certified to the lords of the Admiralty, in August, 1636, that 200,000 tree-nails would be required for His Majesty's yards, and for the repairing of the *Anne Royal.* It would require 1,000 young trees for that number of nails to be cleft out of the heart; the best trees for the purpose were to be found in the forests of Shotover and Stowood. The king, however, in the following month, declined to allow such an extensive felling at Shotover, and eventually the tree-nails were obtained from the New Forest.[5]

About the last royal gift of timber from Shotover Forest was that of Charles I to the bishop of Oxford, in March, 1636–7, when fifty timber trees were granted to that prelate, towards the building of a residence for himself and his successors at Cuddesdon, he having obtained leave to hold that vicarage *in commendam* and finding the vicarage-house 'meane and ruinous.'[6]

The Oxfordshire maps of Saxton (1574) and of Speed (1605) show various wooded parks that have long since disappeared. Near Witney was Minster Lovell Park, for the enclosure of which Sir William Lovell obtained a licence in 1441.[7] At Hook Norton, on the Warwickshire border, was an ancient park, which belonged in Leland's days to the king.[8] At Beckley, to the north-east of Oxford, was a park, first enclosed in 1312, by grant to Hugh le Despenser; it reverted to the crown, and in 1457 Henry VI gave Archbishop Chicheley twelve oaks from his park at Beckley, towards the building of All Souls', Oxford.[9] Elsfield, an adjoining parish to Beckley, also had its park, enclosed in 1327 by licence to Gilbert de Elsfield.[10] Ewelme used to boast of a 'right fair parke';[11] it contained 895 acres in the time of Charles I,[12] and seems to have disappeared during the Commonwealth.

The elaborate and careful map of the county that accompanies Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1676) shows several parks not included in the earlier maps, such as Bletchington, belonging to the Annesleys, earls of Anglesey; Caversham, then belonging to the Craven family, in the extreme south of the county; Hanwell, the seat of the Copes, in the extreme north; Watlington, below Thame, then belonging to the Stonor family; and Yarnton, to the north-west of Oxford, an estate of the Spensers. This map also shows the four great woods or 'Quarters' at Stanton

[1] Forest Surv. (Exch. K.R.), $\frac{1}{3}\frac{3}{7}$. [2] Ibid. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{9}\frac{7}{}$. [3] Ibid. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{9}\frac{7}{}$.
[4] Cox, *Royal Forests*, 263–4.
[5] *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1636–7, p. 104, cccxxx, 71; p. 137, cccxxxii, 18.
[6] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, cccl, No. 24. [7] Pat. 18 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 24. [8] Leland, *Itin.* vii, 72–3.
[9] *Archit. Antiq. of Oxf.* 209. [10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 17.
[11] Leland, *Itin.* ii, 34. [12] Napier, *Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 217.

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St. John, and depicts the whole of the Chiltern corner of the county, to the south-east of the old Ikenild Way, as abounding in frequent woods.

Dr. Plot in 1676 gives an entertaining and interesting account of some of the largest and more unusual timber of the county.[1] An oak between Nuneham Courtenay and Clifton shaded 460 square yards, beneath which it was calculated that 2,420 men 'may be sheltered from the injuries of sun or rain.' A larger oak than this stood at Magdalen College, near the gate of the water-walks; it shaded 768 square yards. In Lord Norreys's park at Rycote, near Thame, there was a third great oak having a yet wider stretch of branches, shading 972 square yards. A hollow oak on Kidlington Green was put to a curious use—

> it being frequently used before the death of Judge Morton (before whose house it stood) for the imprisoning vagabonds and other inferior malefactors, for the space of a night or so, that they conveniently might be had to the gaol at Oxford; of whom the hollow is so large within that it would receive eight or ten commodiously enough, the tree without being 25 foot round above the spurs.

On Bletchingdon Green there was an elm of so capacious a hollow that it was the scene of the birth of a child in Dr. Plot's time living near Harwich; the mother had been excluded from all the houses of the parish to prevent her bringing a charge on it.

Mention is made by Dr. Plot of avenues of narrow-leaved elms in Lady Cope's park at Hanwell; of firs and pines at Cornbury Park, and at Lillingston Lovell; of double-bearing pear-trees in the parishes of Huxley and Standlake, 'whose first crop is ripe about Midsummer and the second at Michaelmas'; and of the hard-fruited 'Wooden Pear' tree, at Corpus Christi College.

The Commissioners of Woods and Forests, who reported on Wychwood in 1792, described this forest as almost entirely surrounded by a stone wall. The extent within the enclosure was divided into five walks, distinguished as the Ranger's, Roger's Hill, Patch Hill, Porter's Hill, and South Lawn Walk. The lodges of three of the keepers were on crown land, and of two on the land of the duke of Marlborough. The actual crown land within the perambulation was estimated at 3,709 acres. The Oxfordshire parishes of Ascot Doyley, Asthall, Fulbrook, Minster Lovell, and Swinbrook, as well as certain hamlets in the parishes of Charlbury, Shipton, and Taynton, together with the Gloucestershire parish of Widford, exercised rights of common within the forest for horses and horned cattle (except oxen). The hamlets of Leafield, Langley, and Shorthampton enjoyed sheep pasturage on certain parts of the waste land of the crown, and several other hamlets and parishes like privileges on certain parts of the waste belonging to private owners within the stone wall. The extent of these sheep walks was well known to the keepers, and stray sheep were impounded. No swine were admitted to the forest.

The forest ministers were a ranger, a launder (or keeper of the launds or lawns), four bailiffs or keepers, two verderers, and a woodward. The four keepers each received 4*d*. a day, the launder 4*d*. a day, and the ranger 6*d*. a day. These fees were originally paid out of the produce of the coppices. These various offices were granted in fee by James I to Henry earl of Danby; but having reverted to the crown by the forfeiture of Sir John Danvers, were again granted in fee by Charles II to Edward earl of Clarendon, his heirs and assigns. This latter patent was purchased in 1751 from the descendants of the earl of Clarendon by the duke of Marlborough.[2] By virtue of this grant the duke of Marlborough held the rangership, and appointed the keepers and woodward, paying them such salaries as he thought fit. The two verderers were chosen, as of old, by the freeholders of the county, and had no salary, but each a brace of bucks and a brace of does annually. There were at that time (1792) about a thousand head of deer; the number annually killed were sixty-one bucks and forty-two does, of which six bucks and six does were sent to His Majesty's larder.

The keeper of the ranger's walk had a brace of fee bucks and a brace of fee does, which he sold for about £6 a brace. The other three keepers had a buck and a doe apiece, and they all shared equally in the profits of the skins, shoulders, and offals of all deer killed in the forest. They cut browse wood for the deer in winter from thorn, maple, ash, and ivy.

The proceeds of various wood sales out of this forest, from 1716 to 1775, amounted to £5,411 5*s*. 6*d*. In 1778, 129 trees were felled for the Navy in Wychwood Forest, together with 368 'scrubbed and unthrifty trees.' In 1790 twenty were felled for the Navy and forty-two of inferior worth.

A report made to the Board of Agriculture in 1794 divided the woodlands of the county into three sorts: viz. groves or spring woods, consisting of trees only; woods, consisting of timber trees and underwood; and coppices, consisting only of underwood.

> Under the first head the beech-woods of the county are considered. They were confined to the Chiltern country, and consisted of 'trees growing on their own stems, produced by the falling of the

[1] Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxf.* 158–60; 165–74.

[2] Copies of these patents, together with the Perambulation of 17 Chas. I, and various later documents, are set forth in the appendices to the tenth report of the commissioners.

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beechmast; as very little is permitted to grow on the stools, which are generally grubbed up. They are drawn occasionally, being never felled all at once, except for the purpose of converting the land into tillage, which has been much in practice of late years. The beech wood thus drawn is either sold in long lengths called poles, or cut short in billet lengths and sold for fuel.' Some oak and ash trees were dispersed among the beech, springing up where bird-borne seeds had been dropped, but they seldom grew to any great bulk.

Of the second kind were the four woods in the vicinity of Stanton St. John (Shotover Forest) called the Quarters, where the strong clay was well adapted for oaks. The coppices of the county were very few save in the Wychwood district.[1]

In 1809 Arthur Young, who was then secretary of the Board of Agriculture, drew up a much more comprehensive account of the agriculture of Oxfordshire, in which he gave special attention to the woods, plantations, and wastes.[2] He describes the produce of the woods at Stokenchurch, south of Thame, on the Buckinghamshire border, as 40 per cent. dearer than it had been twenty years ago, the increase in price arising from the large number of woods that had been grubbed up, the arable rent of the land being much higher. At Wormsley the large beech trees measured as timber, and the smaller as poles of 25 ft.; the latter were from twenty to twenty-five years old. Twenty years earlier the price was 8*s*. 6*d*. the half-load, but at that time 24*s*. The price was so high that there was much temptation to grub, for a common offer was from £30 to £35 per acre, with the land left ready for the plough.

It is mentioned that Sir Charles Willoughby had 300 acres of beech wood on the Chiltern Hills, which were cut at forty years' growth, and thinned every seven years. At Mongewell, near Wallingford, the bishop of Durham possessed beech woods, which were managed on the thinning system at twenty years' growth, and paid about as well as the contiguous arable land. No woods of any extent had been grubbed up in that vicinity.

It is remarked that the then duke of Marlborough had planted the great belt at Blenheim, the extent of which was 13 miles. Among all the plantations there Arthur Young remarked a great want of thinning.

> The late and present Mr. Stratton planted at Tew on a scale and plan that decorates that fine estate considerably; the amount is now 63 acres, and no year passes without additions. There are many thousand trees of 15 years' growth from 20 to 30 feet high.

Mr. Young's report of Wychwood Forest, made fifteen years after that of the commission, gives details of the copses. There were thirty-four copses in the forest; eighteen belonged to the king, twelve to the duke of Marlborough, and four to certain individuals. They averaged 100 acres each; those of the crown were cut at eighteen years' growth, and those of the duke at twenty-one. When cut, they were fenced off with hedge and ditch, for keeping out all commonable cattle and sheep, for seven years, after which all must enter. But the hedges were to be sufficiently low never to exclude the deer. The copses, on an average, returned £6 an acre, clear. The open parts of the forest produced nothing save brush-fuel and browse for the deer. As to the timber of the forest, Mr. Young stated that he did not see a single very fine tree of navy oak in a ride of sixteen or seventeen miles; but he noted a considerable number of thriving trees that seemed to be from sixty to seventy years' growth, and that promised to be valuable in another century. Next to oak, ash seemed to abound, and then beech, with a few elms.

Mr. Young was a very warm advocate of the immediate enclosure of this forest, but chiefly from moral grounds, taking an obviously exaggerated view of this side of the question.

> The morals of the whole surrounding country demand it (enclosure) imperiously. The vicinity is filled with poachers, deer-stealers, thieves, and pilferers of every kind; offences of almost every description abound so much, that the offenders are a terror to all quiet and well-disposed persons; and Oxford gaol would be uninhabited were it not for this fertile source of crime.

Wychwood Forest was not finally enclosed until 1862.

It is always of interest in connexion with forestry and arboriculture to draw particular attention to the parks of a county, for there, as might naturally be expected, the finest and oldest timber is usually to be found.

The present deer parks of Oxfordshire number twelve.[3]

Blenheim Park (duke of Marlborough) was the new name conferred on the old royal park of Woodstock, when it was granted by Queen Anne in 1705 to the first duke of Marlborough. According to Rous, the old Warwickshire antiquary, Woodstock Park, which surrounded a royal

[1] A. Young, *Gen. View of the Agric. of Oxf.* (1809), 221–43. [2] Ibid.

[3] The brief account of these parks is taken from Shirley (1867) and Whitaker (1892), *Deer Parks*, supplemented by special information and personal observation.

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residence, was founded in 1114 by Henry I,[1] and had a circuit of seven miles. The manor of Stanton Harcourt was held of the crown by the service of finding four 'browsers,' or cutters of deer browse, in Woodstock Park whenever the snow fell and lay for two days; each browser when thus engaged was to have night lodging and a billet of wood the length of his axe halve each day.[2] The present park contains 2,400 acres, but in this average are included the two lakes which are said to cover 120 acres; it is 9 miles in circuit, and divided into two parts, the Great or High Park and the Home or Little Park. The park is now stocked with about one hundred and twenty fallow deer. Until recent years there was also a stock of red deer; but as they persisted in swimming the lake and destroying trees, shrubs and plants in the gardens, they were gradually killed off. There is much fine timber, particularly oak and elms, and a noble belt of beeches. Very little planting has been done of late years, but when any is done it is of mixed character: spruce, larch, and Scotch fir as mosses, with hard woods such as oak, ash, and elm as the main crop. There is no planting done on the estate except for game cover and for material for fencing, &c. For all roofing work and such-like foreign timber is purchased; indeed, much fencing is done with foreign creosoted timber, as it is the most economical method.[3]

Cornbury Park (Vernon James Watney, esquire), to the west of Woodstock and adjoining Wychwood Forest, was another of the Oxfordshire royal parks in early days. Edward III, in 1339, granted to John de Solers the custody of the royal mares in this park, to hold during good behaviour at the accustomed wage.[4] It remained in the hands of the crown till after the Restoration, when Charles II granted it, together with Wychwood Forest, to Earl Clarendon, who took his second title of Viscount Cornbury from this beautiful park. Evelyn records a visit that he made in October, 1664, to assist him in the planting of 'a sweet park, walled with a dry wall and well stock'd.'[5] The area of the present park is 450 acres; it is stocked with about two hundred fallow deer, which are said to be the descendants of the former wild deer of Wychwood. The park contains some grand and venerable oaks, and there are avenues of beech, lime, and chestnut trees.

Crowsley Park, the seat of Colonel John Baskerville, dates, together with the house, from the time of James II. It encloses some 250 acres, and is stocked with a herd of about two hundred fallow deer. The park is remarkable for its seven avenues, one of which, in the rear of the house, is a mile long; another of the avenues encircles the park like a wheel, and is planted with alternate oaks and elms. Some of the timber is exceptionally fine; one of the oaks has a girth of 30 ft. at a height of 5 ft. from the ground. About 300 acres have been planted on this estate during recent years, chiefly larch.

Ditchley Park, belonging to Viscount Dillon, encloses 325 acres, but is stocked with 150 head of fallow deer. Although this park is not shown on Speed's map of 1605, nor on Plot's of 1676, it is known that a royal licence was granted in 1603 to enclose a park for deer at Ditchley to Sir Henry Lee, K.G.; as Sir Henry was at that time ranger of Woodstock, it is supposed that he took his deer from that royal park. Some ancient deerheads belonging to animals killed by James I are preserved at Ditchley House bearing inscriptions on brass plates naming the dates and places where they were slain.[6] King James visited here in 1608 and again in 1610. The park is exceptionally well wooded with every variety of English tree, some of which are of venerable age, and supposed to be older than the park.

Glympton Park, belonging to Mr. F. H. Barnett, north of Woodstock, encloses 110 acres, and is stocked with about seventy fallow deer. This small, well-timbered park, traversed by the River Glyme, does not appear on any of the old maps.

Grey's Court Park, near Henley, belonging to Mrs. Stapleton, is of old origin; it is noticed by Leland and Camden. The area of about 100 acres is undulating and well wooded with fine old forest trees; it is stocked with about seventy fallow deer.

Holton Park, the seat of Mr. H. S. Tynedale Biscoe, to the east of Oxford, is of ancient origin; it bordered on the forest of Shotover, and is named in some of the old records of that

[1] *Hist. Regum Angliae* (ed. Hearne, 1745), 138. Rous's contention that this was the oldest park in the kingdom is, of course, wrong, as several are mentioned in Dom. Bk.

[2] Skelton, *Oxf.* (1823), Wootton Hund. i, 18.

[3] Kindly communicated from the Blenheim Palace Estates Office.

[4] Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28.

[5] Evelyn, *Memoirs*, i, 350.

[6] *The Zoologist* (ser. 3), xiv, 157–8. These royally slain heads number six. The following are the couplets on the first and last of these plates:—

1608, August 24, Saturday.
From Foxhole Coppice rouzed, Great Britain's king I fled
But what? in Kiddington Pond he overtoke me dead.

1610, August 25, Saturday.
From Foxhole driven, what could I doe, being lame? I fell
Before the king and prince, neere Rosamund her well.

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forest. The park, which is enclosed within a stone wall, has an area of 185 acres, and is stocked with fifty fallow deer. Some of the old timber in this park is of grand proportions; an oak measures 28 ft. four feet from the ground, an elm 28 ft. 4 in., and a beech 19 ft.

Nuneham Park, the seat of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, has an area of 1,200 acres; the part used by the deer is 300 acres. This estate was purchased by Simon Lord Harcourt about 1710, and the beautiful and finely wooded park, which rises steeply from the banks of the Isis to a height of about 270 ft., was soon afterwards laid out and enclosed. Deer were first introduced here by George Earl Harcourt in 1780. The centre enclosure or deer park consists of 315 acres, which is stocked with about 300 fallow deer. The two outer parks enclose additional areas of about 200 acres. The house, demesne, including pleasure grounds, woods, &c., yields a total of 1,310 acres. There are also in the park four kangaroos, two turned down in the autumn of 1904, and their young of 1905 and 1906.[1]

The well-known park or paddock of Magdalen College, Oxford, of 11 acres, otherwise called The Grove, shelters about forty fallow deer. It is supposed to have been stocked with deer at the beginning of the eighteenth century; they are named in the college accounts of 1721–2. Most of the trees in the grove are English elms, and date from the Restoration period. A great wych elm has had its girth repeatedly taken at 5 ft. from the ground; it was 21 ft. in 1831; 23 ft. in 1861; 23 ft. 9 in. in 1866; 25 ft. 6 in. in 1886; and 26 ft. 5 in. in 1899; its approximate height is 130 ft.

The large plane and silver birch which stand to the north of the president's lodgings were planted in 1801 by Henry Phillpotts, afterwards bishop of Exeter, when he was junior bursar.

The grand old oak tree by the gate of the walks, mentioned by Plot, fell down in 1789; it then had a girth of 21 ft. 9 in.; the president's chair was made out of the timber.[2]

Stonor Park (Lord Camoys), south of Watlington, on the verge of Buckinghamshire, is noticed by Leland, *temp.* Henry VIII, as 'a fayre Parke,' though not marked in either Saxton's or Plot's maps. It has an acreage of 150½ acres, excluding all pleasure grounds, and is stocked with 110 fallow deer. This picturesque and hilly park abounds in fine beech woods.

Thame Park, belonging to Mr. W. A. Wykeham-Musgrave, is of great antiquity. When Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, refounded the Cistercian abbey of Thame in 1138 he gave them his park of Thame as a site for their church and buildings.[3] This park is marked on all the old maps; the deer park has an area of 250 acres, and is stocked with about 160 fallow deer.

The county is also exceptionally well stocked with parks which do not contain deer; indeed Oxfordshire, in proportion to its area, seems to be better supplied with parks than any other county save Hertfordshire. Every one of these parks contains more or less fine timber, and they are frequently fringed with woods, plantations, and coppices. The following are the largest and most noteworthy:—Ambrosden Park, which was much larger in the eighteenth century; Bletchington Park (Viscount Valentia), 70 acres; Caversham Park, 300 acres; Broughton Castle (Lord Saye and Seal), an ancient park; Cokethorpe House, 170 acres; Eynsham Park, 700 acres; Heythorp Park, 300 acres, richly timbered; Kirtlington Park (Sir G. J. E. E. Dashwood), 700 acres; Mapledurham House, stately avenue of elms about a mile long; Mongewell Park, 80 acres; Middleton Stony Park (Earl of Jersey), 600 acres, very beautifully wooded; Sandford Park, 100 acres; Shelswell Park, 228 acres; Shirburn Castle (Earl Macclesfield), 225 acres, fine avenues; Shotover House, 150 acres, much fine timber, some of considerable age, originally part of Shotover Forest; Tew Park, 120 acres, much fine timber; and Wroxton Abbey (Lord North), undulating and richly wooded.

The official Agricultural Returns for 1891 give a total acreage of 24,466 acres for the woods of Oxfordshire; this total included 763 acres that had been planted during the past ten years. The woodland return for 1895 showed a considerable gain in this county, as the total acreage then stood at 26,611, the acres planted since 1881 numbering 1,293.

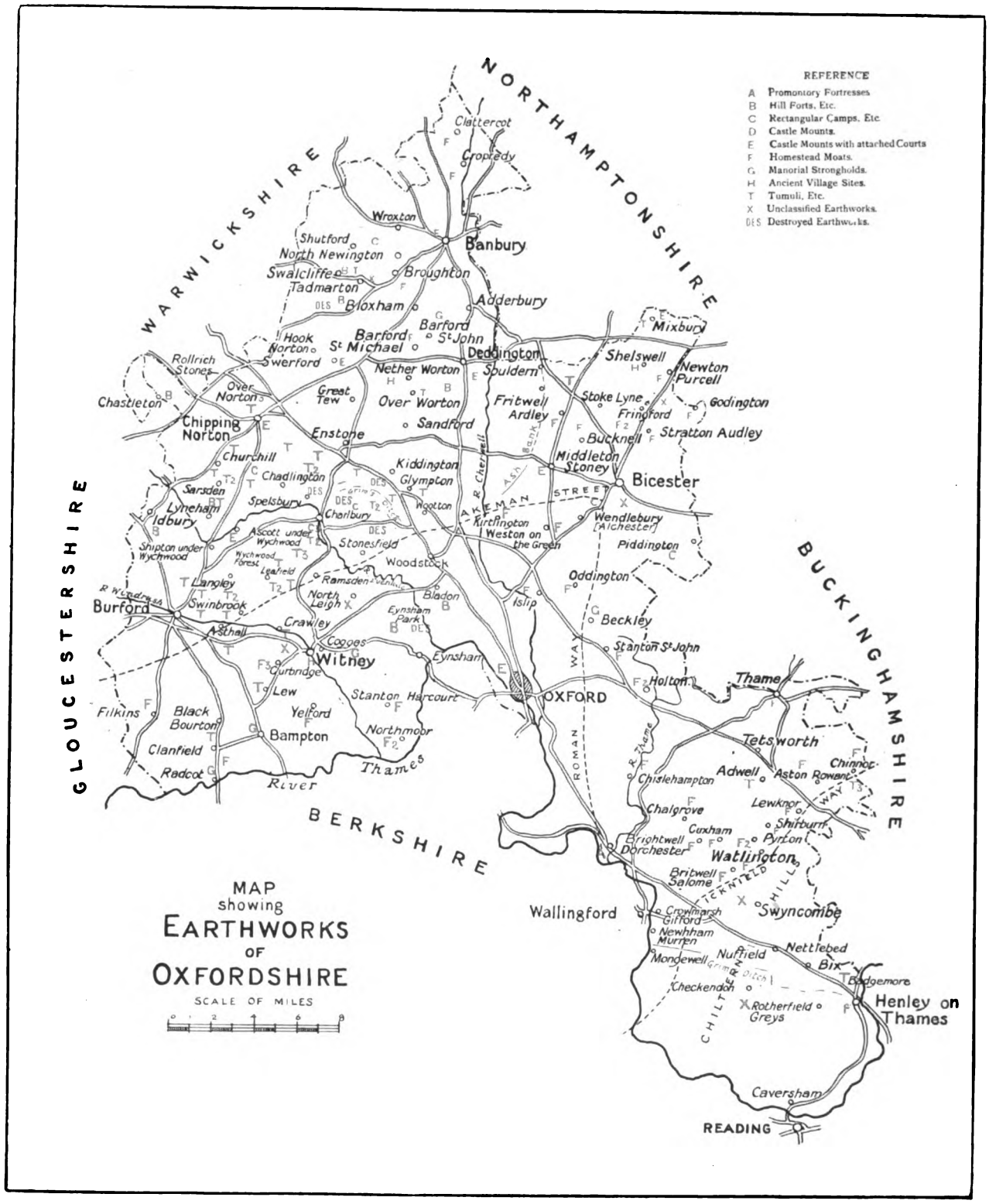
The returns made on 5 June, 1905, were arranged on a better principle, being divided into coppices, plantations, and other woods. By coppice is meant woods that are cut periodically and reproduce themselves naturally by stool shoots; and by plantation is signified land planted or replanted within the last ten years. Oxford is returned as having 4,464 acres of coppice, 1,385 of plantation, and 18,528 of other woods. This gives a total of only 24,377, showing a falling off of about 2,000 acres in the last decade. The attention paid of late to arboriculture has led to the gratifying increase throughout England of nearly half a million acres under woodland in the past ten years. Oxfordshire, however, is one of the very few counties that have considerably decreased in the like period.

[1] From information kindly supplied by the Nuneham Estate Office.
[2] Wilson, *Hist. of Magd. Coll.* (1899), 280–1.
[3] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 403.

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ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

INTRODUCTION

Excavation affords the only method of ascertaining the age of most earthworks. Not until the spade has disclosed the evidence which an ancient earthwork may hold in the relics which lie buried beneath its area or within its banks, can we as a rule assign its construction to a particular period. A striking illustration of this is afforded by the new light which was thrown upon the age of Hunsbury Camp, in Northamptonshire, by the unlooked-for discoveries during excavations there, as described in the volume for that county in this series. At the same time such thorough investigation has been possible in the case of only a very few of the large number of earthworks in the country, and some working method of classification is necessary in dealing with them; the one which is now finding general acceptance, which is adopted in the present work, is that set out by the committee formed by the Congress of Archaeological Societies, of which Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, F.S.A., is the honorary secretary. The classification is based upon the form of the work, and stands as follows :—

A.—Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by artificial works, usually known as promontory fortresses.

B.—Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill*; or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.

C.—Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.

D.—Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.

E.—Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.

F.—Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.

G.—Enclosures mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.

H.—Ancient village sites protected by walls, ramparts, or fosses.

X.—Defensive works which fall under none of these headings.

Although this classification is one of form it to some extent provides a chronological guide which we may use tentatively, remembering that in most cases the period of the earthwork must be judged finally by the finds which may be made within its area. Even then it has to be remembered that fortresses were used by successive occupiers of the country, each of whom left their relics, so that a solitary find of any period proves little beyond the fact that it was used during that period, which may not be that of its construction. For instance, Roman relics are often met with on the hill-top forts, but the investigation of this class of work would lead us to believe that they are among the earliest of the whole series, although possibly enlarged and strengthened at later periods and temporarily occupied by Roman forces, whose peculiar fortification we have evidence for seeing in the regular

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rectangular camps found usually on low ground. Not until the earliest relic the work may hold has been extracted from it are we safe in assigning it a period. It is necessary to insist upon this on account of the unscientific way in which form has been made the test of age in the past, certain shapes being assigned to certain races with a finality which later evidence has shown to be quite unwarranted. And here, too, it may be well to warn the student of these works against the ideas of those antiquaries of the last generation who saw in them connected or opposing lines of fortifications covering a considerable tract of country, and arguing an organization which our knowledge at present hardly justifies us in assuming.

We are probably right in looking upon some of the promontory and hill-top fortresses as the earliest of the series, constructed in the Neolithic, or Later Stone, Age as places of refuge and defence for the inhabitants of the hut villages on the lower ground; while others may have been the work of a later period when bronze or iron had come into use; but here again caution is necessary, for we have learnt of late that we must be careful not to under-rate what the earliest inhabitants could achieve with their horn pick, bone shovel, and stone hammer. We must remember, too, that the Stone Age to which some of these forts are assigned was far longer than any succeeding age and probably covered thousands of years, and that the possibilities of achievement which had been reached by a long, if slow, development were of a very high order, as is instanced by the construction of Stonehenge. It is probable, then, that the earliest fort was the fortified hill-top, the shape of the hill dictating the line of the work, and that next in order chronologically but probably falling within the same protracted period were the forts on high ground, plateau forts as they are sometimes called, in which the line of the work is independent of the form of the ground, but which generally suggest by their construction and shape the hill-top fort. The use of the rectangular enclosure, though typical of the Roman camp, was not confined to the Roman period.

With the fortified mount and the mount and bailey fortress we are well within the historic age, but we cannot here discuss the question as to whether the Norman conquerors introduced it or found it here in a modified form. There is, however, no question that the vast majority of such strongholds are of post-Conquest date. The moated homesteads and enclosures appear so distinctly mediaeval that it may seem out of place to include them with ancient earthworks, but many of them may be survivals of enclosures round the holdings of the Anglo-Saxon settlers, and it is not improbable that some of them represent the later adaptation of the site of a much older work. I have ventured to call attention to characteristics of two in this county which would seem to support such a suggestion. The moats at Stratton Audley and Beckley may represent such an adaptation.

A glance at the map of Oxfordshire shows that the distribution of earthworks is very singular. The county is divided by the Cherwell Valley from Banbury to Oxford, and in the eastern portion of this division the works which we may consider prehistoric are represented solely by the Dike Hills at Dorchester, which constitute with the rivers there a fortress of the 'A' or promontory class, and the Roman station of Alchester. The station which is assumed to have existed on the site of the present village of Dorchester is

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not dealt with here, as the later village covers the site and has destroyed its works, and the relics which it may have left fall into another section of this work. There is also on this side of the county the earthwork in Wyfold Wood on the south, which we are unable to reconcile with either of the classes in the scheme given above. Nearly the whole of the works which we may consider the earliest are to be found, therefore, on the western side of the Cherwell Valley, and on this side the map shows that they are mostly confined to the north-west. With only two exceptions the works which we have put in class 'B,' the hill-top and plateau forts, lie north of a line drawn from Deddington to Shipton-under-Wychwood. This is understandable when the physical conditions of the county are considered. It is, of course, quite unnecessary here to insist upon the artificial character of the county boundary, an invention of much later date than the class of earthworks we are now considering, and with which consequently neither they nor the people who constructed them have any manner of relation. The north-western boundary line of the later county has been carried over the high ground which constitutes the outlying spurs of the Cotswolds. Conical-shaped hills and plateau-like elevations, intersected by innumerable valleys, form the sort of country in which the hill-forts of early man are found, while the rich red loam of the northern portion is the richest of the county and makes it the best for habitation by a people who were already practising cultivation. The altitude above sea-level is 300 ft. at the Cherwell at Banbury, and rises to 750 ft. at the Rollrich Stones on the western extremity of the county, and crossing the border we ascend still higher as we approach the Cotswolds proper. These hills are covered with remains of prehistoric earthworks, and the Oxfordshire specimens—Madmarston, Tadmarton, Ilbury, Idbury, Lyneham, and Chastleton—must be considered as belonging to the Cotswold series.

Below Shipton-under-Wychwood we reach ground of lesser altitudes, and here a great belt of forest stretched right across the county in ancient times, comprising the forests of Wychwood, Woodstock, Shotover, and Bernwood, the latter in the north-east about Bicester and connecting with Northamptonshire forests. South of this ran the low plains of the Oxford clay along the Thames Valley from Bampton to the inhospitable and dreary waste of Otmoor on the east, and the lowlands give place on the south to the wooded heights of the Chilterns. It must not, however, be understood that the north-west was the only district inhabited by prehistoric man. A reference to another section of this volume will show that his relics have been found in all parts of the county, while the barrows and tumuli which represent his burial mounds are found scattered all over the portion west of the Cherwell. Of the forty-five existing specimens only seven are found in the half of the county east of this river. This, coupled with the fact that all the megalithic remains are in the western half, and that other remains of this age appear more numerous there, would seem to suggest that the broad Cherwell Valley formed the natural eastern boundary of a populous tribe occupying the district of the Cotswolds. So far, however, as the absence of the barrows in the eastern half is concerned, it is necessary to remember that it has been much longer under the plough than a large portion of the other, where the district between Burford and Charlbury covered by the Wychwood Forest and in which a considerable number of the barrows are found was

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only disafforested in 1862, and that in a very few years many of the barrows in the part now brought under cultivation will have ceased to exist.

The rectangular earthworks, except those in the parishes of North Newington and Chadlington in the north, are extremely small and almost give one the impression of miniature works connected with a Roman settlement on the Akeman Street and within the area encompassed by the dyke called Grim's Ditch, which exists to the north of this road in the western half of the county, in which area Roman remains are plentiful.

In many parts of the country are to be found remains of lines of entrenchment several miles in length and generally called dykes. There are traces of three in Oxfordshire, one referred to above; another, also called Grim's Ditch, in the extreme south of the county; and a third, called by the three different names of Avesditch, Ashbank, and Wattlebank, running from where the Akeman Street crosses the Cherwell to the northern boundary of the county at Souldern. As with the camps, so with the dykes, excavation must provide the final word as to their age. In the case of the Wans Dyke, an extensive entrenchment in the south-west of England, the theories of the antiquaries, which made it a Celtic work, were upset by the investigations of General Pitt-Rivers, which showed it to be of Roman or post-Roman construction. While therefore refraining from any explicit pronouncements respecting the Oxfordshire dykes, it may at the same time be helpful if we suggest an interpretation of their characteristics which may provide a working basis for their future investigation. Two of them, the Grim's Ditch, which we call 'A' to distinguish it from the work bearing the same name in the south, and the Avesditch, seem to have a connexion with the Roman road, the Akeman Street, which enters the county from Aylesbury to the south-east of Bicester and leaves it below Burford. The Avesditch commences at the ford of the road over the Cherwell, and runs north on the high ground to the east of the river, while the Grim's Ditch describes a semi-circle to the north with the road as its base. A study of the banks of these dykes shows that the Avesditch would appear to have faced west, and the Grim's Ditch north. We have shown above that the half of the county west of the Cherwell would appear to have been an area of greater population in pre-Roman times than that to the east, and a conjecture regarding the dykes, which is feasible pending further investigation, is that they were made by Romans who came from the east and constructed the Akeman Street, and were made against the Britons of the north-west area of the county. An examination of the Grim's Ditch and the Roman remains, which its sweeping line covers, led General Pitt-Rivers to assign it to those invaders. To the south of Akeman Street, and at almost an equal distance from it as Grim's Ditch is on the north, is the small line of entrenchment at North Leigh, which forms the southern boundary of the area of Roman remains which has its centre at Stonesfield. This entrenchment faces south, and three-quarters of a mile to the south of it is the ancient camp in Eynsham Park, and it would appear, therefore, to have been part of the scheme of protection by the makers of the road, and to have been part of their defence against the British population, of less numerical strength perhaps than that to the north, which occupied the country between the forest and the Thames.

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Turning to the southern Grim's Ditch, which we distinguish by labelling it 'B,' we find the conditions analogous to those described in connexion with the northern work. The Icknield Way also runs from near Aylesbury, enters Oxfordshire at Chinnor and skirting the base of the Chilterns leaves it at Goring, and across its course from Wallingford to Henley ran the Grim's Ditch, cutting off the hilly country encompassed by the southern dip of the Thames between these two towns. Its banks show it to have faced south, and although the Icknield Way has the characteristics of an ancient trackway rather than a Roman road, it is a suggestion equally feasible as that thrown out in connexion with the northern works, that it may have been used by a Roman invasion, starting from the same point near Aylesbury as that which laid the Akeman Street, and which may have thrown the Grim's Ditch across the Chilterns to separate itself from the British population of a portion of their hills and woods. In the centre of the area so cut off by the Ditch is the earthwork in Wyfold Wood, and although we have been unable satisfactorily to include it in any class of the scheme of classification adopted, it may be ancient and have been a fortress of the people against whom the Ditch was constructed.

The whole of the county came in time under Roman domination, and the remains of that people are scattered all over its area, but it is rather significant that the only two sites which can be looked upon as more than those of villas are both in the eastern half, at Dorchester, a little to the north of the commencement of Grim's Ditch, on the south ; and at Alchester, in the rear of the Avesditch, on the north. These two were connected by a Roman road. The evidence of the earthworks and dykes, as we are at present able to read it, would appear to be that the sparsely populated plains on the east were first occupied by Roman invaders coming from the Vale of Aylesbury, and operating afterwards against the British population of possibly greater account in the hills and woods of the west and extreme south. The two local entrenchments on Gravenhill and Swyncombe Downs appear to have been constructed against forces advancing along the lines of the Akeman Street and the Icknield Way respectively. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the county suffered several other invasions by later forces, and the above hypothesis is after all of only a tentative character.

PROMONTORY FORTRESSES

(Class A)

Dorchester-on-Thames : Dike Hills. — At Dorchester the River Thames, after running due south, takes a turn at right-angles south-eastwards, and 1,070 yds. further on receives the River Thame, which runs into it from the north. The flat meadow and arable land south of the village of Dorchester is thus enclosed on three sides by the rivers ; and across the north end of this space, just south of the village, runs a double row of banks, from the Thames on the west to the Thame on the east, and parallel to the southern line of the former river, thus enclosing an area roughly rectangular in shape of about 114 acres. These banks are known as the Dike Hills. They have unfortunately been mutilated, and the plough has reduced a portion of them, but they still exist, or may be traced, throughout the whole

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DIKE HILLS, DORCHESTER-ON-THAMES

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line of their original course. The most perfect part, which seems to have escaped any destroying agency, is that marked X–Y on the plan. Here, as shown in the section A–B, the northern bank is the higher, and this was apparently so throughout. There are traces of a shallow ditch on the north of this, 6 ft. wide and 2 ft. below the adjoining field. The height of the bank is 16 ft. 6 ins. from the bottom of this northern ditch, and 15 ft. 6 ins. from the level of the ground between the two lines of banks. The banks are 55 ft. apart, and the height of the southern one is 13 ft. on the inside, and 8 ft. 6 ins. from the level of the ground enclosed by the dikes and the rivers. This section of the banks is still covered with turf, but has been cut through at its eastern end, which is nearest the village. The northern bank apparently ends here in three mounds, which are due probably to its disturbance in modern times, but it is to be traced again for about 70 yds. within the corner of the hedge of the adjoining field—in, however, a very reduced condition. The southern bank has also been cut away at this (the eastern) end, but its course, in the shape of a low bank, sloping north-east, is discernible, and it appears to have run more to the south, pointing for a bend in the River Thame, at a distance of about 50 yds. from which it makes a return south-westward. This interval between the southern dike and the river, which appears to have been constructive and not the work of destruction, suggests whether the entrance to the enclosure may not have been at this point. A careful study of the ground, which is meadow-land, does not afford sufficient evidence on which to lay down the likely course of the northern bank at this end in its nearer approach to the river. Westward of X on the plan is, unfortunately, arable, and the plough is taken over the reduced banks and is gradually completing its work of destruction. They are still, however, very plain and, indeed, are striking features in this perfectly flat piece of land. Two gaps have been cut through to carry cart roads at W and X. Between these points the height of the northern bank has been reduced to 4 ft. above the field on the north, and 6 ft. 9 ins. on its southern side ; while the southern bank is only 5 ft. high on its northern face, and 2 ft. 6 ins. above the field on the south. The tops of the banks have been much flattened, and while at section A–B the tops of the banks are only 3 ft. or 4 ft. wide, here the width of the northern is 15 ft. and the southern 29 ft., while the flat intervening space has been filled up to only 28 ft. wide. This middle section would seem to have suffered most, although we have no evidence as to whether the banks were originally of uniform height throughout their course. Westward of W, towards the Thames, the heights of the northern bank are 3 ft. 6 ins. and 7 ft. 9 ins., and the southern 7 ft. and 6 ft. on their north and south faces respectively. Here again the plough has done its usual work of flattening the tops and filling up the intervening space, the summits of the two banks, north and south, being 16 ft. and 27 ft. wide respectively, while the width of the space between them is only 24 ft. The Dikes end at a hedge 100 ft. from the present bank of the river. In 1870 the farmer employed his labourers in reducing this end of the banks.[1]

In the banks where they have been subjected to agricultural operations human remains and British, Roman, and Saxon coins have been found.[2] The

[1] *Hist. of Dorchester*, Parker & Co., Oxford, 1882 ; and *Proc. Oxf. Arch. and Hist. Soc.* (1870), ii, 224.
[2] Ordnance Survey Maps.

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River Thames in that part which encircles the area has also yielded a British shield and spear at Day's Lock ;[1] two bronze spear-heads, while making a new lock in 1871 ;[2] human bones in the Oxfordshire bank, 6 ft. below the surface, south of the eyot at Day's Lock in 1864 ;[3] and a Celtic buckler and bronze dagger in the river at the site of the ancient ford at the junction of the two rivers in 1837.[3] A bronze Saxon buckle of a sword-belt, a spindle-whorl and other objects were found in a mound at the south-east end of the Dikes in 1874,[3] and General Pitt-Rivers found a quartzite pebble rubbed to an obtuse edge at one end and trimmed flakes within the earthworks, and a flint arrow-head has also been found.[3]

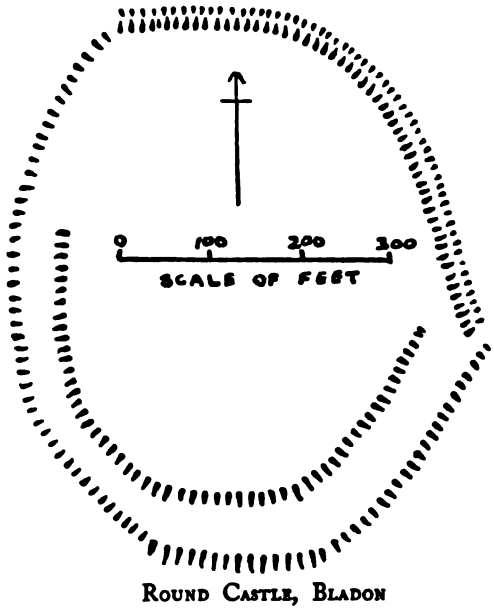
Within the area enclosed by the Dike Hills and the rivers Mr. F. Haverfield has noticed in the crops marks of circles and rectangles which in other places in the vicinity have proved to be the sites of pre-Roman and Roman settlements.[4]

On the Berkshire side of the Thames, opposite to the Dike Hills, are the Sinodun Hills, the summit of one of which is crowned by a hill fort.

FORTRESSES ON HILL-TOPS FOLLOWING THE LINE OF THE HILL

(Class B)

Bladon.—In the woods on Bladon Heath are the remains of an earthwork, called locally 'Round Castle,' which would seem to fall into this class although the hill on which it is situated is low. Round its summit, but now difficult to trace owing to the plantation which covers it, are the remains of two lines of entrenchments. Of the higher only a portion remains, but this is better preserved than the second line below it, which is slight. The average height of the bank of the upper line is 5 ft. from the top to the bottom of the fosse.



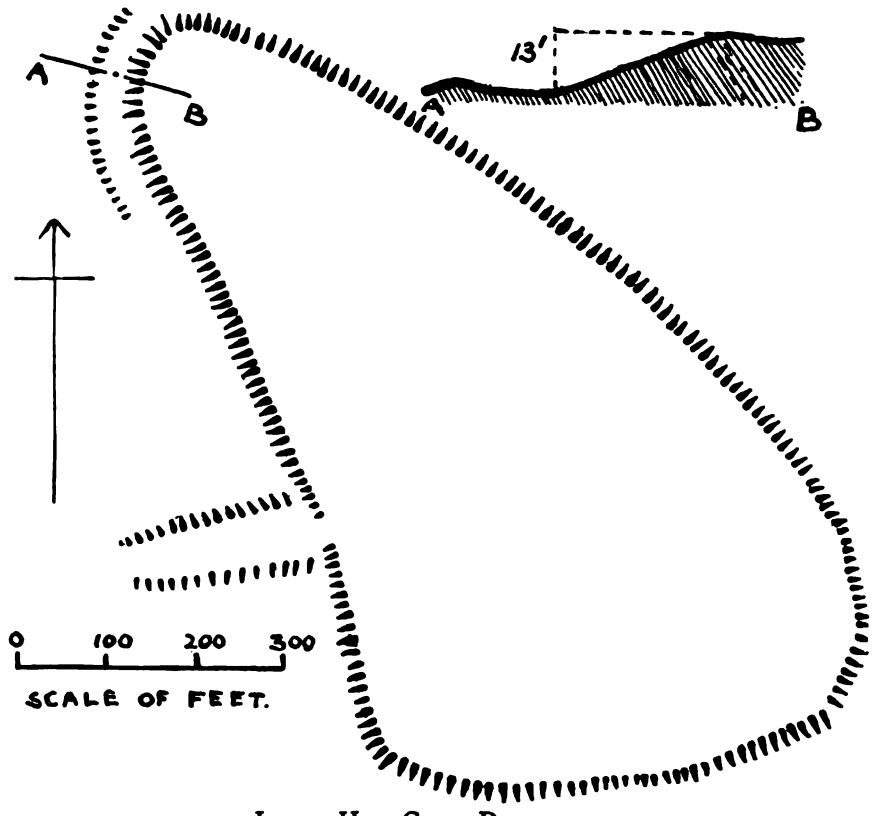
Round Castle, Bladon

Deddington : Ilbury.—A quarter of a mile due south of the hamlet of Hempton is Ilbury Hill, a pear-shaped formation, the narrow portion pointing north-west. Along the foot of the western side runs a stream, and the slope of the hill is much steeper on that side than on the other. The 400-ft. contour line runs round the hill just below the summit. The long axis, which lies north-west and south-east, is 1,050 ft. long and the width of the top of the hill at its broadest part is 500 ft. A single line of scarping runs

[1] Ordnance Survey Maps.
[2] 'Notes on Prehistoric and Roman Dorchester,' by William Cozens, *Berks. Bucks. and Oxon. Arch. Journ.* (new ser.), iv, 78.
[3] *Stone Implements*, Sir J. Evans.
[4] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.), xviii, 15.

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round the hill following its shape. The height of the bank varies, and has been much reduced on the eastern side by ploughing, but is distinctly traceable all the way round. It is best preserved on the western side where the ground is not cultivated and a hedge has been planted along it. At the north-west point (section A–B) the bank is 13 ft. high on the outside and 1 ft. 6 ins. on the inside. There is here a slight trace of a ditch 13 ft. wide, the outer bank rising 1 ft. 6 ins and then falling with the natural slope of the hill. The entrance is on the western side, and from it there appears to have been a way made down the slope of the hill to the brook.

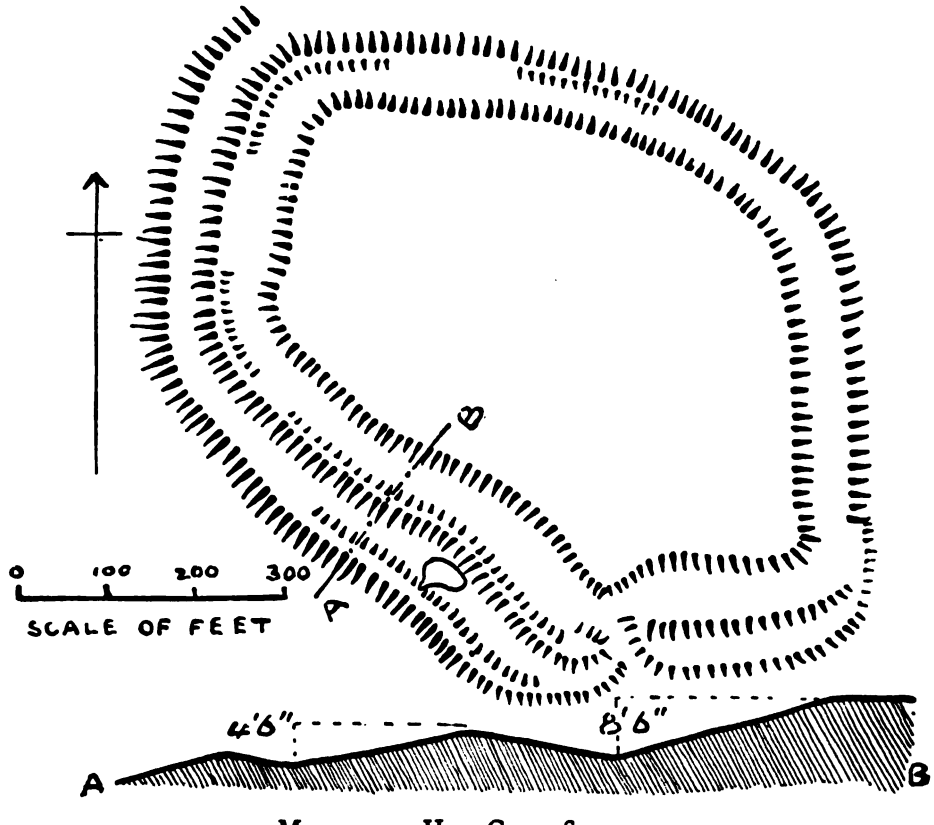


Ilbury Hill Camp, Deddington

Swalcliffe : Madmarston.—About 300 yds. due north of Swalcliffe mill a truncated conical hill rises from low-lying meadows through which runs the stream which works the mill, surrounded by other hills of similar height. The top of the hill is a flat plateau, the axis east and west being 550 ft., and that north and south at the longest part 450 ft. Round the summit run lines of entrenchments, apparently originally three in number. The top of the hill is ploughed, and this no doubt has destroyed the vallum round the summit, supposing one to have originally existed. The planting of a hedge round the top of the second line on the east side has obscured the fosse there. The three lines are traceable on the south and west, but the lowest ceases at a hedge at the north-west corner. The other two lines can still be traced all round. The most perfect remains of the triple work are at the south-west. The uppermost ditch there is 8 ft. 6 ins. below the summit ; the second bank rises from it and drops 4 ft. 6 ins. into the second ditch. The entrance is on the south, and here the works have been carried down the slope of the hill and turned inwards, the lowest of the lines here being on the 500-ft. contour line. The works of the entrance still exist, although a plantation which now covers this part of the hill makes it difficult to trace them. About a quarter of a mile due south of the camp and in a line with its entrance on rising ground on the opposite side of the stream formerly stood a round barrow, now destroyed, and also on that side of the stream three stone

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cists have been disinterred, each containing a skeleton at full length, face downwards.[1] The barrow was opened before it was destroyed and was found to contain ashes and burnt fragments of wood, but had apparently been previously disturbed.[1]



MADMARSTON HILL CAMP, SWALCLIFFE

FORTRESSES ON HIGH GROUND BUT NOT DEPENDENT ON NATURAL SLOPES

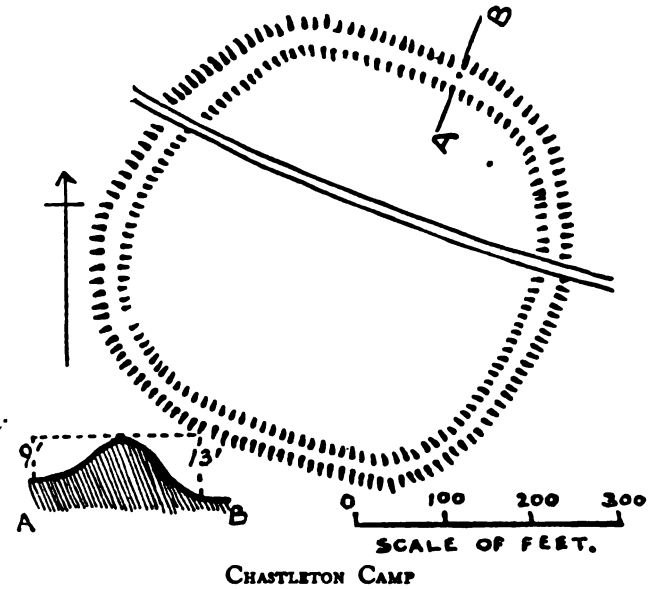
(CLASS B—*continued*)

CHASTLETON.—On Chastleton Hill, which forms the south-western end of the long high ridge on which stand the Rollrich Stones, which are three miles to the north-east, is a roughly circular camp called locally 'Chastleton Barrow.' Along the summit of this ridge is an old trackway—in this part the road to Stow-on-the-Wold—which in the other direction runs past the stones, through Tadmarton Camp and by Banbury to Northampton, as described under Tadmarton Camp. About a quarter of a mile to the west of this trackway and in about the middle of the ground forming Chastleton Hill at an altitude of 700 ft. above sea-level is situated the camp. It consists of a single rampart of the uniform height of 9 ft. and 13 ft. on the interior and exterior respectively, covered with turf and planted with trees. The enclosed area is ploughed. The diameter of the rough circle described by the rampart is 450 ft. A bridle road runs through it, probably by its original entrances

[1] 'The Camp of Madmarston and its Ancient Town,' by A. B. Rye, *Trans. N. Oxf. Arch. Soc.* 1853–5.

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as there are no other openings in the rampart. Excavations were made here by Messrs. E. W. Brabrook, A. White, and J. E. Price, and described by the last-named in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1881. The report states that the ramparts are formed of blocks of oolite, the natural stone of the district. In making sections of the ramparts deposits of pottery, burnt bones (all so broken as to suggest that they were used for the purpose of food) and charcoal, a bone awl made of the tibia of a small animal, a flint flake, burnt pebbles and various burnt shells were discovered. The explorers' description of the camp as rectangular appears to be an error, and their suggestion that it is of Roman origin seems to lack evidence.[1]



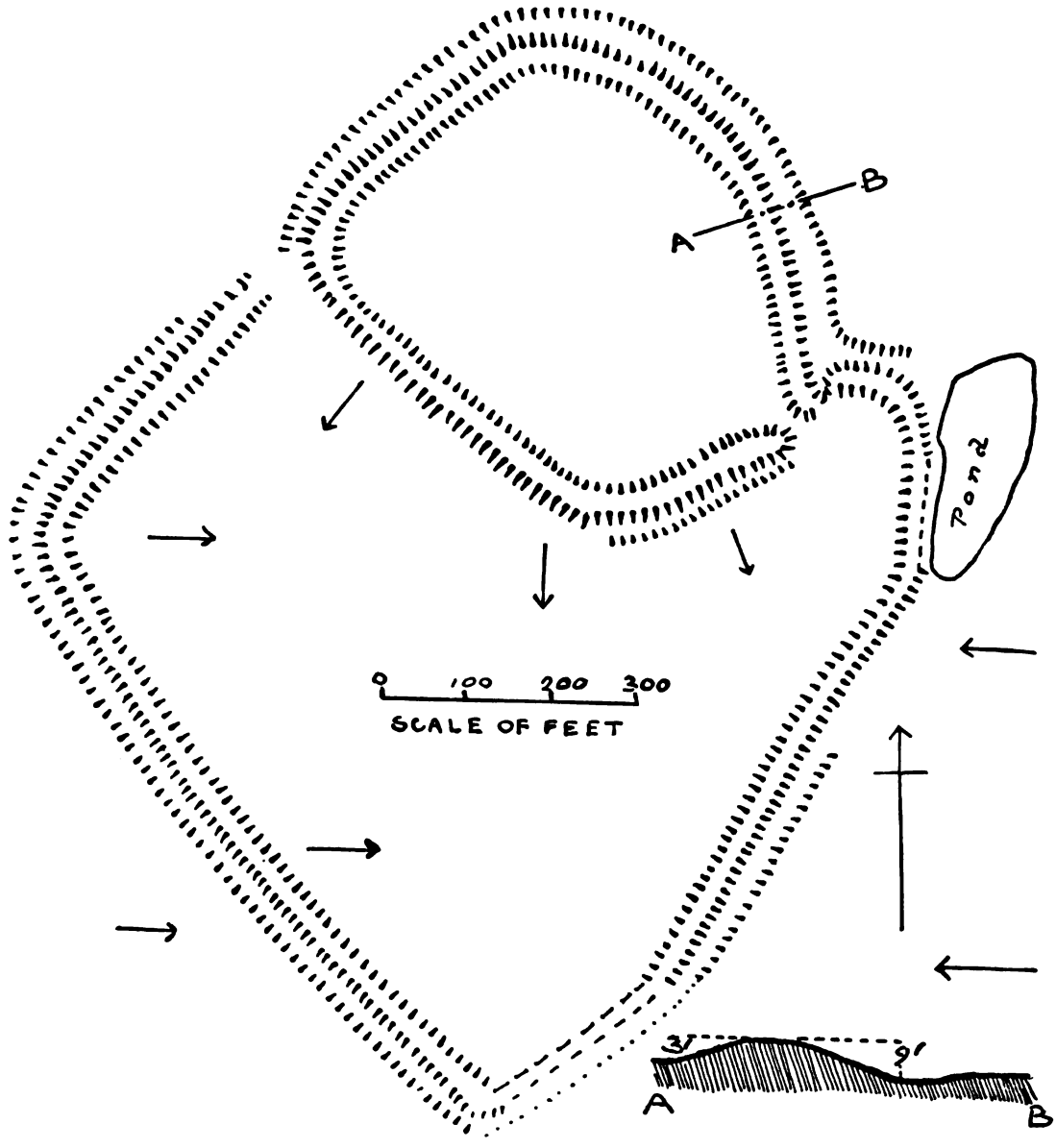
CHASTLETON CAMP

EYNSHAM.—In Eynsham Hall Park is an interesting earthwork of somewhat unusual character. In Woodley's Copse, a small wooded enclosure in the centre of the park, at the head of a shallow natural defile leading from the south and represented on the Ordnance Survey Map by the 300-ft. contour line, is an irregular-shaped earthwork consisting of a single rampart which rises on an average 3 ft. from the level of the enclosed area and falls 9 ft. into the ditch, which is of depth varying from 2 ft. to 4 ft. below the level of the outside ground. The entrance was at the south-east corner. The south-west and south-east sides conform to the contour of the ground, which slopes into the valley. The ground to the north of the camp is for some distance practically level, while the summit of the rising ground on each side of the valley at the end of which the camp stands is somewhat higher than the work itself. Looking at this part of the earthwork alone it would appear to be a defensive work against any approach from the south under cover of the small valley. From this, however, runs a second line of embankment which has the appearance of an addition to the original work. This bank is only 3 ft. high throughout its course, the ditch on the exterior is very slight and all round its course it has higher ground without than within. It leaves the earthwork first described at the south-east corner so as to include the entrance and turns to the south and then south-west, following the lowest ground of the valley until this turns a little eastward. At this point the planting of a spinney has destroyed the bank, but here it turns at right-angles to the north-west and ascends the rising ground until it reaches the level of the interior of the smaller work, towards which it then makes another turn. It does not, however, quite join it, and it may be that this gap represents the entrance. The slight character of this bank and its position with regard to the ground levels make it unlikely that it was part of a defensive scheme. It has more the appearance of an enclosure for cattle,

[1] *Journ. Anth. Inst.* x, 124; Rolleston's *Scientific Papers*, i, 460.

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but its situation in relation to the camp is in this case curious, for it is on that side of it on which apparently an attack was to have been met. It is, too, dominated by higher ground, while on the other sides of the camp is high ground on which such a protective enclosure could have been made. The suggestion which would meet with least objection would be that it was made as an addition to the original work as a place for securing cattle after the need for the latter as a place to meet an attack from this particular direction



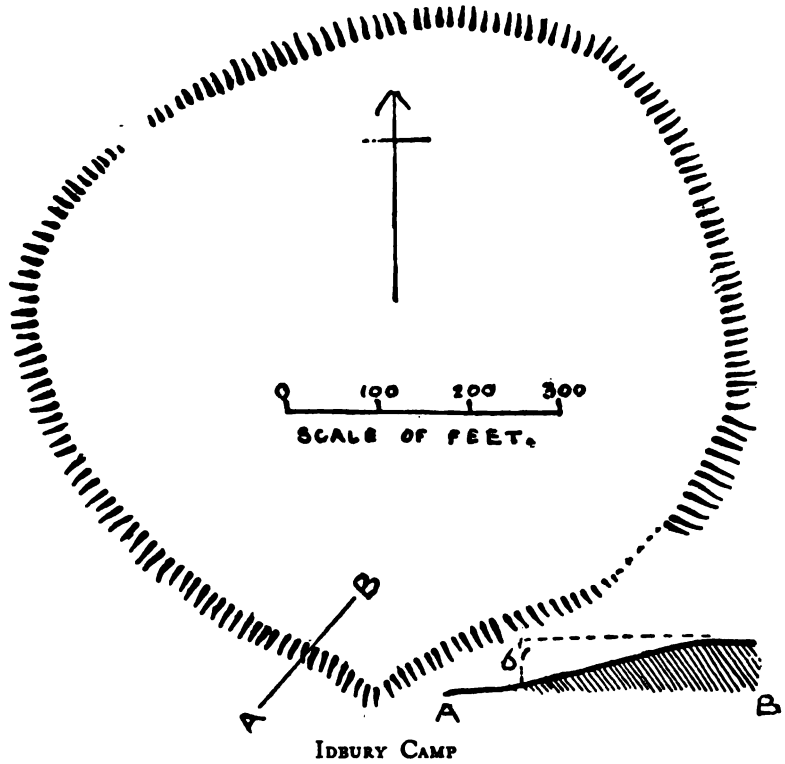
EYNSHAM CAMP

had passed away. A small pond just below the entrance to the camp fed by a stream from the north suggests the original water supply, but, if so, it is curious that it has been left outside the second enclosure, but the pond itself may be of later construction and the stream may originally have been led within the bank. The arrows on the plan indicate by their direction the fall of the ground and will help to make the situation clearer. About three-quarters of a mile to the north-east was a small circular camp now destroyed, and about

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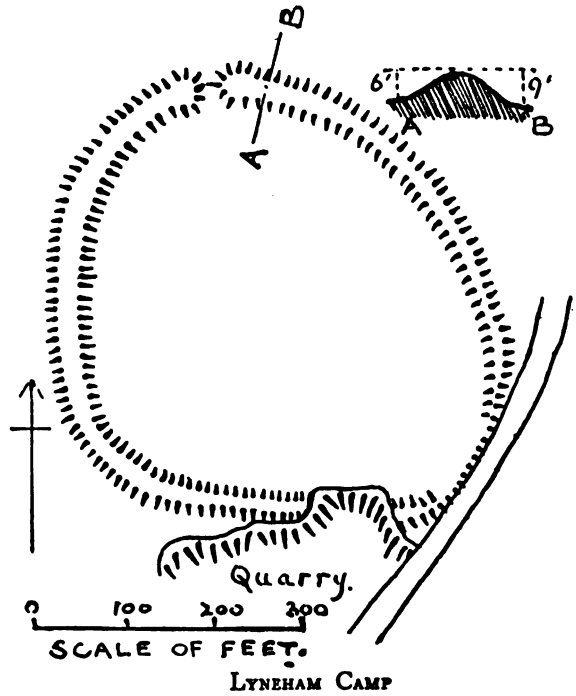
the same distance to the north-west is a small line of entrenchment, both of which are referred to under the headings for those classes.

IDBURY.—Half a mile to the south-west of the village of Idbury and on the north of the road from the village at its junction with that from Stow-on-the-Wold is a roughly circular camp, the diameter of which is 700 ft. It lies on the edge of a tongue of high ground which falls on all sides save the north and north-west. The altitude is given on the Ordnance Map as 646 ft. The ground is under the plough and the work is very much reduced thereby. It consisted apparently of a single bank, with the entrance on the north-west.



IDBURY CAMP

LYNEHAM.—In the parish of Lyneham but situated by the side of the Chipping Norton road, one and a quarter miles north-east of the village, is a roughly oval camp consisting of a single rampart 9 ft. and 6 ft. high on its exterior and interior respectively, without a fosse. It is situated on the edge of a hill which falls from an altitude of 679 ft. above sea-level to 317 ft. at the River Evenlode, two miles distant. The hill forms a spur from the plateau and falls on all sides save the north and overlooks miles of country. A quarry has been cut into the rampart on the south, and the sections which have there been disclosed show that it is made of earth, although the soil of the district is so full of rubble that it has the appearance rather of having been constructed of small stones. In 1842 several human skeletons were found in this quarry, and human bones were also found close to the

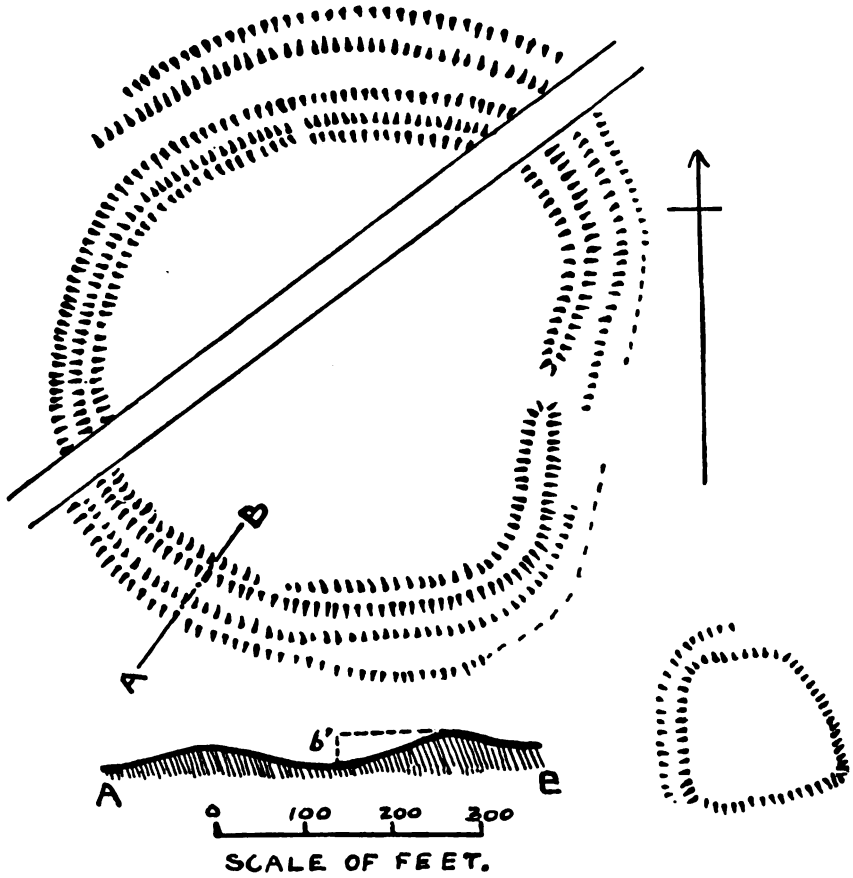


LYNEHAM CAMP

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camp in 1875.[1] Two Saxon spear-heads, similar to the one found in the long barrow which stands on the edge of the hill 350 yds. to the south-west were found in 1884, when some trees were planted at the north-east corner of the camp.[2] The entrance is on the north side. Locally the work is known as 'The Roundabout.'

TADMARTON.—This camp is situated on Tadmarton Heath, one and a quarter miles due south of the village and two miles due south of the camp on Madmarston Hill. It stands on the highest part of Tadmarton Heath, but its shape is independent of the ground, which is level for about a quarter of a mile to the west, north, and east, and then falls gradually. The Ordnance Survey Map gives an altitude of 641 ft. for the centre of the camp. In shape it is roughly circular, the eastern side, where is the entrance, being compressed. The diameter taken south-west and north-east is 550 ft. There is a double line of vallum. The inner is well preserved throughout, but the outer disappears on the eastern side near the entrance. A road cuts through the camp, and its area on the north-west side of this has been planted as a fox-covert, but the works are still distinct, excepting on the west, where the outer vallum has been destroyed by the planting of a modern hedge. On this side of the road the height of the inner vallum is 4 ft. above the area of the camp and 7 ft. above the ditch, the width of which varies, but averages about 40 ft. from bank to bank. The outer vallum rises 2 ft. from the ditch on this side of the work, but is 37 ft. wide, with a flat top, and has a second ditch of similar width to the inner. The outward bank of this second ditch is 3 ft. high, and beyond it appears to be level ground, which is so thickly grown with bracken, however, that it is difficult to tell whether there was originally a third vallum. The area of the camp on the south-east of the road is still open heath, and the works here are easier to trace. The inner vallum rises on an average 3 ft. from the surface of the area and drops



TADMARTON HEATH CAMP

[1] *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon. Arch. Journ.* (new ser.), iv, 23. [2] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.), xv, 408.

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5 ft. into the ditch, which on the south side is 50 ft. wide from bank to bank. The outer vallum is 3 ft. high. This is much narrower than it is on the north side, and although it appears to expand in width on the south this is probably due to a modern cart-track to the neighbouring farm being run up and along it at this point. There is no trace of an outer ditch on the south and east sides. There is a break in the inner vallum on the north side suggesting a second entrance, but this may be modern.

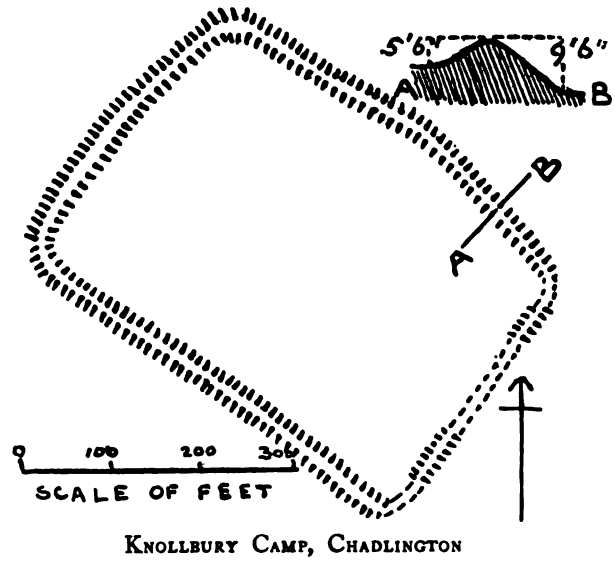
At the south-east of the camp and at a distance of 150 ft. from the outer vallum there is a small work of irregular form. The western side, running north and south, is 150 ft.; its northern side is 100 ft.; its eastern, 200 ft.; and its southern, 150 ft. It was apparently surrounded by a ditch which still remains in a slight form on the west and north. It is a much slighter work than the camp and forms a small platform 3 ft. above the ground level on the south and east and the bottom of the ditch on the north and west, being one foot higher than the surrounding ground on the two latter sides. There is no trace of a bank and it was probably a small stockaded enclosure.

The road which traverses the camp is an old trackway which runs from Northampton, by Hunsbury Camp and other earthworks in that county, crosses the Cherwell at Banbury, passes over Tadmarton Heath, turning due west about a quarter of a mile past the camp and, running close to a smaller camp now destroyed, continues past the Rollrich Stones, where it runs between the circle and the outlying monolith, passes close to Chastleton camp and joins the Fosse Way to Cirencester. The fact that it cuts through the camp on Tadmarton Heath may be taken as evidence that the latter existed at the making of the road.

RECTANGULAR OR OTHER SIMPLE ENCLOSURES, INCLUDING FORTS AND TOWNS OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD

(Class C)

Chadlington: Knollbury.—This is a rectangular earthwork on the north side of the road from Churchill to Chadlington and about one mile north-west of the latter village. It is on the side of a hill sloping south-east and consists of a single bank with no trace of a ditch. Its form is that of a parallelogram, the major axis, which lies north-west to south-east, being 500 ft. and the minor 300 ft. It is characteristic of the rectangular earthworks in this county that they are laid out so that their sides run north-west to south-east and south-west to north-east, as in this case. The banks here are covered with turf, although the enclosed area and the field are

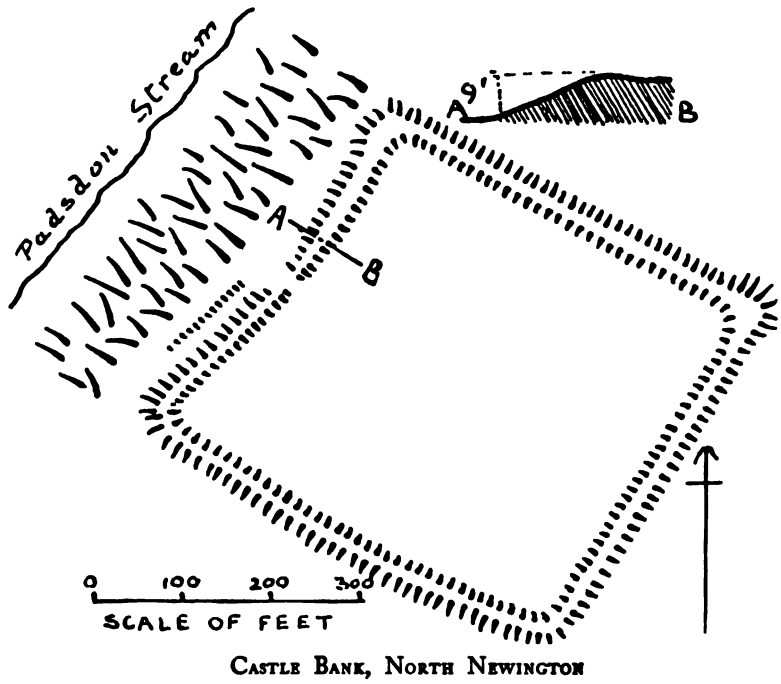


Knollbury Camp, Chadlington

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ploughed, and they are well preserved excepting that on the south-east, of which only two fragments remain. The entrance was probably on this side as there is no trace of an opening in any other. The north-east side is bowed outwards at about half its course. The Ordnance Survey 551-ft. mark is at the north corner. The ground within the area is level and is rather higher than that without. An idea that the banks are built of stones is probably due to the stony nature of the soil which is full of rubble, as at Lyneham Camp.

Cornbury Park.—On the eastern side of the park on the high ground above the River Evenlode are the remains of three small earthworks (see map of course of Grim's Ditch 'A'). The first is at the north-east corner of the park, close to the wall nearest to the town of Charlbury. Parts of three rectangular sides remain. The complete side runs north-west to south-east and is 270 ft. in length, consisting of a small bank, 3 ft. 3 in. high on the exterior and 2 ft. on the interior, with a ditch which is 2 ft. below the outside ground. At the north and south ends the bank turns at right angles to the north-east and is continued on the north for about 50 ft., and on the south for 200 ft. On the north and east the ground falls rapidly. At about 180 yds. south-east of this there is a small tumulus. About half a mile south of this work are the remains of another, similar in structure to the one just described, and with its sides conforming to the same compass directions. In this case the south-east side is complete and is 100 ft. in length, the bank being 3 ft. high both on the exterior and interior. The entrance was apparently in the centre of this. It has a ditch on the exterior. This bank turns at right angles north-west at each end for a short distance only, both ending abruptly without any apparent reason. On the east the ground falls rapidly to the river and on the opposite side of the valley on the bank above the railway the Grim's Ditch comes to an apparent end pointing straight for the broken ends of the earthwork. At a distance of 250 yds. south of this work is another and a larger tumulus. The third earthwork is 130 yds. south-west of this tumulus and consists of a ditch 3 ft. 6 in. deep running north-west to south-east for 250 ft. At the south end it turns north-east at rather an obtuse angle and can be traced for about 100 ft. (see map of Grim's Ditch 'A').



Castle Bank, North Newington

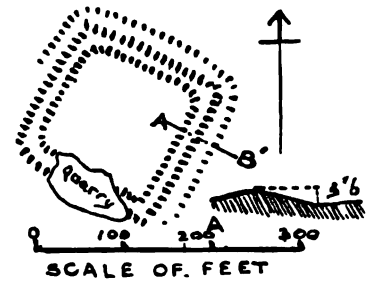
North Newington: Castle Bank.—About three-quarters of a mile north-west of the village and nearer Wroxton is a simple rectangular enclosure

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called 'Castle Bank.' It is 570 yds. to the west of the road from Wroxton to North Newington at the point where French's Buildings stand. It is on level ground but on the edge of a small ravine or 'bottom.' It consists of a single bank which is well preserved on the north-west side, where its height on the exterior is 9 ft. Along the top of this bank runs the hedge of the field in which the remainder of the earthwork is situated, and as this is arable the work is being rapidly reduced and even where it is most distinct the bank is only 2 ft. 6 ins. high on the exterior and 1 ft. 6 ins. on the inside. The south-west side, which is slightly bowed outwards, is 500 ft. long, the remaining sides are 450 ft. each, that on the north-west being slightly bowed inwards. On this side there are slight traces which suggest that an outer ditch may have existed, but a footpath runs along its site on this side and if so has probably obliterated it, while the plough has destroyed it on the remaining sides. On this side the ground falls steeply to a small stream called Padsdon Springs. The entrance was in the middle of this side, nearest, as is often found to be the case, to the water supply. The 500-ft. contour line runs along this side of the work.

PIDDINGTON: MUSWELL HILL.—On the summit of Muswell Hill, which rises 392 ft. above the level of the village of Piddington, the Ordnance Survey altitude at the top being 649 ft., and which commands a most extensive view on all sides but the south, where it is intercepted by Brill Hill, is a rectangular enclosure named 'The Wilderness' and popularly called a Roman camp. It consists of a single bank forming a square, the sides of which are 250 ft. in length and the height of which is 2 ft. 6 ins. above the interior and 4 ft. 9 ins. on the exterior. The sides run due north to south and east to west. The whole space is turf-grown and the banks are admirably preserved and have certainly not the appearance of antiquity. It is difficult to look upon this as a defensive structure. The hill juts out into the plain northwards in a commanding promontory, but it is not on this that the work is placed. Neither is it on the highest part of the hill, the 600-ft. contour line running along the eastern side, and the higher ground on the south slopes down to a level with the top of the bank on that side, which has, therefore, no exterior slope at this point, and the interior of the area is absolutely dominated from the outside.

SPELSBURY.—There is a small square earthwork in this parish although three miles from the village to the south-east. It is two miles due east of the town of Charlbury and 270 yds. north of the road from that place to Woodstock, in a field south-east of Ash Copse. Its sides are only 130 ft. in length, and there is a single bank which has a fall of 3 ft. 6 ins. into a shallow ditch which can be traced on two sides and part of a third. The south-west side has been dug into, apparently for quarrying. Like other rectangular works in this county its sides run north-west to south-east and south-west to north-east. It is within the area of the Grim's Ditch and is to be compared with the small works in Cornbury Park, which would seem to have some connexion with the Ditch. It may further be noted that both this work and those in Cornbury Park are

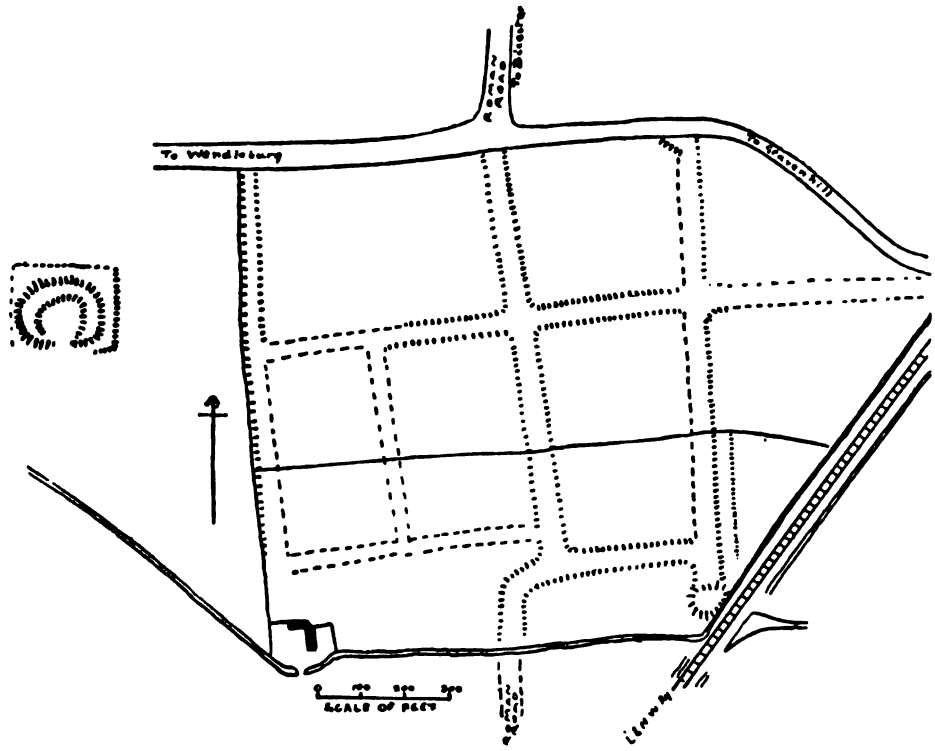


CAMP NEAR ASH COPSE, SPELSBURY

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the same distance (just under two miles) north of the Roman road, the Akeman Street.

WENDLEBURY : ALCHESTER.—The most extensive Roman site at present traceable in this county is that of the station Alchester, situated in the parish of Wendlebury, one and a quarter miles south of Bicester, opposite the point where the road from that town to Oxford makes a sharp turn to the west. The road to this point is the Roman Way, which continued straight on through the centre of the station and can still be traced to Dorchester-on-Thames. The greater part of the site is, unfortunately, cultivated, but the course of the raised ways through it can still be traced by the low banks which vary in height above the ground from 15 ins. in some places to 3 ft. in others. In that part of the field where they have been destroyed, shown by the dotted lines on the plan, their course can still be laid down, as it is possible to note



ALCHESTER CAMP, WENDLEBURY

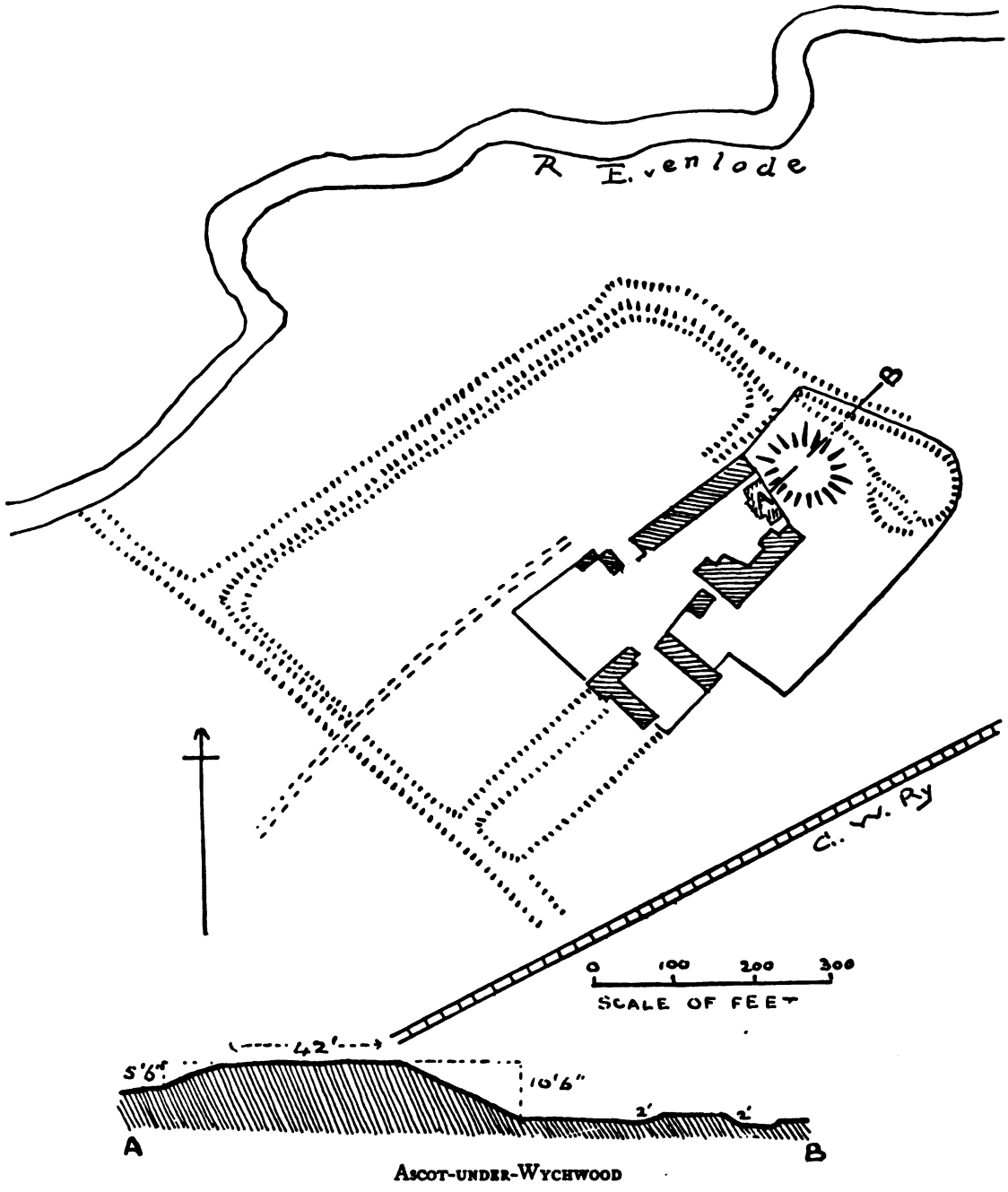
where they commenced by the breaks in the other banks, and the direction of the furrows has been changed to run parallel with them. At the south-east corner there is a mound 4 ft. 9 ins. high, and at the north-east corner there are the remains of another over which the hedge of the field has been carried. In the meadow to the west of the site, 80 yds. from it, is a roughly circular mound 200 ft. in diameter, and apparently rising from within a square base, called 'The Castle.' Excavations have shown that this covers the remains of a Roman building. We are only concerned here with the remains of the station falling under the classification of Earthworks, and it must be sufficient to state that Roman remains in the shape of foundations, coins, pottery, and other articles have been found all over the site, together with many human skeletons.

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FORTIFIED MOUNTS WITH TRACES OF ONE OR MORE ATTACHED COURTS OR BAILEYS

(Class E)

I have found no examples of class D, that is of the simple mount with an encircling ditch or fosse, in this county. All the fortified mounts which



Ascot-under-Wychwood

now exist either have or have had one or more courts attached, and therefore fall under class E. In three of the examples given the type is not very pronounced, and it is possible that we see it in a stage of transition. At the same time it has appeared to be sufficiently traceable to warrant their inclusion in this class. At Chipping Norton the mount is of such a size and

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shape as to present the appearance rather of a raised court than a simple mount. At Deddington it presents the appearance of a mount from the eastern sides only, its height on the western sides being very little above that of the adjoining court, while at Mixbury it has practically been reduced to a corner tower in the rampart.

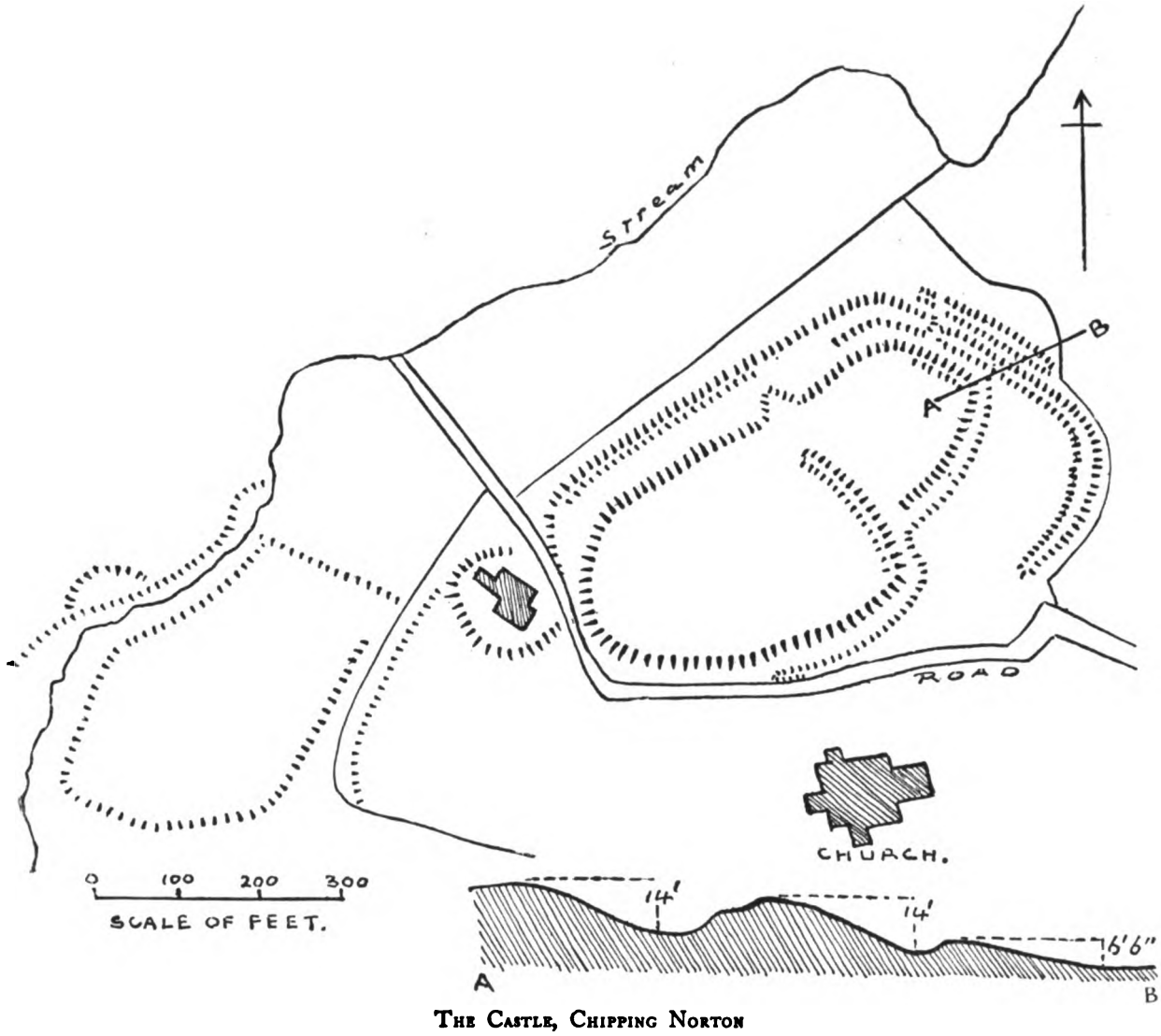
ASCOT-UNDER-WYCHWOOD.—In the grounds of the Manor House is a circular mound, the summit of which is 42 ft. across in the direction shown in the section on the accompanying plan, and 46 ft. along the diameter at right angles to this. The average height is 8 ft., being highest (10 ft.) on the east, where a broad ditch separates it from a broad raised court, and lowest (5 ft. 6 ins.) on the west, where the ground has apparently been made up at or since the erection of the adjoining buildings. The bank and ditch of a large court remain in the adjacent field on the north-west side. The return at the east corner near the mound suggests that it did not include it, and the farm buildings and yards have destroyed all traces of the return of the ditch to the mount on the south. There was apparently, however, from the remains of a shallow bank between the ditch and the railway on this side, a second ditch which would appear to have joined that to the east of the mount and so have enclosed the whole work. Its further course has, however, been destroyed by the gardens of the house.

BANBURY: CASTLE GARDENS.—Banbury Castle, which dated from the Norman period, was totally demolished after the Civil War in the seventeenth century, and no plan, drawing, or detailed description made before its destruction is known. Its site is now occupied by gardens and by streets of houses, but a careful study of the ground with the aid of a plan of the property made in 1685, after the ground had apparently been cleared of buildings,[1] leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with a fortress which was in its origin of the mount or mount and bailey type. The making of streets and the cutting of the canal through the site have destroyed much of the evidence of the ground, but it is possible, from traces found in digging for draining and building, to lay down the course of the outer moat. It appears to have had four roughly equal rectangular sides enclosing a space of about seven acres. In the centre of this area is a mound 9 ft. above the ground-level at its base, now occupied by a rather ruinous cottage built at the demolition of the Castle on to the only remaining portion of its wall. This mound, according to the plan above referred to, was surrounded by a ditch now filled in, but the course of which was apparently immediately round the base of the mound and enclosing an area of 3 roods 3 poles. At the south-west corner the mound is now disguised by the streets which run up to it, but the ground here has been partly made up in recent times, while the road from the Market Place was the original roadway into the Castle. On the other sides its form is quite distinct. The mound is probably mainly natural, but increased or emphasized artificially. The regularity of the outer moat, which is square and runs at equal distances on all sides from the inner work, does not correspond with the usual character of the baileys in this class of fortress, and leads to the suggestion whether it does not represent a later extension of the original Castle, which may have been of the simple mount type, or have had a small bailey attached which was destroyed in the later work.

[1] Printed in Beesley's *Hist. of Banbury*, 64.

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CHIPPING NORTON: THE CASTLE.—This consists of a large and high mound 500 ft. long by 250 ft. in the widest part, standing from 14 ft. to 20 ft. above the surrounding fosse, and divided by a small bank, which runs three-quarters of its width across, into two unequal courts. Excepting a small piece at the north-east end there is no trace of a raised bank round the edge of the mound, the ground on the top of which is very uneven, as though it covered the remains of destroyed buildings. On the ground on the east below the mound another court is enclosed by a bank which rises 6 ft. on the

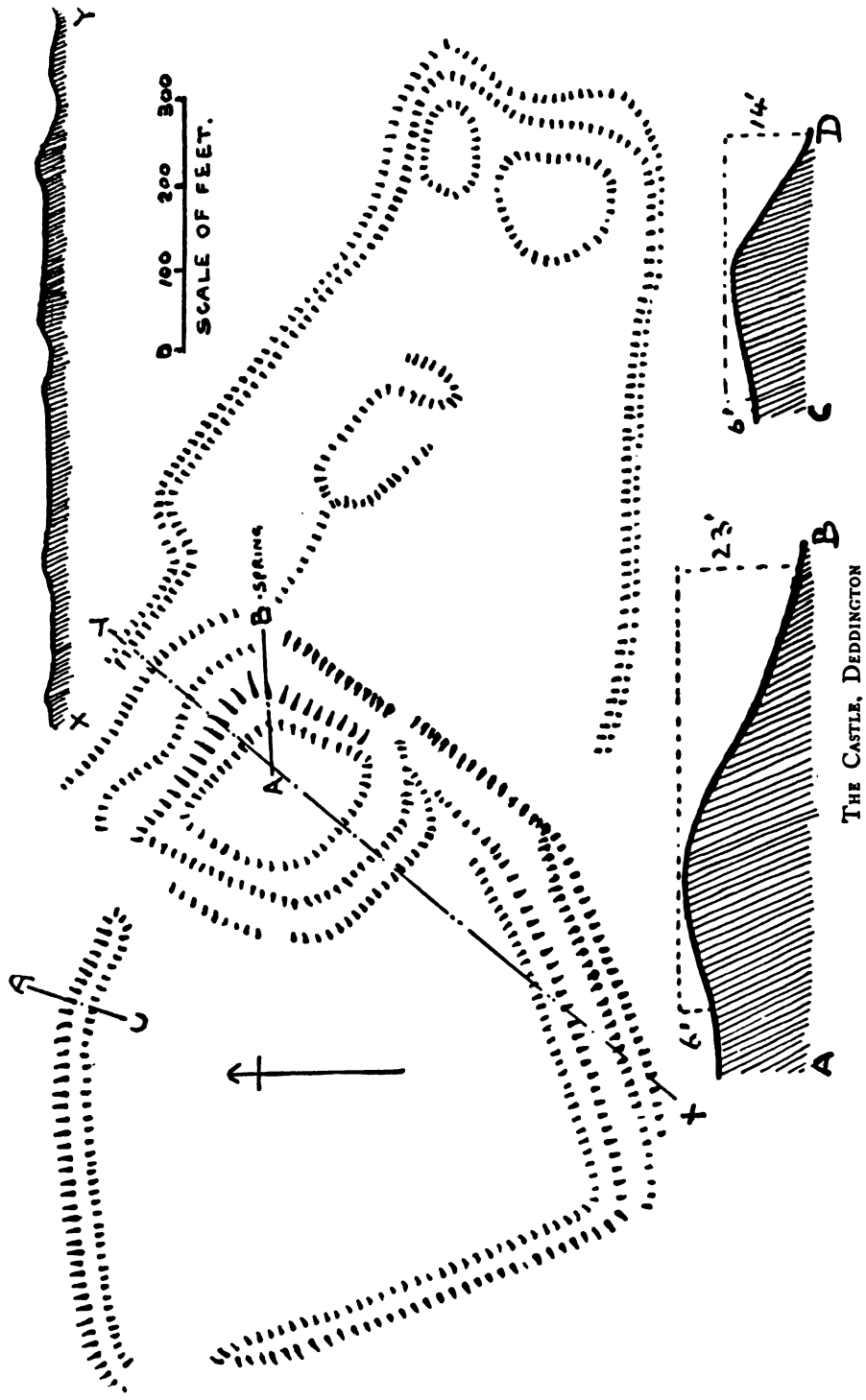


THE CASTLE, CHIPPING NORTON

interior and joins the fosse round the mound at the north-east end, where its exterior altitude is 14 ft. At this point there is a third bank which rises 1 ft. 3 ins. from the second ditch, and falls 6 ft. 6 ins. to the ground outside. At this point the summit of the castle mound is, therefore, 27 ft. 3 ins. above the exterior ground. The ground at this point and on the north-west slopes to the level of the stream. At the south-west end it also falls steeply to the stream-level, and here 20 ft. below the summit of the mound is what appears to be a small natural spur of the hill, on which a modern residence has now been built, but which originally may have been incorporated in the work.

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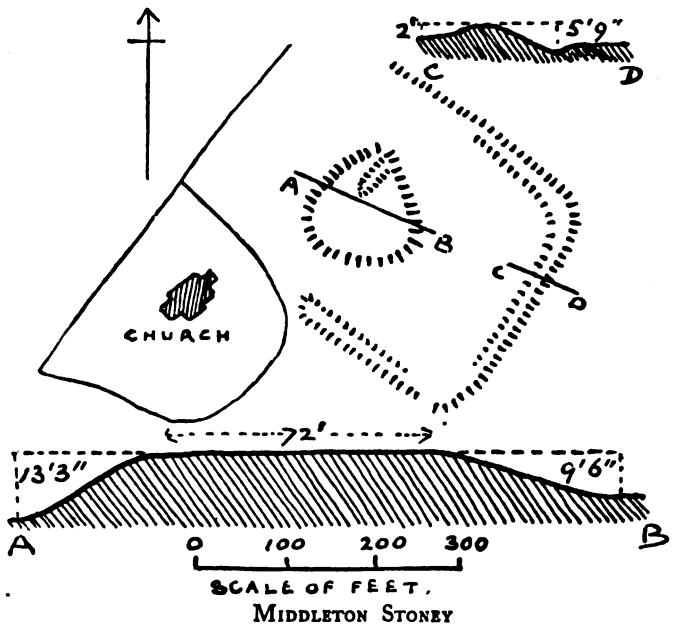
Below the foot of this and the stream are low banks, evidently the remains of a pool. The altitude given by the Ordnance Survey at the stream near these is 500 ft.; on a level with the church south of the Castle it is 597 ft., and a quarter of a mile further east it has risen to 710 ft. The work, therefore, was constructed on the slope of a steep hill, and would be entirely commanded from above.



Deddington. — Here there is an extensive series of banks covering an area of about sixteen acres. In this case the mound, marked on the Ordnance Survey Map 'The Keep,' consists of an irregular shaped court but little higher than the level of the ground in the interior of the court on the west, but rising on its eastern side to a bank 6 ft. above the level of its area and then dropping 23 ft. into the fosse. The general section X-Y on the plan will make its construction clearer. The court on the west is surrounded by a steep bank which on an average is 6 ft. higher on its exterior than interior, and on the south is a secondary bank forming a fosse which is continued round the keep. The bank round the eastern court is much slighter. In the centre of this court there is a depression, evidently

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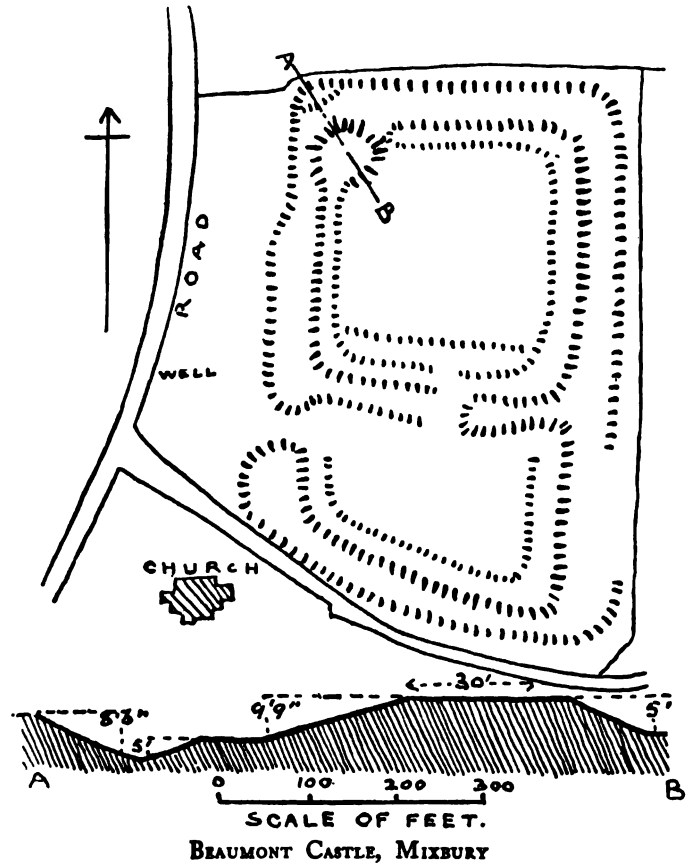
the remains of a pond, and at the far end of it are two others. There is a spring at the western end near the base of the keep. At the bottom of the field adjoining this court on the south are the remains of banks called 'The Fishers,' evidently the remains of fish-ponds. The natural level of the eastern court is lower than that of the western. The entrance would appear to have been from the north near the Keep.



Middleton Stoney

Middleton Stoney.—In the park, near the church, is a pear-shaped mound, which has been cut into at its narrow portion situated north-north-east. It is 13 ft. 3 ins. high at its highest point, and on the east is a court enclosed by a bank and ditch, the latter being outside, and 5 ft. 9 ins. below the top of the former. There are no traces of a continuation of this on the west, where the church enclosure and a modern road have been made.

Mixbury : Beaumont Castle.—This work consists of two courts, the northern of which is regular in shape and practically square, while the south bank of the southern conforms to the course of the adjacent road which runs between it and the church. It is significant to note that this road is part of a footpath which runs from Brackley through Evenley Park, where Roman remains have been found, to the Roman Way which runs from Alchester to the north-east and which it joins at Finmere, two miles east of Mixbury. It was probably therefore in existence before the construction of the castle. The western rampart of the northern court ends on the north in a circular mound, the flat top of which is 30 ft. across. This rises 9 ft. from the bottom of the

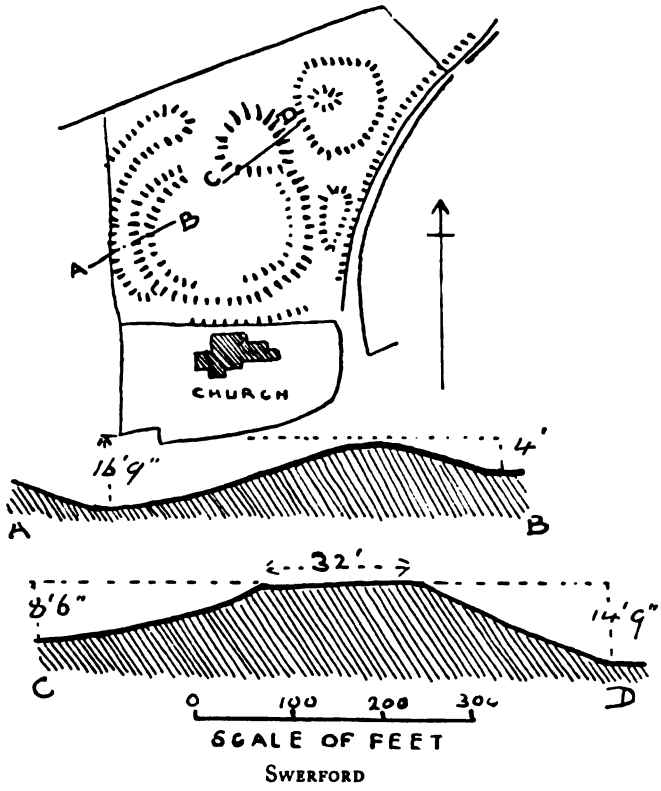


Beaumont Castle, Mixbury

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fosse, but opposite it in the angle of the latter there is a further depression 5 ft. deep, which, however, is probably not ancient. The mound is 5 ft. above the interior of the court. The northern bank does not quite connect with it, giving an appearance of an entrance from the fosse. The main entrance from the outside is at the north-west corner of the southern court, and then into the northern court in the middle of its southern side, a raised way leading it over the fosse which separates the two courts. A short distance from the entrance the ground level of the northern court rises about a foot. The fosse which surrounds both courts is of an average depth of 9 ft. below the top of their banks and 5 ft. below the outside ground. The surface of the ground of the northern court is irregular. There is a well a short distance to the west of the fosse.

Oxford: The Castle.—This was originally a mount and bailey fortress, but all that now remains is the mount, about 65 ft. high above the lowest point of the surrounding ground, which is a conspicuous object by the side of New Road adjacent to the county hall. On this stood the keep of the later stone castle and a stone well-chamber is enclosed below the top of the mound. The site has been so obliterated by the building of the county hall and gaol and streets that it is almost impossible to trace the course of the ditch enclosing the bailey with certainty, but its lines may be fairly conjectured.[1] On the south-west runs one of the many branches of the river which serves here as part of the Oxford Canal, and this may have formed the defence of the castle at this point, the broad ditch commencing on the west of the mound and, encircling the court, joining the stream again on the south. The ditch is now entirely filled up. From the conjectural plan thus laid down it would appear that the original fortress consisted of a mound with a single court on the south-east. The ditch was of unusual width, but was possibly widened to increase the defence of the castle, which lies very low, at a later period.



Swerford

Swerford.—Here is a most interesting little specimen of this type of fortress. Indeed, one might almost be tempted to look upon it as a combination of the classes 'D' and 'E,' or to speak perhaps more accurately, of the development of the latter from the former. It consists of one circular court, the mean diameter of which is 150 ft., surrounded by a ditch, the level

[1] A plan of Oxford Castle will accompany the account of the Castle in the Topographical Section of this history.

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of the court being 16 ft. above the bottom of the latter, which is 6 ft. below the level of the surrounding ground. The court is, therefore, really a mound itself, the summit of which is surrounded by a bank 4 ft. high. On the north, however, where was apparently the entrance, is a smaller mound, the diameter of which is 50 ft. north and south, and which is tapered in shape to join the bank of the court on the east. It rises 8 ft. 6 ins. above the surface of the court. If we look upon the main court as an original mound this looks like a subsidiary one guarding the entrance. On this side the natural ground slopes to a brook about 100 yards distant. On the east are two detached raised platforms, beyond which the ground drops rapidly to the road. The larger of these carries a small mound, 12 ft. in diameter, the top of which is 6 ft. above the bottom of the fosse separating it from the mound at the north of the main court. Its height on the opposite side is 5 ft. 6 ins. above the platform, which owing to the natural fall of the ground at this point is itself 5 ft. high. The church stands on the edge of the ditch on the south, and the latter is rather shallower here, but this may be due to a subsequent filling in. The gardens of the houses on the west and the churchyard on the south have cut into the outer bank of the fosse on these sides.

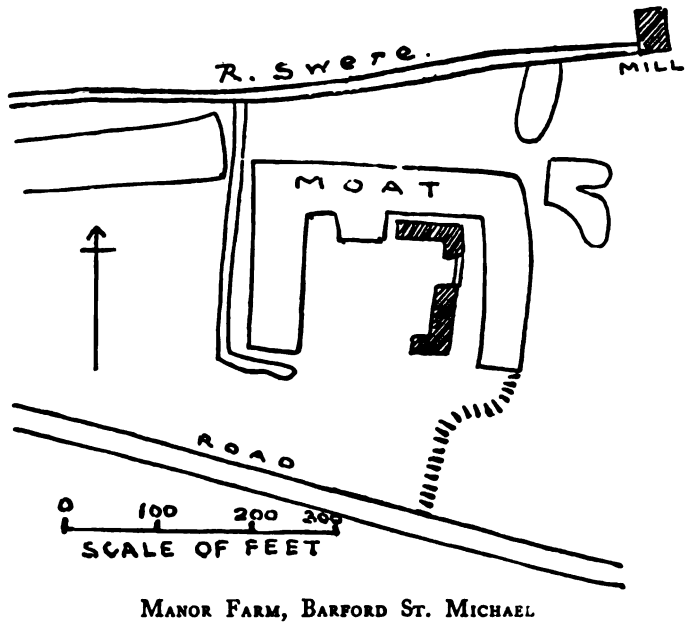
SIMPLE MOATED ENCLOSURES

(Class F)

Ardley.—In Ardley Wood, hidden amid the thick growth, is an oval-shaped enclosure surrounded by a ditch, the average depth of which is 3 ft., enclosing the site of Ardley Castle, now demolished.

Aston Rowant.—At Chalford hamlet in this parish is a rectangular moat enclosing a building, known as Cop Court.

Barford St. Michael.—A moat on three sides of the Manor Farm. It would appear to have formerly extended on the south side from a made-up bank and a feeder from the River Swere. (See plan.)



Manor Farm, Barford St. Michael

Brightwell.—A strip of water abutting the north end of Caldwell Farm buildings may represent the remains of a moat.

Britwell Salome.—A straggling piece of water on the north of the site of the church and castle (supposed) now both destroyed, may have enclosed them in its complete form.

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BROUGHTON.—Complete moat surrounding the Castle.

BUCKNELL.—Remains of moat at Manor House.

CHALGROVE.—Remains of an irregular ditch enclosing the ground in front of Manor Farm.

CHINNOR.—A broad strip of water on the north side of Henton Manor Farm represents the remains of a moat.

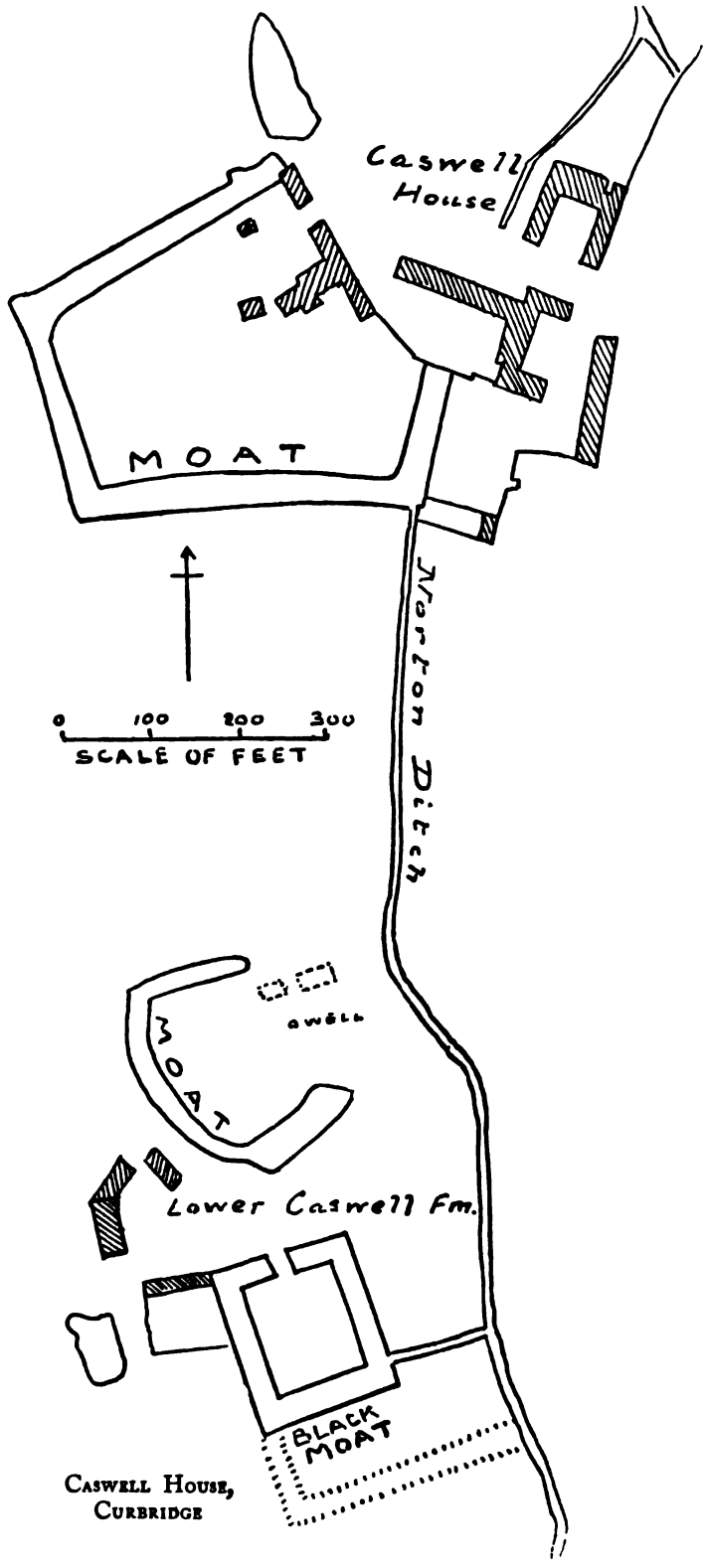
CHISLEHAMPTON.—Remains of irregular moat surrounding site of Camoise Court, formerly a nunnery.

CLANFIELD.—Moat surrounding Friar's Court, on the site of a monastery.

CLATTERCOTE.—Small remains of moat at farmhouse on the site of St. Leonard's Priory.

CROPREDY.—Remains of moat at Prescote Manor.

CURBRIDGE.—There is an interesting series of three moats at Caswell House in this parish. The first is at the house and consists of four sides, having the appearance in the plan of a parallelogram opened out at the north-east corner, in which open space are the present buildings which the moat does not surround. At a distance due south of 170 yds. is a second moat consisting of three irregular sides, also with the open side to the north-east, and on this side until recently stood some buildings. Close to the south of this is a smaller and very regular four-sided moat, called Black Moat, with the entrance over the northern side, and now also devoid of buildings in the interior. From this a dry ditch leads on the south to the Norton Ditch, a small stream which feeds the first and third of the series. There is a well on the open side of the second. (See plan.)



CASWELL HOUSE, CURBRIDGE

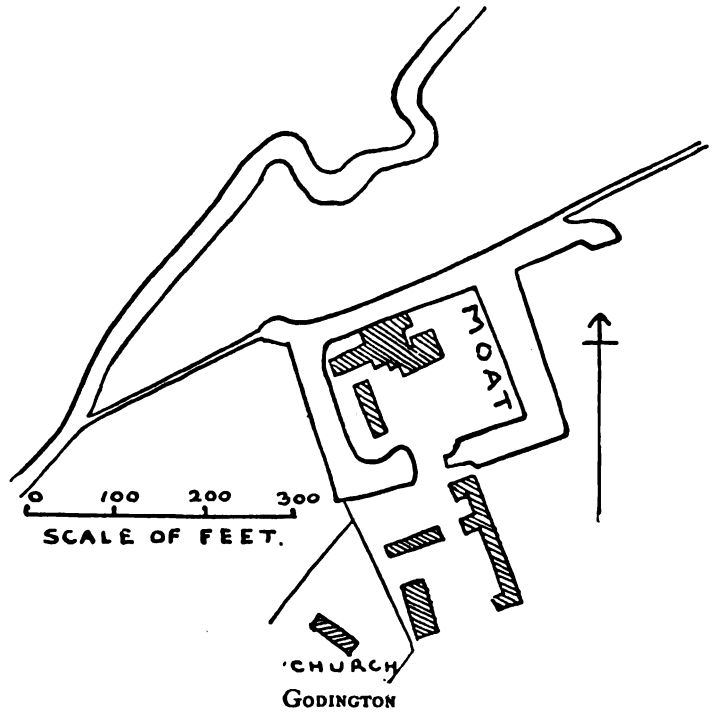
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CUXHAM.—Slight remains of a moat at Manor Farm.

FILKINS.—Three sides of rectangular moat at Moat Farm.

FRINGFORD.—A very slight trace of a moat here at the Manor House, where the name 'Moat Gardens' also perpetuates it. There are likewise remains of three sides of a moat at Cotmore Farm in this parish.

GODINGTON.—A rectangular moat with a short continuation on the north side towards the east and completely enclosing the house and out-houses with entrance from the south. (See plan.)



GODINGTON

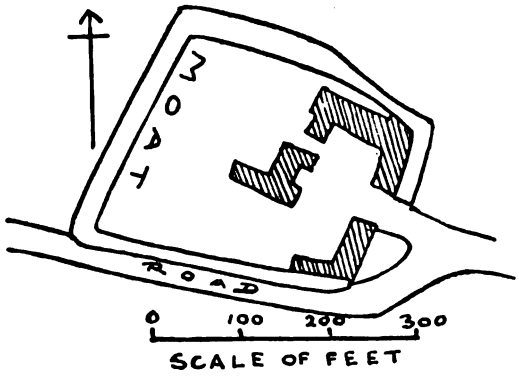
HENLEY.—A straight piece of water on the north of the site of Phillis Court on the banks of the Thames may be part of a moat.

HOLTON.—A rectangular moat on the site of Holton House, now destroyed.

Remains of a moat on the east side of Church Farm in this parish, near the road at the north-east corner of the park.

ISLIP.—Remains of a rectangular moat on the supposed site of Ethelred's Palace.

KIRTLINGTON.—In the centre of the village, in an enclosure between the school and the park wall, is a moat somewhat in the shape of a triangle, 26 ft. across at the narrowest part at the north angle and about four times that width on the east, enclosing an area of about 150 ft. diameter. It is marked on the Ordnance Survey Map as the supposed site of John of Gaunt's castle.



MOOR COURT, LEWKNOR

LEWKNOR.—A rectangular moat completely surrounding the buildings known as Moor Court, with entrance from the east. (See plan.)

NEWTON PURCELL.—Remains of a moat on the east of the village on the site of the house of the Purcells, the buildings of which have been long destroyed.

NORTHMOOR.—A complete rectangular moat with house and buildings inside at Manor Farm.

A ditch fed from the River Windrush encompasses the whole block of buildings and grounds known as Gaunt House in this parish.

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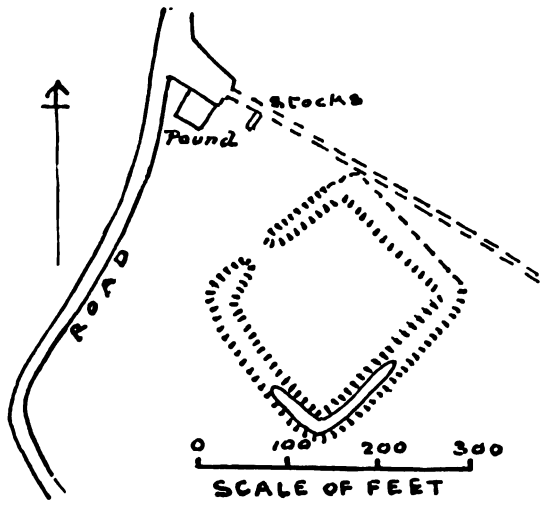
ODDINGTON.—A large irregular ditch west of Oddington Grange, enclosing the site of a monastery.

PYRTON.—On the north of Golder Manor is a small rectangular moat enclosing a space now destitute of buildings.

An irregular piece of water resembling a pool, but called 'The Moat,' is on the east side of Pyrton Manor House.

SHIRBURN.—The castle is still perfect and stands in the centre of a moat, rising straight from the water. It is reached by three bridges over the moat, which on the north side is much broader, and is carried 50 yds. further westward into the grounds.

STANTON HARCOURT.—The Parsonage Farm is surrounded by a moat on the three sides farthest from the village, at the north end of which it stands. On those sides also the garden is enclosed by a secondary moat beyond the one round the house, while a ditch would appear to have formed a third enclosure between these two and the stream running on the west of the house.



STRATTON AUDLEY CASTLE

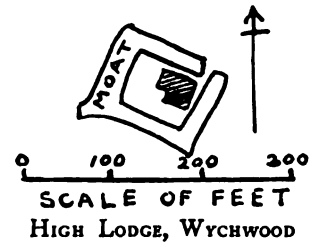
STANTON ST. JOHN.—A planted enclosure called 'The Moat,' in a field south-west of Studley Wood, would appear to cover the remains of a rectangular work.

STRATTON AUDLEY.—A plain rectangular moat enclosing the site of the castle now destroyed, with entrance from the north-west, remains in a field called 'Court Close,' east of the church. The work lies on low ground in the bend of a stream and about half a mile to the east of the Roman Way from Alchester, which is supposed to explain the first part of the name of this village. This situation is, perhaps, worth noting in view of the suggestion that these moated enclosures may mark the sites of more ancient works, and also in this respect is the fact that its plan corresponds as regards its relation to the compass points with those of the rectangular enclosures in this county supposed to be ancient (see under class 'C'), its sides running south-west to north-east and north-west to south-east. (See plan.)

THAME.—Remains of moat at prebendal chapel.

WATLINGTON.—A ditch on the south side of the site of the castle is supposed to be the remains of its moat.

WESTON-ON-THE-GREEN.—At the Manor House are two sides of a rectangular moat of which the third side can be traced, and which would enclose the space in front of the house, the house standing on the open side.



HIGH LODGE, WYCHWOOD

WYCHWOOD.—At High Lodge there is a small moat enclosing the house and interesting from its situation, which, before the disafforesting, was in the centre of Wychwood Forest, and on the highest point of ground in the forest. It is a con-

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spicuous object now as it stands on the top of a high hill which rises from all quarters, and which on the south ascends 200 ft. in three-quarters of a mile. The altitude of the moat is 631 ft. above sea level. (See plan.)

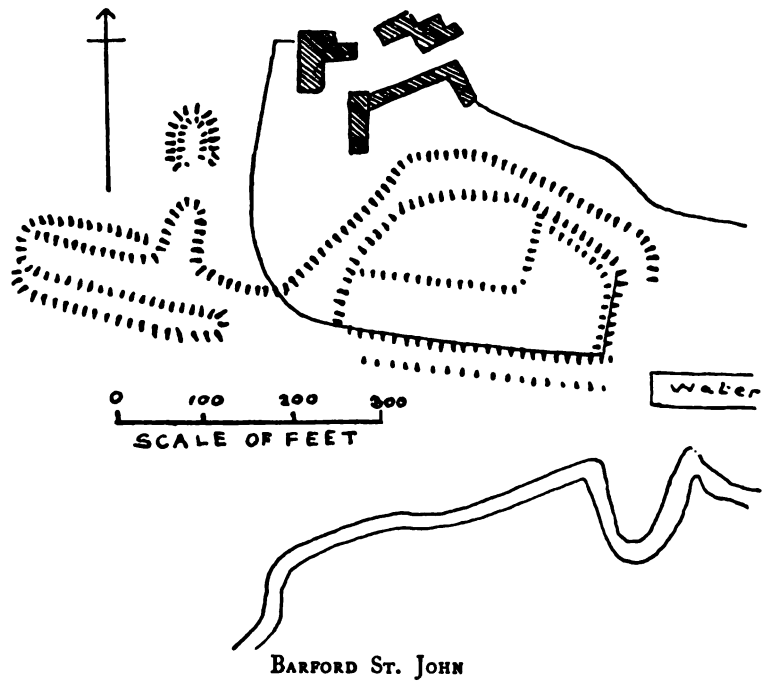
YELFORD.—Rectangular moat south-east of Manor Farm.

On the sites of Langley Palace, Beckley Palace, and Somerton Manor House, in those parishes, are mounds which cover the remains of mediaeval houses now destroyed. They do not appear to have been moated. In the field in front of the rectory at Somerton are the banks of the fish-ponds. Neither of these remains fall within either of the classes of the works dealt with in this chapter, but it is, perhaps, necessary to notice them, as their grass-grown mounds give them the appearance of being earthworks.

MOATED ENCLOSURES WITH STRONGER DEFENSIVE WORKS

(CLASS G)

BAMPTON : THE CASTLE.—A raised court, 500 ft. by 200 ft., bounded on the east by the stream, to the north of the farm-house called Ham Court, which is the gateway of the castle, now demolished, is all that represents this work. On the west the ditch, which apparently enclosed a larger area, remains, extending southwards beyond the court to the gate-house, where it broadens to almost twice its former width.

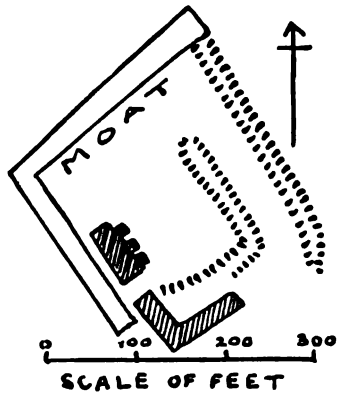


BARFORD ST. JOHN

BARFORD ST. JOHN.—A moat about 7 ft. deep and 56 ft. wide runs on the north and west of an area which is roughly the shape of an irregular pentagon, and which is divided into two courts by a raised platform about 2 ft. high in the north-west corner. This probably marked the site of the buildings, the remainder of the area being an open court, round the north and east edges of which is a slight bank. The moat on the south of the area is now of very slight proportions, but the ground is very low, and the standing water to the east is no doubt the remains of the defences which ran along this side, and were continued between the banks which remain to the west. These banks are 5 ft. high from the bottom of the ditch they form, which is 38 ft. across. On the north of these the ground rises, and on the slope is a small horse-shoe shaped work, evidently the site of an out-building. The site encloses no buildings at the present time. (See plan.)

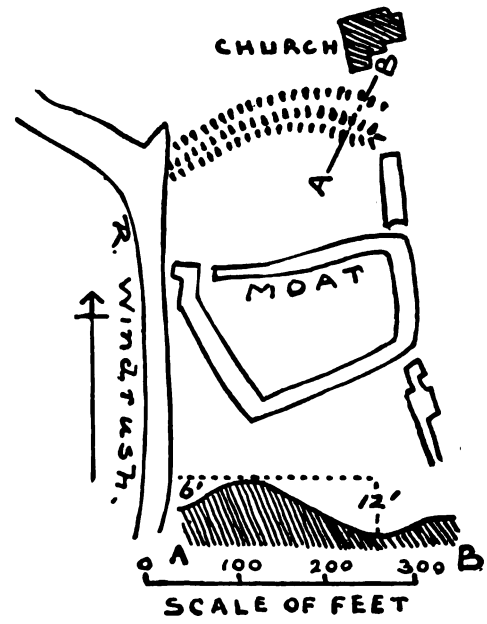
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BECKLEY.—At Lower Park Farm, in this parish, is a double-moated enclosure of a regular rectangular form, in which stands the farm-house. Of the outer moat the north-west, south-west, and north-east sides remain, and enclose an area 200 ft. square. The fourth side has probably been destroyed by the farm buildings. In the centre of this are the remains of two sides of a second ditch, the sides of which are parallel to those of the outer. The two which remain are the north-east and south-east, and they appear to be the remains of an inner enclosure 100 ft. square. In view of the suggested ancient origin of some of these moated enclosures, it is, perhaps, worth while to draw attention to the fact that the compass bearings of the sides of this work correspond to those of the ancient rectangular earthworks of this county, and to those of Stratton Audley Castle (q. v. under class 'F'), while its position in regard to the Roman Way is the same relatively as Stratton Audley. A Roman villa was situated on the south-west between this site and the Way. (See plan.)



LOWER PARK FARM, BECKLEY

COGGES: SITE OF CASTLE.—On the banks of the River Windrush, in this parish, is a double enclosure forming two courts, one to the south of the other. The southern one is entirely surrounded by an irregular four-sided moat, and the northern, which is of about equal area, has the river for its western side and a ditch on the eastern. On the northern side is a deep ditch with a rampart on the inside springing from the bank of the river and curving outwards. The entrance was apparently at the north-east corner of this court. The rampart is 2 ft. 6 ins. above the surface of the court and 8 ft. above the bottom of the ditch at the western end near the river, and gradually increases in height until at the eastern end it is 6 ft. above the court and 12 ft. above the ditch. The bottom of the ditch is 5 ft. below the level of the outside ground. The moat throughout is of an average width of 17 ft. (See plan).



COGGES CASTLE

RADCOT.—At Radcot Bridge, on the Oxfordshire side of the Thames, is a moated meadow, the enclosure being 400 ft. by 500 ft. and resting on the bank of one of the streams of which the river consists at this place. In form it is more like those of class 'F,' but it does not appear to have been constructed to surround or defend a homestead or buildings of any kind, and as it is known as 'The Garrison,' it is probably of a military character, although we are hardly justified in looking upon it as ancient. It was more probably constructed at the time of one of the encounters of which this spot was the scene in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

MOATS AND RAMPARTS SURROUNDING VILLAGE SITES

(Class H)

Nether Worton.—There are remains of a moat surrounding Nether Worton House, and also of a continuation of it to the north beyond the church, which is situated about 70 yds. to the north-east. Its course from the house round the church can be easily traced, but its further line has disappeared. It is most probable, however, that it included the Manor Farm, at the garden of which it now ends. The three buildings thus named as falling within the compass of the moat constitute the whole of the village. A meadow to the east is called Mill Close, and was probably the site of the mill which has been destroyed, and here there is a broad ditch which, with the stream, would form a water enclosure within which the mill very likely stood, and, if so, all the holdings of the village would be protected by water.

Shelswell.—Two small fragments of a moat remain near the Home Farm on the site of the Manor House, which from their direction may also have encompassed the church, now destroyed, in which case the moat would have included the whole holding.

Witney.—The Ordnance Survey Map marks the site of a 'Saxon Rampart' along the edge of the hill which falls abruptly to the valley on the west of the town. Such a work would appear from the map to have encircled the town on the south and west sides. There would appear, however, to be now no remains of it, unless the broad ditch of about 5 ft. deep on the south of the churchyard and vicarage grounds, and which is in the line of the course laid down on the map, represents it. This may, however, be a boundary ditch of a later time. At the foot of the hill, and running round this side of the town in a curve concentric with that marked for the rampart, is 'Emma's Dyke,' an artificial watercourse 12 ft. wide, but it would appear to have been constructed for drainage rather than for defence.

UNCLASSIFIED EARTHWORKS

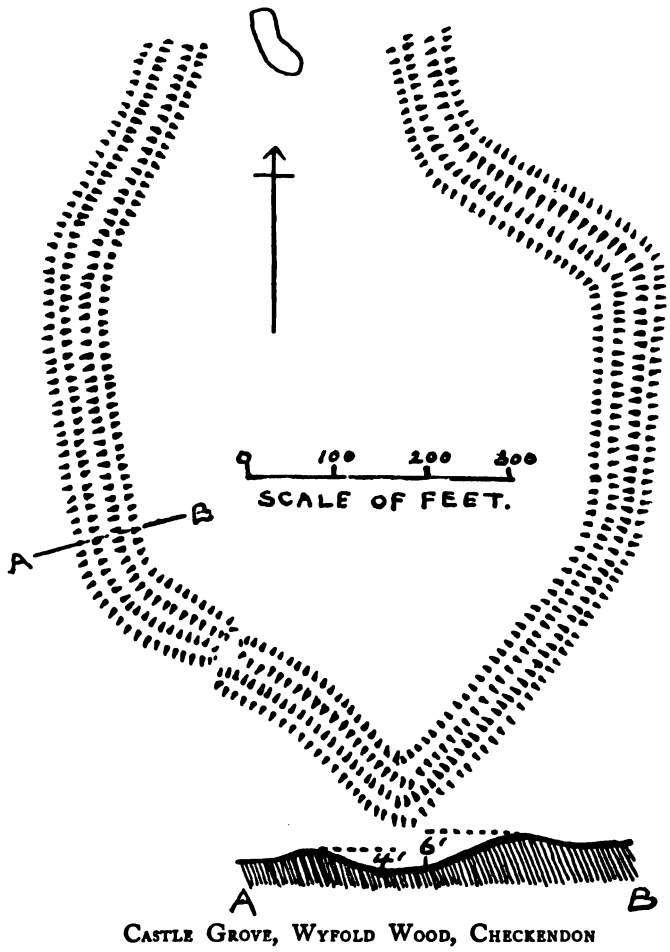
(Class X)

Checkendon: Castle Grove, Wyfold Wood.—In Castle Grove, south of Wyfold Court, there is a large earthwork, described on the Ordnance Survey Map as a moat, and consisting of a ditch 9 ft. wide at bottom enclosed by two banks, the inner rising 2 ft. 3 in. from the level of the area surrounded by the ditch and 6 ft. from the bottom of the ditch, from which the outer bank rises 4 ft. and is about one foot higher than the ground outside. The ditch takes the shape of an irregular octagon, but the north side is open. Here in the centre of what would have formed the eighth side is a small pond, and the surrounding ground is marshy, and may have formed a natural defence. The entrance appears to have been on the south-west. The surface

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of the interior is level. The natural ground slopes away to the west, but is level on all other sides.[1]

STRATTON AUDLEY.—On sloping ground, with higher ground above it, on the west side of Oldfield's Copse and by the side of the road one and a half miles north-east of the village of Stratton Audley are the remains of a small circular earthwork. It consists of a bank enclosing a flat depression in the ground of a diameter of 93 ft. On the western side where the ground is highest this bank is only a few inches high on the outside, but it falls, in a slope of 48 ft., 6 ft. 9 ins. to the bottom of the interior of the work. The bank on the other sides is only about 1 ft. high. The entrance was apparently on the north. It is commonly called a Roman camp, and the Roman Way from Alchester passes at a distance of three-quarters of a mile to the west, but it presents none of the features of a Roman work, and its situation and small size render it of very little value for defensive purposes. An old inhabitant of Stratton Audley told me the banks had been much lowered in his time, and that rusty blades had been found there. Locally it is known as 'Stuttle's Bank.' It has none of the characteristics of an ancient earthwork, and its present appearance suggests a dried-up pond more than anything, but tradition associates it with soldiers, and the finding of the blades, which were probably weapons of some kind, supports the tradition, and it may have been thrown up for temporary purposes by a small body of troops.



CASTLE GROVE, WYFOLD WOOD, CHECKENDON

TADMARTON.—In Tadmarton parish and three-quarters of a mile due east of Madmarston Camp is a line of bank running west-south-west and east-north-east for a length of 450 ft., and being 5 ft. in height. It is grass-grown and planted with bushes. The ground to the south is ploughed, but not that on the north. At each end the ground suggests that the bank turned northwards, but there is now no trace of its continuation. A hedge runs parallel to it on the north at a distance of 150 ft., separating the field in which it stands from another which is under the plough, and in which there is now no trace of any work. There is no trace of a ditch on either side of the bank.

[1] This work is similar to low-banked enclosures such as occur in Kent and other counties, and may mark the site of a British village settlement, in which case it would belong to works of class 'H.'

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ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS NOW DESTROYED

EYNSHAM.—East of Eynsham Park in an arable field, at a spot 200 yds. due west from the junction of the road from Eynsham village with Cuckoo Lane at Tanner's Hill Clump, was a small earthwork which appeared on the Ordnance Survey Maps before the last revision, from which it would appear to have been oval in shape with the longer axis running north and south 250 ft. in length and the shorter 225 ft., the western side being somewhat irregular.

HOOK NORTON.—Half a mile south-west of the circular camp on Tadmarton Heath, and a quarter of a mile west of the cross-roads on Wigginton Heath, and just inside the hedge of the second field from the road near an old quarry, was a small earthwork now completely destroyed. It was in shape an irregular pentagon, the dimensions of which are given in Beesley's *History of Banbury* as follows: West side, 52 yds.; south, 69 yds.; east, 38 yds.; north-east, 39 yds.; north-west, 63 yds.; total circumference, 261 yds. It was described as then (1841) reduced nearly to the level of the soil. Excepting on the south he found traces of an outer vallum. Sufficient remained for this work to be plotted by the Ordnance Survey in 1881, but in the revised map of 1900 the site of the work is marked entirely by dotted lines.

KIDDINGTON : HILL WOOD.—Warton in his *History of Kiddington* (1782) says that in this wood is a square Roman entrenchment with the ridge and fosses in extraordinary preservation, and as yet undetected by any topographer. Hill Wood is a very thick plantation, the dense undergrowth of which makes it extremely difficult to properly survey the ground. No earthwork is marked here by the Ordnance Survey either in their 1834 or 1881 maps, and I have searched the wood and found nothing in the way of banks and ditches but the boundary banks which mark the delimitations of the different copses in all these woods. The wood covers the slope of a steep hill which falls in a sharp descent towards the north-east, parallel to the road to Oxford south of Over Kiddington, and is shown on the map of the course of Grim's Ditch 'A,' which runs through an adjoining coppice to the south-west, and if such a work exists it will probably be found in the small portion of the wood on the top of the hill and to be of the character of the miniature camps described under Cornbury Park and Spelsbury in class 'C,' also on the course of the ditch.

SPELSBURY.—The 1834 edition of the Ordnance Survey Map shows a rather large rectangular camp on the west of Ditchley Park on the Grim's Ditch, which appears to form its northern side, at the spot where stands the Model Farm. There is now no trace of this, and it is not shown on the later maps.

SPELSBURY : 'CASTLE DITCHES.'—In 1842 Alfred Beesley, the author of the *History of Banbury*, was informed that there was 'until lately' a camp at Spelsbury.[1] Lewis[2] says :—'On an eminence near the village is an extensive triangular entrenchment called Castle Ditches, enclosing a space of about

[1] MS. Add. to *Hist. of Banbury*, in writer's possession.
[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Engl.* 1835, under art. 'Spelsbury.'

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24 acres.' It would appear to have been recently destroyed when Beesley received his information.

STONESFIELD: CALLOW HILL.—On the main road from Charlbury to Woodstock and 3½ miles from the former place is marked on the 1834 edition of the Ordnance Survey Map 'Callow Hill,' in the distinctive lettering used for ancient sites, which does not appear on the later maps. Warton in his *History of Kiddington* says that there was a small Roman encampment here, and General Pitt-Rivers records that there was a rectangular enclosure thickly strewn with Roman tiles and pottery.[1] I can find no more exact description of the work. The site would appear to be at the present north-east corner of King's Wood, and there is now no trace of the enclosure unless it be represented by the modern hedge which encloses a roughly rectangular space of about 500 ft. by 150 ft. with a quarry at the eastern end. It is, however, doubtful whether the work was of a defensive nature, and it is more probably the site of a Roman villa, of which there are several other remains in the immediate neighbourhood.

DYKES, BANKS, ETC.

There are in Oxfordshire remains of two extensive lines of entrenchments known as Grim's Ditch. One is in the middle of the county and the other in the extreme south. The former I call 'A' and the latter 'B.'

GRIM'S DITCH 'A'

This is a bank and fosse which runs in a semi-circular course, commencing in the northern portion of Blenheim Park and passing through some portion of the parishes (though not in any case touching the villages) of Glympton, Kiddington, Enstone, and Spelsbury, and ending, so far as its present remains have been found, on the east bank of the River Evenlode, south of Charlbury town. Dr. Plot[2] in 1676 and Dr. Warton[3] in 1782 traced it, but it is difficult at points to follow the course as laid down by them. The work exists at present in fragments, and first appears in Blenheim Park in the form of a slight entrenchment at the place south of the Ditchley Gate, where Akeman Street crosses the park. There is now no trace of it as it leaves the park, but 650 yds. due north of the gate it reappears in the further hedge of the field in which Woodley's Farm buildings are situated. From here it runs in a northerly direction down the hill, which falls 68 ft. in 500 yds., to Slape Bottom. It consists of a ditch 38 ft. wide, with a bank along the western edge the top of which is 6 ft. 4 ins. from the bottom of the ditch and 2 ft. 9 ins. from the ground level. The ditch is 4 ft. below the ground level on the eastern side (see section A—B on map). At Slape Bottom it enters Hark Wood and ascends the opposite hill amid the woods which clothe its side. Here it is not so pronounced. About 80 yds. from the bottom of the hill a barrow rises in its course, after which to the northern end of Hark Wood it exists in the form of a bank 7 ft. 6 ins. from the bottom of the ditch, which is to

[1] *Journ. Ethnological Soc. Lond.* i, 1. [2] Plot, *Hist. of Oxf.* [3] Warton, *Hist. of Kiddington.*

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the east, and is 43 ft. wide and 3 ft. 6 ins. below the ground, which here slopes to the east. All traces of it are lost at the end of Hark Wood, but it begins again suddenly with a dead end due apparently to no natural feature at a point in Berring's Wood 570 yds. north-west of its end in Hark Wood and 130 yds. south-east of Tomlin's Gate. Here as before the ditch would appear to still face eastward, and is of the same width as before, being 6 ft. 6 ins. below the ground on the west and 3 ft. 6 ins. on the east. From the top of the western bank the ground slopes with a natural declivity to the rear; in fact the ditch runs along the eastern side of a defile, shown on the Ordnance Survey Map by the 400-ft. contour line, for about 540 yds., when it turns westward, and after crossing an open field, where its dimensions have been very much reduced, enters Out Wood, in the middle of which it ceases. There is no further trace of it in the direction in which it was pointing, but on the summit of the hill, 600 yds. north of Out Wood and at an altitude of 449 ft., it re-appears in a small section in the field to the west of Assarts Cottage. It runs due east and west, and has been practically demolished by the plough, but appears as a small bank facing north. It is to be seen again at the western end of the same field, and can be traced, still in a very much reduced condition, across the Kiddington Drive of Ditchley Park. In the park there are no traces of it until a quarter of a mile to the west of the house near the Rosary, where it appears again with the ditch 40 ft. wide. It has here the local name of 'Love Walk,' and runs east and west on the north of the road from Ditchley House to Model Farm, at one of the western entrances to the park. At the farm it makes a curious sweep to the north as if to skirt the buildings, and comes to an end on the road, which is apparently an old trackway. There is no raised bank remaining along its course at this place, but the southern bank of the ditch is 6 ft. high from the bottom, while the northern is only 3 ft. 6 ins. The ground here slopes naturally to the north. At this point the ditch would enter the cultivated and open ground between Ditchley and Charlbury, and there is no trace of it until it re-appears in a field called Baywell to the south of the latter place, where it runs in the shape of a bank 4 ft. high with the remains of the ditch on the north along the northern side of a natural gulley, and comes to an end above the railway and the River Evenlode, pointing straight for one of the rectangular earthworks in Cornbury Park on the other side of the narrow valley. This is the last appearance of it so far as it can now be traced, but Dr. Plot asserts that he was told that it could be found in the woods beyond Cornbury Park pointing for Ramsden. In this case it would probably again join the Akeman Street, which runs through that parish, and from which it started in Blenheim Park five miles eastward. The Roman road, if this were so, would form a base upon which Grim's Ditch, as sketched above, would form a semi-circular arc to the north, its centre being at Stonesfield, near which village important remains of Roman villas have been found.

The remains of two other pieces of entrenchment must be mentioned as apparently forming part of the scheme of Grim's Ditch. The first is a trench which commences at Starveall Farm, and, crossing the Charlbury to Woodstock Road, runs due north down the hill to Pool Bottom, parallel to but about half a mile to the west or in the rear of the section of Grim's

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Ditch between Woodley's Farm and Slape Bottom. This ditch, which is on ploughed land and is being rapidly reduced, is now 70 ft. from bank to bank, the westward being 3 ft. high and the eastern half that height.

The second of the remains is of a short line of entrenchment which formerly ran east and west at 100 yds. north of Shilcott Wood above Ditchley New Park and parallel with that section of Grim's Ditch from Ditchley Park to the Model Farm. It has disappeared in the fields, but can still be traced where it crosses the old trackway which runs down the west side of the park and which at this spot is a grass-grown lane. This entrenchment would be in front of the Grim's Ditch assuming that the latter faced outwards, as the different heights of its bank would appear to justify us in looking upon it as doing.

In 1868 General Pitt-Rivers examined the ditch and the ground encompassed by it, and came to the conclusion which he stated as follows :—[1]

> I have only to add, from personal inspection of it, that it is not merely a boundary, but without doubt a fortification, for its commanding position, its adaptation to the features of the ground, and the situation of its ditch, are points which, viewed tactically, are sufficient to determine it to be a work of defence. Throughout its whole line it so much resembles other dykes which I have examined in Yorkshire and elsewhere . . . that if I were to be guided by its trace alone I should be inclined to class it with those dykes and to attribute it to the same origin, but other considerations are favourable to its being a Roman earthwork. These considerations are : firstly, that it covers a portion of the Akeman Street, which runs across the country in a north-easterly direction, passing along the rear of this work in such a manner as to be defended by it from a northerly attack ; and secondly between Akeman Street and the Dyke, and within the area defended by the Dyke, there are traces of several Roman villas and other Roman remains. . . . These circumstances favour the supposition that the Dyke may have been thrown up by the Romans to defend a Roman settlement established in this place in connexion with the great road and to secure the communication of the inhabitants with the road.

Against this assumption of a Roman origin must be set the evidence of Mr. F. Haverfield, who in a communication on his examination of the Akeman Street in Blenheim Park in 1898,[2] points out that so far as could be judged the road ran over the ditch and cut through the entrenchment (which is taken to be the commencement of Grim's Ditch), and if this be so the entrenchment at that point, at all events, would appear to be pre-Roman.

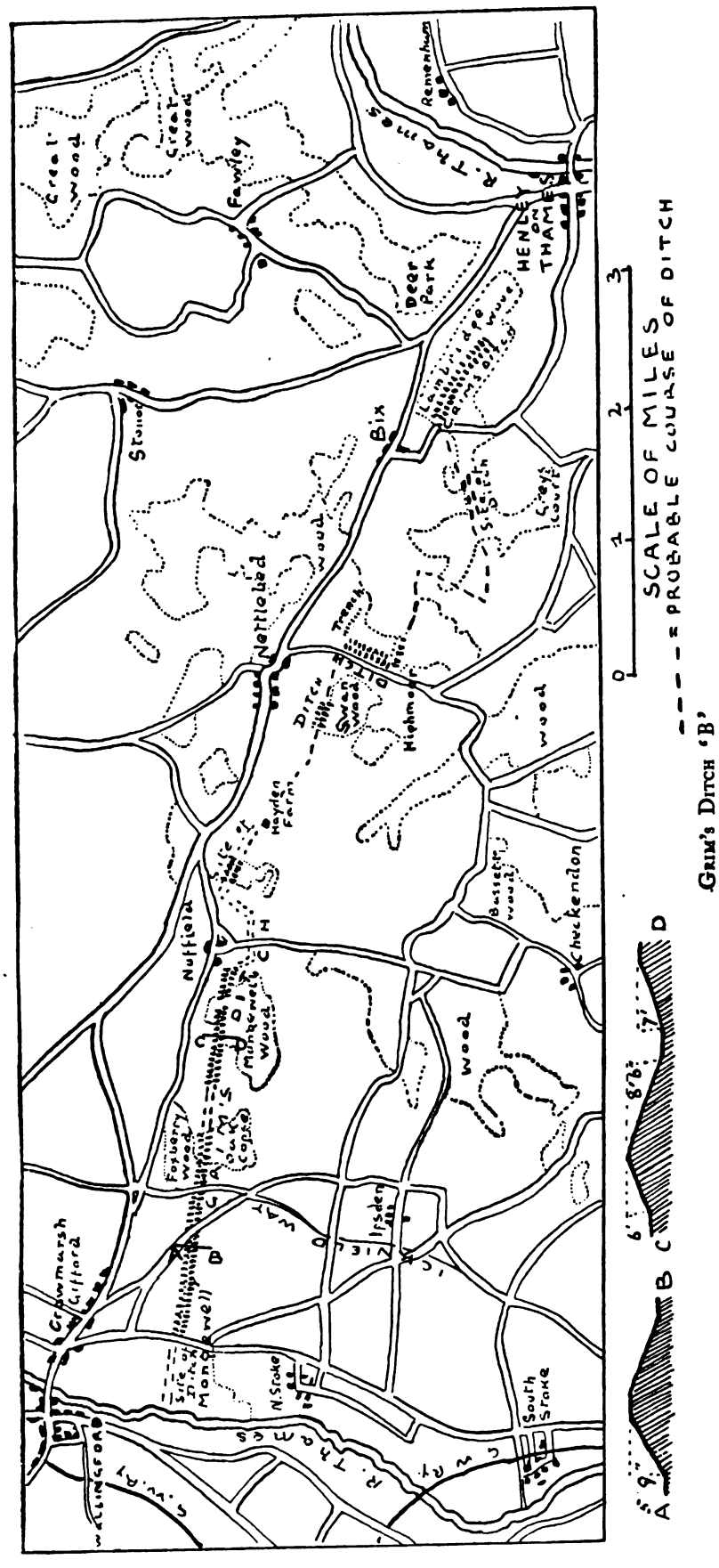
Grim's Ditch 'B'

The second dyke bearing this name in this county appears to have run from the River Thames opposite Wallingford in a south-easterly direction across the Chilterns to the same river at Henley-on-Thames, the distance between the two points being ten miles. The name Grim's Ditch applied to this work appears in a charter of or before the reign of Richard I. Commencing on the west the ditch appears to have run from the river bank three-quarters of a mile below Wallingford Bridge, along the north side of the grounds of Mongewell House to the road from Crowmarsh Gifford, where it reaches higher ground. It then runs east-by-south in a straight line for 3 miles to Nuffield, and this section is the most perfect of its whole course. From the lodge of Mongewell House to the edge of Foxberry Wood,

[1] *Journ. Ethnolog. Soc. Lond.* i, 1.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.), xvii, 333.

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where it crosses the Icknield Way, about a mile and a quarter, it exists in the shape of a grass-grown bank 5 ft. 9 ins. in height, with a flat top 4 ft. wide which appears to be used as a footpath. It runs here across high ground which slopes gradually north and south, though more so to the latter, and as the land is arable it forms a conspicuous object seen for some distance when the ground is clear of crops. In Foxberry Wood and Oaken Copse the bank had been reduced, and outside the latter to the east it disappears altogether for about 200 yds. in the course of a modern hedge. Then it re-appears in the shape of a ditch and enters the belt of trees leading into the Mongewell Woods, and here the bank appears again on the north side of the ditch. As it descends into Morrell's Bottom and the wooded enclosure north of Mongewell Woods the bank rises 6 ft. from the ground level on the north and falls 8 ft. 6 ins. into the ditch, which is 7 ft. below

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the ground level on the south and is 45 ft. wide from bank to bank. Inside the enclosure the bank disappears and the work continues in the shape of a ditch only : at first, near Woodlands Farm, with the sides of equal height, but nearer Nuffield the northern side is 9 ft. 6 ins. above the bottom of the ditch, and the southern 4 ft. 6 ins. It is here pointing straight for Timber's Barn, but about 6 yds. inside the field in which the barn stands it comes to an end, to re-appear again in the form of a ditch on the northern side of a rectangular wooded enclosure called Heycroft Shaw, at the south corner of Nuffield Common and half a mile due east of its end near Timber's Barn. It did not, however, apparently go straight across this interval, for a bank about 270 yds. to the south would suggest that the Ditch made a dip to this point and then turned north-east to its present trace at the corner of Nuffield Common. Continuing from the latter point a bank running south-east carries it to Hayden Farm. The remainder of its course to Henley exists only in fragments, and from these it appears to have been of a rather tortuous character. It is a significant fact that down to Lambridge Wood, where the last remaining section of it is to be found, the fragments of it are all on the line of the southern parish boundary of Nettlebed and the western and southern boundaries of Bix. It is not an unreasonable suggestion that these parish boundaries were laid along the Ditch, and that in those parts where it has disappeared the boundaries mark its course. It is upon this that the conjectured line of its course has been laid down on the map herewith. Often these dykes became used as footways and obtained in places the local names of lanes. In the Grim's Ditch 'A' a footpath runs down it from near Woodley's Farm to Slape Bottom, and near Ditchley Park a section of it retains the name of 'Love Walk.' A continuation of a fragment of the Ditch under present consideration which appears at the north of Swan Wood is a lane called 'Deadman's Lane,' while a portion of the southern boundary of Bix, in one of the gaps of the remaining course of the ditch, but leading straight to the one in the woods above Greys Court, runs along a lane called 'Rocky Lane.' In these lanes we may possibly see further evidence of the course of the Ditch, and if so they support the suggestion that it was used in the demarkation of the parish boundaries.

Reverting to the remaining traces after Hayden Farm in the parish of Nuffield, a footpath along a hedge planted with trees and sweeping in a curve first south and then south-east would appear to be its course. The boundary of the Nettlebed parish joins this and runs along it, and upon it at the northern edge of Swan Wood there is a trace of the Grim's Ditch in a bank from which runs the lane called 'Deadman's Lane.' The present boundary leaves this to make a straight turn to the north-east for 120 yds., and then at right angles again back to the lane, and the latter would appear to have been the more probable continuation of the Ditch, which re-appears at the point where the boundary rejoins the lane and runs due south, skirting the western edge of Highmoor Common Wood, for 700 yds. and then turns, still carrying the parish boundary, due east for 300 yds., where it ceases. In Highmoor Common Wood, at the point where Grim's Ditch re-appears on the north, there is a trench running to the east through the wood, known as Highmoor Trench, which can hardly, however, have been part of the course of the Ditch. After leaving the remains of the Ditch at the south of Highmoor

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Common Wood the parish boundary continues eastward to a plantation called Broom Pightles and then southwards to 'Rocky Lane' and eastward along it into the woods north of Greys, in which slight remains of the ditch have been traced on its course, and then up to the north-west corner of Lambridge Wood. There the Ditch re-appears, but leaves the boundary and in the form of a ditch makes a sweep to the south-east for about half a mile, and then comes to an end, pointing straight for Henley town. This is the last trace of the Ditch.

Ash Bank, Wattle Bank, or Avesditch

This was an entrenchment running north and south on high ground to the east of the River Cherwell and about two miles from it, for a distance of about six miles, from just below Souldern on the north to near Kirtlington on the south. Very few traces of it now remain, and these do not suggest that its dimensions equalled those of the Grim's Ditches. Its line, commencing at the north, appears to have been along the road from Inkerman Farm, south of Souldern village, to Fritwell, through that village and along the course of the lane called Raghouse Lane, by Kennel Copse and Ballard's Copse (the ancient name of which was Chilgrove), to the Heath in the parish of Middleton Stoney. Of its course so far, which was almost due south in direction, only a very few slight traces now remain. At the Heath it turned south-south-west and can still be distinctly traced along the whole length of the large meadow to the west of Middleton Park. Here it is now a ditch 27 ft. wide, with the eastern bank 4 ft. 9 ins. from the bottom and the western bank 3 ft. 6 ins. The length of this traceable section is a mile and a quarter, and on the western side runs a cart-road which at the south-west corner of the field takes the form of one of the old enclosed trackways which no doubt it was originally throughout. The ditch, however, disappears at this point, but three-quarters of a mile further on and a mile north of Kirtlington the trackway joins the Portway, and here the ditch re-appears and crossing the road maintains the same compass bearing that it had before, and is to be traced for 630 yds. in the fields, when it ends abruptly in the middle of the second field, pointing straight for the spot where the Akeman Street crossed the Cherwell. These fields are ploughed and the ditch is being rapidly filled in by the operation, but the bank facing north-west is still distinct and has a height of 18 ins. above the ground at its foot. The Portway, generally called a Roman road, which the ditch crosses above Kirtlington, runs between it and the Cherwell, and appears from its direction as though it may also have joined its northern end near Souldern.

LOCAL DYKES, BANKS, ETC.

In addition to the three entrenchments described above, which cover several miles of country, there are four smaller ones, which are distinctly local in character.

North Leigh.—In this parish in the fields half a mile south-west of the village and commencing in the second field from the junction of the road from the village with that from Witney on the opposite side of the road to Eynsham

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Park, is a line of entrenchment running east and west for 650 yds. down the side of a hill sloping westwards. It consists of a slight bank with a ditch on the south 5 ft. 3 ins. below the top of the bank and 18 ins. below the level of the ground beyond.

BICESTER : GRAVENHILL.—At the eastern extremity of the wooded hill which rises so conspicuously from the level country to the south of Bicester, and which is half a mile due east of Alchester, there is a line of entrenchment which follows the top of the hill for 200 yds. along its northern face and then turns along its south-eastern edge for 380 yds., making an acute angle at its eastern point. Along the northern face it would appear as though the natural fall of the ground had merely been emphasised by scarping. On the south-eastern face the work consists of a ditch 2 ft. 3 ins. deep from the higher bank above and rising 15 ins. in front. The entrenchment would appear to be a local and temporary one to meet an attack from the east, from which direction Akeman Street approaches it, rather than a general fortification of the hill top.

SWYNCOMBE : THE DOWNS.—Along the top of the northern face of the bold spur of the Chilterns called Swyncombe Downs runs an entrenchment commanding the Icknield Way, which approaches the base of the hill from the north-east, and the large expanse of plain from which the hill rises steeply some 300 ft. It consists of a trench 4 ft. deep and 35 ft. wide. It commences near the highest point of the hill on the east, and running due west along its northern edge turns north-west and descends the slope to within 130 yds. of where the Icknield Way crosses its base. Its total length is one mile, and from the point where it turns north-west to descend the hill towards the road there appear to have been two slighter lines running to the rear of it to the west and south-east, as though to protect this narrow part of the hill nearest the Way from being taken in the rear.

WITNEY.—In a field on the south side of the road from Witney to Burford between the first milestone from Witney and the road to Crawley, is a low bank just within the hedge of the field and running parallel to it for nearly its entire length and then turning to the south-west. It has the appearance of being a boundary bank.

TUMULI, BARROWS, ETC.

LONG BARROWS

LYNEHAM.—About 350 yds. south-east of Lyneham Camp on the south of the hill and commanding extensive views on all sides but the north. The major axis runs north-north-east to south-south-west, and appears to have been 184 ft. long and 44 ft. wide at the broadest part, but the reduced state of the northern end, about a third of the whole, makes it difficult to give an exact estimate of its original dimensions. The wall of the field runs across the top of the barrow about 80 ft. from its northern end, and beneath the wall there is a shallow depression which would appear to suggest that the barrow had previously been opened at this spot. The portion to the north of this wall is being rapidly demolished by the plough. The portion south of the wall is grass-grown and well preserved, the highest point being 7 ft. from the ground level. On the top of the barrow, 40 ft. from the northern end, stands a

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monolith, the height of which above the reduced surface of the barrow is 5 ft. 9 ins. It is 5 ft. 10 ins. wide and 18 ins. thick.

The barrow was opened under the direction of Mr. Edward Conder in 1894, and he contributed a paper giving an account of the excavations and finds to the Society of Antiquaries,[1] accompanied by a plan and sections of the barrow. It was found to be constructed of the rubble stone of the district. Several trenches were sunk and the finds consisted of a long cist on the level of outside ground, under the floor of which were a certain amount of animal charcoal, a few fragments of bone, a tooth, some fragments of lightly baked dark-coloured pottery, one piece of which was marked with white lines; a second and smaller cist slightly above the ground level with a perforated floor stone; above this and about 9 ins. below the surface of the barrow fragments of a human skull and a portion of the humerus; a complete human skeleton lying north-east to south-west, apparently a later interment, a javelin 9¼ ins. long characteristic of the Saxon period and a knife 8¼ ins. long close to the right of the skeleton; a skeleton lying full-length nearly north and south with a small knife 5⅞ ins. long; calcined stones; fragmentary remains of a third skeleton close to the surface lying on the left side in an L-shaped trench, head to north and feet to east; a large monolith 4 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ft. and 11 ins. thick in a horizontal position at the north-west end and 2 ft. below the surface, lying east and west, at which latter end it touched a line of carefully laid roughly quarried stones; a skull on the ground level resting on two flints with a third flint in close proximity; a quantity of human bones and the fragments of at least four skulls on ground level and all heaped together; remains of small knife and umbo of Saxon shield; four pieces of iron which pieced together measured 20 ins. long, 2 ft. below surface; skull and remains of the ulna of a child, horse's teeth and signs of fire slightly below ground level; in a dug-out hole 9 ins. below ground level some small flints, fragments of human bones, pieces of wood charcoal and traces of burning. The total height of the standing monolith proved on excavation to be 10 ft. 6 ins. The opinion of the meeting was that the primary burial had not been found, and it was suggested that it may have been at the spot where the wall crosses the barrow and where the depression of its surface suggests a previous opening.

Wychwood Forest.—In Slatepits Copse is a long chambered barrow, at a point 160 yds. south of the road leading through from west to east and 67 yds. on the east of the road from north to south. It is not marked on the Ordnance Survey Map. It lies on ground sloping to the south, its long axis running east-south-east to north-west-north, and is broader and higher at the eastern end, where the remains of a small stone chamber have been exposed. The length is 100 ft., and the width at the broadest end 56 ft., and at the narrow end 44 ft. The height at the eastern end is 5 ft. 6 ins. above the ground level on the north and 6 ft. on the south, where the ground is naturally lower owing to the fall of the hill. The chamber is a little to the north of the centre line, and 20 ft. from the eastern extremity. There are three stones exposed, two parallel with the length of the barrow, the exposed portion of the larger on the south being 5 ft. 6 ins. above the ground and 6 ft. wide; and the smaller, which is 5 ft. to the north of this, 2 ft. above the ground, and 1 ft. 6 ins. wide. These formed the parallel walls of the

[1] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.), xv, 404.

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opening, and the third is across the rear of them and slanting forward, the exposed portion measuring 4 ft. in height and 5 ft. in width. At the western end the height of the barrow is 2 ft. 6 ins. above the ground on the north, and 5 ft. 6 ins. on the south. It has been disturbed. Akerman,[1] who is, so far as I find, the only writer who has noticed this, apparently overlooked, example of a chambered barrow in this county, says it was plundered a few years before he wrote by a keeper. One of the present keepers told me they had dug into it for rabbits and had found nothing.

Round Barrows

Adwell.—On the summit of Adwell Cop, well preserved, 350 ft. circumference, 12 ft. high.

Asthall.—On the south of the road from Burford to Witney at the point where the road from Asthall joins it, planted and well preserved except that its shape has been somewhat spoilt by a wall which has been built round its slope to a height of 4 ft. 6 ins., 190 ft. circumference, 8 ft. 6 ins. high.

In a field on Leigh Hale Plain in Asthall parish, west of Stockley Copse, 215 ft. circumference, 5 ft. high.

Badgemore.—'The Mount' in Henley Park.

Black Bourton.—About half a mile south of the village on the west of the Faringdon road, now partially destroyed by the plough.

Chadlington.—Near Jubilee Plantation, in ploughed field, almost destroyed.

South-west of Old Downs Farm, almost destroyed.

Chinnor.—On the summit of Chinnor Hill, a northern spur of the Chilterns 800 ft. in altitude, and rising 300 ft. from the Icknield Way which runs at its northern base, a pair of twin barrows enclosed in one ditch, 200 ft. circumference and 6 ft. high respectively.

Another on hill summit in Chinnor Wood, 175 ft. circumference and 4 ft. high.

Churchill.—On the south side of Borsbery Lane, planted with trees and surrounded by a wall and in good preservation, 200 ft. circumference and 9 ft. high.

'The Mount,' on high ground on the south of the village, surrounded by a ditch 3 ft. below the ground level, in admirable preservation, grass-grown and planted, 260 ft. circumference, 12 ft. 6 ins. from the ditch in height.

Cornbury Park.—There are two barrows in Cornbury Park close to the small earthworks described in class 'C.' The northern one is 100 ft. circumference, 1 ft. 6 ins. high; the southern 200 ft. and 6 ft., with a very old oak growing from the top. The northern appears to have been opened.

Crawley.—There were five barrows in the fields bounded by Riding Lane on the west, Pay Lane on the east, and Akeman Street on the south. One near Chasewood Farm had disappeared when the Ordnance Survey map was revised in 1898. Two of the other four have since been destroyed, the remaining pair being close to the hedge on the south of Blindwell Wood. One on the south of the hedge is on ploughed land and is being rapidly

[1] *Arch.* xxxvii, 431.

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reduced. The other on the north side of the hedge is planted, and although better preserved has evidently been mutilated. It is 115 ft. circumference and 5 ft. high.

ENSTONE.—In ploughed field on bridle road from Lidstone to Spelsbury Down Farm, almost destroyed.

Mound in Ditchley Park near Kiddington Drive in Enstone parish, surrounded by a ditch 4 ft. 6 ins. deep, 343 ft. circumference, 9 ft. high from bottom of ditch.

GLYMPTON.—In Hark Wood and on the Grim's Ditch, 160 ft. circumference, 6 ft. high.

KIDDINGTON.—In the field north of Wood Farm, grass-grown, planted and well preserved, 230 ft. circumference and 6 ft. high.

In King's Wood Brake, 165 ft. circumference, 5 ft. 6 ins. high.

LANGLEY.—Two small barrows east of Hen's Grove. The southern of the pair has been opened by a trench to its base and is left in that condition. It is constructed of rubble stone, which appears to extend 1 ft. below the ground level at the centre, 175 ft. circumference, 4 ft. high. The other has been almost levelled by the plough.

LEAFIELD.—On high ground to the north of the village and commanding an extensive view in all directions, grass-grown, planted and well preserved, 320 ft. circumference, 11 ft. 6 ins. high on west and 8 ft. on east. It has the appearance of having been opened.

LEW.—On summit of a hill on west of village, planted and well preserved, 350 ft. circumference, 9 ft. high.

MIXBURY.—On Barrow Hill, which is only a slight rise in a field on the west of the village, and on which the barrow was constructed. Much reduced by the plough. Situated close to a hedge on the other side of which the Ordnance Survey marks the discovery of human remains.

OVER NORTON.—Mound on the summit of the hill in Over Norton Park, 161 ft. circumference, 3 ft. 6 ins. high.

OVER WORTON.—On the hill on which the church stands and just outside the north wall of the churchyard is a mound 198 ft. circumference and 9 ft. high, planted, and having the characteristics of the other round barrows of this district. A report in the parish says that it covers a heap of rubbish piled there at the restoration of the church in 1844, but the present rector (Rev. W. H. Langhorne) tells me that an old inhabitant says that he remembers the mound there before the restoration. On the other side of the valley is Ilbury Camp, a conspicuous object from the spot where the mound stands.

RAMSDEN.—To the south of Wychwood Forest on the farm road to Brize's Lodge, on ploughed land, nearly destroyed.

SARSDEN.—On south of road from Churchill opposite Nursery Plantation, called 'Squire's Clump,' planted and surrounded by a wall and ditch and in good preservation, 225 ft. circumference, 13 ft. high from the ditch which is 3 ft. deep.

Another partly within Skew Plantation and partly in ploughed field, very much reduced.

SHIPTON-UNDER-WYCHWOOD.—In a plantation on Shipton Down, 200 yds. west of the spot where the road from Charlbury crosses that from

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Shipton to Burford, is a round barrow admirably preserved and which differs from any other specimen in this county in being partially surrounded by a rectangular earthwork. The mound is 280 ft. circumference, 10 ft. 6 ins. high. It stands on the open side of a rectangular area, the other three sides, the north-west, south-west, and south-east, being enclosed by a small bank 3 ft. high, the first-named of which is 50 ft. from the barrow and the other two 100 ft. The ground is level and there would appear to be slight traces of a very shallow ditch on the inside of the bank.

SPELSBURY.—Two in a ploughed field east of Spelsbury Down Farm, almost destroyed.

STOKE LYNE.—On the south of the road from Tusmore to Souldern, planted and well preserved, 191 ft. circumference, 5 ft. high.

SWALCLIFFE.—On rising ground beyond the stream, a quarter of a mile due south of Madmarston Camp, is 'Rowbarrow.' It was opened about 1854, and bones, burnt wood, and sand found, but appeared to have been previously opened. It was then described as 100 ft. circumference and 12 or 14 ft. high,[1] but is now practically destroyed.

SWINBROOK.—In ploughed field north of Southlawn Cottages, partially destroyed.

Another west of Pain's Farm, planted and well preserved, 200 ft. circumference, 8 ft. high.

TADMARTON.—A pair of barrows on Heath, 360 yds. north-west of camp. Totally destroyed.

WOOTTON.—About half a mile south of Glympton on the west of the road to Wootton, on the top of a hill, is a mound called the 'Copping Knoll,' 175 ft. in circumference, 3 ft. high.

WYCHWOOD.—On the hill on which the moated enclosure High Lodge stands, about 300 yds. to the north-west of the Lodge, are two small barrows, on ploughed land and partially destroyed, the western one being almost levelled.

Another just inside the forest wall and 60 yds. south of Waterman's Lodge, 200 ft. circumference, and 11 ft. high from the lowest part of the ground, which slopes away here to the east.

ELONGATED BARROW

CRAWLEY.—In the corner of the field next to Maggott's Grove, on the top of the hill south of Crawley Bridge, was an elongated barrow, which when measured by Akerman about 1858,[2] when nearly half had already been removed, was 107 ft. by 83 ft. Since then the demolition has been practically completed, but its site is still to be traced on the high ground in the south-west corner of the field next to the plantation. It had been opened for stone, was again opened by Akerman, and again in 1864 by Dr. Thurnam and Professor Rolleston.[3] It was found to be full of skeletons, ranging west and east with feet to the latter, the skulls being very brachycephalous. Two bronze buckles and one of iron and a small bone camula were found and some shards of Romano-British pottery. Dr. Thurnam agreed with Akerman that the barrow was of the Romano-British period and belonged

[1] *Trans. N. Oxf. Arch. Soc.* 1853–5, p. 55. [2] *Arch.* xxxvii, 431. [3] Ibid. xlii, 175.

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to a class of elongated grave mounds which might be taken for a primeval long barrow, from which, however, it differed in not varying in width and height. They are sometimes met with outside camps occupied by the Romans.

Other Destroyed Barrows

In addition to those barrows referred to above as being destroyed there are records of others which formerly existed.

Warton in his *History of Kiddington* (1782) says that there were perishing fragments of a few barrows on Shotover Hill, and Parker (*Early History of Oxford*) says that many mounds were formerly visible on Bullingdon Green, from one of which was produced early pottery, human bones, and burnt fragments.

Beesley in the *History of Banbury* (1841) mentions a barrow called 'Round Hill' on the north side of the lane leading from Bloxham to Milton, 72 ft. in length and 12 ft. high. A note in his MS. additions states that this was partially destroyed in 1867 and a skull found. He also mentions a single barrow and a pair of twin barrows on the crest of the hill on the road leading down to Brailes. They were nearly levelled at that time. In his additions he notes the destruction of a pair of twin barrows at Berryfields Farm, Great Rollright, in 1842, previously to which it was opened by him, and bones, ashes, and white sand were found. He also records the destruction in the same year of a barrow called 'Round Hill' on Portmeadow, Oxford. It had been previously opened.

In Fritwell parish, but to the south of Souldern Village and near the courses of the Portway and the Avesditch, stood a barrow called 'Ploughley Hill,' which Beesley (1841) records as then recently destroyed.

The name 'Lowbarrow House' of a house, three-quarters of a mile south of Leafield, suggests the existence at one time of a barrow at this spot.

Mr. Conder, in the paper to the Society of Antiquaries on Lyneham Barrow in 1895, records that he observed to the north of the barrow five or six low circular mounds which he thought might be the remains of barrows.

REFERENCE TABLE.

Defensive Earthworks, Dykes and Banks, Tumuli and Barrows, &c.

The points of the compass are given approximately, but will be found sufficient to indicate the position of the parish. Distances are to the church or centre of the village or town.

'Des.' signifies the former existence of a work now destroyed. T = Tumuli and Barrows.

Adwell, 1¾ m. SE. Tetsworth	T	Bampton, 16 m. SW. Oxford	G
Alchester, see Wendlebury		Banbury	E
Ardley, 4 m. NW. Bicester .	F	Barford St. John, 2½ m. W. Deddington	G
Ascot-under-Wychwood, 3 m. W. Charlbury	E	Barford St. Michael 2½ m. W. Deddington	F
Ash Bank, &c., Souldern to Kirtlington	X	Beaumont Castle, see Mixbury	
Asthall, 3 m. E. Burford . .	T (2)	Beckley, 4½ m. NE. Oxford .	G
Aston Rowant, 4 m. NE. Watlington	F	Bicester, 12 m. NE. Oxford .	X
Avesditch, see Ash Bank		Black Bourton, 1 m. NW. Bampton	T
Badgemore, ¾ m. N. Henley .	T	Bladon, 2 m. S. Woodstock .	B

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Brightwell, 3 m. NW. Watlington . . . . . F
Britwell Salome, 1 m. SW. Watlington . . . . . F
Broughton, 3 m. SW. Banbury F
Bucknell, 2½ m. NW. Bicester F
Chadlington, 3½ m. SE. Chipping Norton . . . . . C, T (2)
Chalgrove, 4 m. NW. Watlington . . . . . F
Chastleton, 5 m. WNW. Chipping Norton . . . . . B
Checkendon, 6 m. W. Henley X
Chinnor, 3½ m. NE. Watlington . . . . . F, T (3)
Chipping Norton, 18 m. NW. Oxford . . . . . E
Chislehampton, 7 m. SE. Oxford . . . . . F
Churchill, 3 m. SW. Chipping Norton . . . . . T (2)
Clanfield, 2 m. W. Bampton . F
Clattercote, 6 m. N. Banbury F
Cogges, 1 m. SE. Witney . . G
Cornbury Park, Charlbury . C (3), T (2)
Crawley, 2 m. NW. Witney . T (3)
Cropredy, 4 m. N. Banbury . F
Curbridge, 2½ m. SW. Witney F (3)
Cuxham, 1½ m. NW. Watlington . . . . . F
Deddington, 6 m. S. Banbury B, E
Dorchester-on-Thames . . A
Enstone, 4 m. SE. Chipping Norton . . . . . T (2)
Eynsham, 6 m. NW. Oxford . Des., B
Filkins, 5 m. SW. Burford . F
Fringford, 4 m. NE. Bicester . F (2)
Glympton, 4 m. NW. Woodstock . . . . . T
Godington, 5½ m. NE. Bicester . . . . . F
Grim's Ditch (A), Charlbury to Woodstock X
Grim's Ditch (B), Wallingford to Henley X
Henley-on-Thames . . . . F
Holton, 6 m. E. Oxford . . F (2)
Hook Norton, 4½ m. NE. Chipping Norton . . . Des.
Idbury, 5½ m. NW. Burford . B
Islip, 5 m. NE. Oxford . . F
Kiddington, 4 m. NW. Woodstock . . . . . Des., T (2)
Kirtlington, 5 m. NE. Woodstock . . . . . F
Knollbury, see Chadlington
Langley, 5 m. NE. Burford . T (2)
Leafield, 4½ m. NW. Witney . T
Lew, 3½ m. SW. Witney . . T
Lewknor, 3½ m. SE. Tetsworth F
Lyneham, 6 m. NE. Burford . B, T
Madmarston, see Swalcliffe
Middleton Stoney, 3 m. W. Bicester . . . . . E
Mixbury, 8 m. N. Bicester . E, T
Nether Worton, 3 m. SW. Deddington . . . . . H
Newton Purcell, 5½ m. NE. Bicester . . . . . F
North Leigh, 3¼ m. NE. Witney X
Northmoor, 6 m. SW. Oxford F (2)
North Newington, 2½ m. SW. Banbury C
Oddington, 5 m. SW. Bicester F
Over Norton, Chipping Norton T
Over Worton, 4 m. SW. Deddington. . . . . T
Oxford . . . . . E
Piddington, 4½ m. SE. Bicester C
Pyrton, ¾ m. N. Watlington . F (2)
Radcot, 3 m. SW. Bampton . G
Ramsden, 3½ m. N. Witney . T
Sarsden, 3 m. SW. Chipping Norton . . . . . T (2)
Shelswell, 6 m. NE. Bicester . H
Shipton-under-Wychwood, 4 m. NE. Burford . . . T
Shirburn, 4 m. S. Tetsworth . F
Spelsbury, 2 m. N. Charlbury C, des. (2), T (2)
Stanton Harcourt, 4½ m. SE. Witney . . . . . F
Stanton St. John, 4½ m. NE. Oxford . . . . . F
Stoke Lyne, 4 m. NW. Bicester T
Stonesfield, 4 m. W. Woodstock . . . . . Des.
Stratton Audley, 3 m. NE. Bicester . . . . . F, X
Swalcliffe, 6 m. W. Banbury . B, T
Swerford, 4½ m. NE. Chipping Norton . . . . . E
Swinbrook, 2 m. E. Burford . T (2)
Swyncombe, 5 m. E. Wallingford X
Tadmarton, 5 m. W. Banbury B, X
Thame, 13 m. E. Oxford . . F
Watlington, 15 m. SE. Oxford F
Wattlebank, see Ash Bank
Wendlebury, 2¼ m. SW. Bicester C
Weston-on-the-Green, 4 m. SW. Bicester . . . . . F
Witney, 11 m. W. Oxford . H, X
Wootton, 2½ m. N. Woodstock . . . . . T
Wychwood, 5 m. NE. Burford F, T (4)
Yelford, 3¼ m. S. Witney . . F

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SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

FOX-HUNTING

FEW, if any, parts of Oxfordshire are not regularly visited by packs of fox-hounds. The country is at present divided among the South Oxfordshire, the Bicester and Warden Hill, and the Heythrop hunts, other packs of fox-hounds which occasionally hunt within the county boundaries being the Warwickshire, the South Berkshire, the Old Berkshire, and at times the Old Berkeley (West).

THE SOUTH OXFORDSHIRE

The name of the South Oxfordshire Hunt roughly indicates its territory. Its neighbours are, on the north the Bicester, on the east the Old Berkeley (West), on the south the Garth and South Berks, and on the west the Old Berkshire. The South Oxfordshire country is divided into the Big Woods (commonly known as the Quarters), the Vale, and the Hills; the Quarters, embracing many thousands of acres of woodland, is shared in parts with the Bicester; the Vale, which in the neighbourhood of Thame forms a continuation of the Aylesbury Vale, extends practically from Thame to Nuneham; and the Hills are those interminable beech-woods on the summit of the Chilterns in which the South Berkshire and Old Berkeley also hunt. The South Oxfordshire hunt two days a week, but a fifth day in the fortnight is sometimes put in on the Hills, which territory, however, is by no means popular.

In 1770, and probably prior to that date, the South Oxfordshire country, or a considerable portion of it, was hunted by the then Lord Abingdon, who kennelled his pack, known as the Rycote Hounds, at his seat of that name. In 1784, Lord Abingdon handed the hounds and his coverts to the Rev. John Loder, whose country thenceforward extended from beyond Fairford in Gloucester to Thame in Oxfordshire, and Stokenchurch (now in Buckinghamshire).[1] The remains of the old kennels at Rycote still stand, but the mansion was destroyed by fire. From 1814 Mr. William Codrington, of Wroughton House, Wiltshire, hunted the choicest part of the South Oxfordshire country, i.e. that round Thame and Tetsworth, the 'Three Pigeons' being then, as now, a favourite meet. Part of the country was also hunted in 1822 by Mr. Lowndes Stone, of Brightwell Park. In 1824 and 1826 Mr. Harvey Combe, then master of the Old Berkeley Hunt, took over, besides that country, the area at present hunted by the Old Berkshire and South Oxfordshire hunts, but at a later date handed over the Old Berkshire country to Lord Kintore, the hardest rider of his day.

The question of dividing so large a tract of country appears to have arisen in 1832, and in 1834 a meeting was held at Abingdon with the result that certain resolutions were formulated, which being carried into effect considerably altered the boundaries. In 1837 Mr. Morland lent ten couple of hounds to Major Fane of Wormsley, who then resided at Shirburn Lodge and had his kennels at the foot of Pyrton Hill; with these hounds he hunted what is now known as the South Oxfordshire hill country. In 1841 Mr. Morland gave permission to Mr. John Shaw Phillips to draw some of his Oxfordshire coverts, and lent Elsfield and Woodeaton coverts to the Bicester; it would seem, however, that Mr. Phillips had the right to draw the Elsfield coverts prior to this date, for the *New Sporting Magazine* of April, 1835, contains an account of a good sporting run from Stow Wood. On that occasion hounds found a leash of foxes in one of the Elsfield Woods,

> one taking his course straight to Woodeaton and Prattle Wood, on to Noke village, skirting the wood to Beckley Castle; he here ran over a portion of the far-famed Otmoor to Whitecross Green, thence to Arncott, through woods to Piddington, skirting the upper part of the village, and across Piddington Field to Ludgershall, and from thence to within a mile of Tittershall Wood at Wootton, the seat of Lord Chandos; here the hounds threw up their heads and could not make him out afterwards. This was a regular good hunting run, and at periods very fast.

[1] F. C. Loder-Symonds and E. Percy Crowdy, *History of the Old Berks Hunt.*

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It is worthy of notice that after an interval of sixty years this run was almost repeated, when Mr. Barber had such a fine hunt from Woodeaton Wood on 17 February, 1905. Mr. Morland definitely gave up the Oxfordshire country in 1845, Lord Parker taking it over and obtaining leave to hunt the Nuneham coverts in addition to his own.

In 1865 an arrangement was made by which the Nuneham coverts became neutral between the Old Berkshire and the South Oxfordshire for a period of seven years, 'the latter Hunt to include the Baldon coverts in the neutral zone and the Old Berks conceding Sandford Brake to the same arrangement.'[1] After the lapse of seven years Nuneham and Sandford Brake were hunted in the regular season by the South Oxfordshire, while the Old Berkshire had the right of cub-hunting in these coverts. This right had not been exercised for thirty years until Mr. C. B. E. Wright, then master of the Old Berkshire, brought his hounds to Sandford Brake in 1902 and the two following seasons. The arrangement would hardly appear to be a satisfactory one, particularly from the point of view of South Oxfordshire sportsmen, for Sandford Brake lies well within their country, being only some four miles from the kennels, while the education of the cubs belonging to the covert cannot be a matter of importance to the followers of a pack which may not hunt them when they have learnt their business.

Lord Parker hunted the country for two years until 1847, when he gave it up, and Mr. John Shaw Phillips succeeded him. His lordship, however, now earl of Macclesfield, after some years resumed office, becoming joint-master with Col. Fane, of Wormsley, in 1857, and the joint-mastership continued for three seasons. The earl bought the pack outright and his memorable period of mastership extended until 1884. The long reign of the Earl of Macclesfield may well be called the palmy days of the South Oxfordshire Hunt, for his lordship was not only a particularly fine judge of a hound, but possessed a thorough knowledge of the huntsman's art, while his personality and charm of manner ensured him such measure of popularity as falls to the lot of few. Until quite the latter end of his mastership Lord Macclesfield rode straight to his hounds whether in the woodlands, vale or on the hills—indeed his method of riding through the beech-woods in the latter district, with the reins hanging loose on his horse's neck, could only be copied by a man of indomitable nerve. The kennels in Lord Macclesfield's time were situated at Shirburn Castle, his seat beneath the Chilterns, and they were consequently a long way from some of the Friday fixtures; in 1884 new kennels were built at Stadhampton and the pack has been quartered there ever since. In addition to bringing the South Oxfordshire pack to a high pitch of excellence, Lord Macclesfield planted several coverts, notably Cornwell Gorse, more familiarly known as The Gorse. This covert is one of the best in the country, situated as it is in a sea of grass; and though at the present time the gorse itself has vanished, a strong growth of blackthorn has replaced it, and it is seldom that this covert is drawn blank. In the earl's time also a covert was planted by subscription at Kimble Wick on the extreme east of the South Oxfordshire country. This, however, was subsequently claimed by the Old Berkeley (West) on the ground that it had been planted on the wrong side of the boundary; the case was referred to the Masters of Foxhounds Association and was a subject of much discussion at Boodle's Club, until the verdict was given in favour of the Old Berkeley. That Hunt at the present time look upon Kimble Wick as quite their best covert, standing as it does in the Aylesbury Vale and the country round it forming a pleasant contrast to the flinty hills and beech-woods which form the greater part of their country.

Lord Macclesfield had at one time an excellent staff in W. Grant and H. Molyneux; the former became huntsman to Sir Bache Cunard and subsequently to Lord Middleton, in whose country he served for several seasons before he retired. Harry Molyneux left to become first whipper-in to Mr. Garth, and after spending a long time with that pack was appointed huntsman to the Burstow, where he still remains. Two quicker hunt-servants than these two would be hard to find, and during their service with the South Oxfordshire sport was first-rate.

Our present King, then Prince of Wales and an undergraduate at Oxford, used frequently to hunt with Lord Macclesfield and had the brush of the first fox he had seen killed by hounds near Garsington on 27 February, 1860. His Royal Highness was riding 'Comus,' a horse which had carried the celebrated huntsman of the Royal Buckhounds, Charles Davis. An amusing case of what would in some countries be called *lèse majesté* once occurred with the South Oxfordshire hounds, when the Prince, in company with several other sportsmen, took a short cut home through a farmyard at Barton belonging to a farmer named Hedges. This man shut both gates of the yard and refused to let any one go out without payment. In vain did General Bruce remonstrate and explain; the old farmer stuck to his guns and eventually the Prince had to pay up a sovereign which he borrowed from the General. It is stated that H.R.H. was much amused by the incident and that Farmer Hedges wore the sovereign on his watch-chain for the rest of his life. The public house opposite the scene of this episode is called 'The Prince of Wales's Castle.'

[1] *Hist. of the Old Berks Hunt.*

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An old hunting journal contains the following account of a memorable run during Lord Macclesfield's mastership, on 26 December, 1854:

. . . . Went on to Turner's Wood from which a fox broke immediately, ran quick across into Boarstall Wood, but he only just went inside the lower wood hedge and away from the middle ride. We then went at a capital pace by the Decoy over Muswell Hill and the earths down the hill leaving Rush-Beds on the right, crossing the Bicester road, the river Ray and Marsh Gibbon Field to within a hundred yards of Marsh village. Here our fox changed his point, turned short to the left running very short and pointing for Gravenhill Wood but after re-crossing the Bicester road and skirting Blackthorn village we got on bad terms with him and only by the help of holloas marked him into Ambrosden; here he jumped up in the ruins and dodged about the village for some time but was lost after all.

Of the many fine runs during Lord Macclesfield's mastership those known as the Nuneham and the Goddington are perhaps the most noteworthy. In the former, hounds found in Lock Wood and the earl on hearing Hawtin, the whipper-in, holloa at the Carfax end caught hold of the pack and never laid them on the line of the fox until half a mile beyond Nuneham House. They then ran quick to the top of Shotover Hill, where they would have lost but for a lucky view by Mr. J. S. Phillips, and never stopped again until they killed their fox in the open on Muswell Hill—a seven-mile point. The Goddington run took place in the last season of Lord Macclesfield's mastership; the fox was found in Studley Wood and was killed at Goddington after an eight-mile point had been made in a very short time, only some four or five followers being up at the finish.

To the great regret of all Lord Macclesfield gave up the country in 1884. He lent the pack to the country, a benefit still conferred by the Countess of Macclesfield and the Parker family. Mr. Charles Morrell, who had previously hunted the Ledbury hounds and the Worcestershire hounds and also the Berkshire Vale Harriers, succeeded him as master and hunted the hounds himself for the following three seasons. Mr. E. B. Fielden became master in 1887 and continued in that capacity for seven seasons, during which period Charles Sheppard hunted the pack. On Mr. Fielden giving up the reins of office, Mr. W. H. Ashhurst of Waterstock took on the country to the great satisfaction of all, for Mr. Ashhurst not only had the great advantage of being a local squire, but was, and is, extremely popular among the farmers of the country. On the retirement of Mr. Ashhurst in 1900 he was presented with a magnificent silver bowl by the hunting and non-hunting farmers of South Oxfordshire. A new master was now found in Mr. H. G. Pease, who hunted hounds himself, but gave up the country at the beginning of 1902, when Mr. Ashhurst stepped into the breach and in a most public-spirited manner took over the responsibilities of government until the end of the season. Mr. W. Henry Barber, of Culham Court, near Henley-on-Thames, became the next master, and engaged as huntsman Walter Keyte, late of the Quorn. This, of course, necessitated the retirement of Charles Sheppard, who, commencing with Lord Macclesfield in 1870, had served for twenty-five years in the country. A subscription for this excellent hunt-servant resulted in the collection of £600. Mr. Barber still continues as master and Keyte as huntsman and, though during their time much good sport has been shown, their first season, viz. 1902–1903—which has always been called the 'Record Season'—still stands out as the best. Not only did the total number of foxes killed (37½ brace), far exceed all former records, but the season was marked by many sterling runs, as the following brief accounts will show. Friday, 17 November—Waterperry Common. From Waterperry Wood hounds ran to Stanton Big Wood, away by the village and on towards Bayswater, crossing the brook of that name opposite Shotover Lodge and turning right-handed to Barton. Here the fox turned back and made a ring to Stanton, on to Forest Hill and over the hill to Shotover Plain and down to Open Magdalen, from which stronghold he took a most unusual line over the 'Varsity golf-links to Wareford Asylum. Here the fox entered Mr. Morrell's park and was killed at the bottom of it, a high wall preventing him from entering St. Clements, a suburb of Oxford. Time, 2 hours, 15 minutes. Yet another good run was in store on this day, for from Marston Copse, a covert situated just on the outskirts of Oxford, and therefore seldom drawn, hounds ran fast over a delightful grass country to Penywell, on to Woodeaton Wood, and from here in a wide ring round Woodeaton House up to the Islip road, which they crossed and ran down to the Ray, now keeping along its banks in a right-handed direction, finally running into their fox in the open near Noke village.

A fine hunt took place in the Friday country on 23 January, 1903, when a stout woodland fox led the pack after a preliminary skirmish through the quarters by York's and Turner's Woods away to Whitecross Green Wood, then after pointing for Arncot wheeling round to Boarstall Wood. From here, after bearing towards Hornage Copse, hounds gradually climbed the slopes of Brill Hill and with that village on the left entered Chinkwell Wood. The Rush-beds at Wootton were now traversed and Piddington appeared to be the point, but with a turn right-handed the small band of followers found themselves at Ludgershall and the chase went on to Tittershall Wood, where this good

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fox was headed by hedge-cutters and now set his mask for Grendon or Ham Green. Night was now fast coming on, and Mr. Barber reluctantly had hounds stopped, all being by this time many miles from home, while the hunt-horses had long since had enough of it. The distance covered in this fine old-fashioned run was little short of 16 miles; the line was over grass the entire time, and not a strand of wire was met with throughout.

The South Oxfordshire farmers showed their appreciation of the good sport provided for them by Mr. Barber and his huntsman on 2 March, when, at a meet of the pack at Wheatley Bridge, they presented the master with a silver horn and an illuminated address, Mrs. Barber with a diamond fox-head pin, and Keyte with a silver tankard. George Eliot, the first whipper-in, also received proof of their regard. The same day was remarkable for a fine evening gallop from Cowleaze (or Charlie Taylor's) Gorse to Lewknor, a seven-mile point, most of this run taking place over a good grass country.

One more great run during Mr. Barber's mastership may perhaps be quoted. On Friday, 17 February, 1905, at Woodeaton House, the hounds found in the wood of that name a fox which led them via Stow Wood to Noke Wood and on to Horton Spinney where a check occurred; being put right the pack ran on almost to Whitecross Green Wood and with this covert on the left went by Little Arncot to Piddington. Coming away as if for Muswell Hill hounds now ran a ring down to Piddington Village, where they were in difficulties until a holloa by Big Arncot set them going again and they ran at a good pace back to the top of Whitecross Green Wood, which covert they threaded and then raced back to Arncot again. Another ring to Piddington and back was made, and the line now lay over Muswell Hill to the Rush-beds and so into Wootton, where the fox swam the lake, and Keyte holding the pack round by the gardens hit the line off. The pace now became far too good for the tired horses as the pack ran on to the new Great Central line, then swung to the left and reached Ham Wood where this good fox, barely a hundred yards in front of hounds, beat them. To sum up briefly the day's proceedings, hounds ran, practically without intermission, from 11.40 a.m. until 5 p.m., in the course of which time they covered fully thirty miles; while, with the exception of two ploughed fields at the very commencement of the run, the line lay over good sound grass.

Mr. Barber has done much to keep up the standard of the pack by the purchase of stud-hounds and drafts from the Belvoir kennels; the hunt servants are excellently mounted, and the popularity of the master and Mrs. Barber with the agricultural classes ensures them a hearty welcome wherever they go. A feature in the South Oxfordshire country is the number of farmers who come out hunting—sometimes, indeed, forming the major part of the field. As Brooksby says,[1] it is a boast in the country that 'Ware Wheat' is a cry never heard: it is therefore strange that the more serious cry of 'Ware Wire' should at times occur with painful frequency. A strong committee of influential farmers was formed to deal with the wire difficulty, and has met with very fair success. The year 1906 saw the retirement, after forty years in office as honorary secretary, of Mr. John Thomson of Woodperry. The members and farmers presented him with a portrait of his favourite hunter 'Lancelot,' and Mrs. Thomson with a diamond pendant.

THE HEYTHROP

The Heythrop country was originally hunted by the Dukes of Beaufort, who had kennels for their Gloucester country at Badminton, while they kept their Oxfordshire pack at Heythrop Hall. The sixth duke, finding that his health would not admit of his doing justice to both countries, gave up the Oxfordshire portion in 1835. The hunt, thenceforward called the Heythrop, was governed by a committee of seven gentlemen with that fine sportsman, Lord Redesdale, at their head, and this arrangement continued for two seasons, the celebrated Jem Hills hunting the hounds. This great huntsman is said to have been the first to introduce the 'galloping cast' into the provincial countries, and that his old tactics were still pursued to the end of his career, the following pithy entry in an old hunting journal will show. It refers to a day with the Heythrop in 1860: 'Met at Begbroke; drew Stratfield Brake blank; hunted Jem Hills into the Ditchley coverts from Tackley Heath.' Jem Hills was brother to Tom of that name, the musical huntsman of the Old Surrey, of whom frequent mention is made in *Handley Cross* and *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities*. Jem Hills hunted the Heythrop pack for thirty-two years and showed unparalleled sport; Jack Goddard turned hounds to him. Goddard served as first whipper-in for fourteen years, and by his smartness and intelligence greatly assisted the huntsman in his bold style of hunting.

The Hon. T. A. Parker had a brief mastership of three months, and was succeeded by Lord Clonbrock in 1838. Short masterships were apparently fashionable at that time, for Lord Cronbrock resigned office in 1841, and was succeeded by Lord Redesdale, who this time ruled alone. His reign, which lasted for eleven seasons, was remarkable for good sport; the celebrated Tar Wood run on Christmas Eve of 1845 must always stand out as pre-eminent

[1] *Hunting Countries of England.*

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in the annals of the Heythrop hunt. There can be few hunting men who are not familiar with Egerton Warburton's stirring verses descriptive of this wonderful run when the gallant fox found in Tar Wood, disdaining to seek the shelter of any covert, led hounds some twenty miles and yielded up his brush after one hour and forty-two minutes, the distance between point and point being from fifteen to sixteen miles. Lord Redesdale, assisted by Jem Hills, got together a beautiful pack of hounds, and on his retirement in 1853 lent them to the country. On his resignation the affairs of the hunt were again managed by a committee of five gentlemen, of whom Mr. H. Hall acted as field-master.

An interesting exchange of courtesies took place on 26 November, 1861, when the South Oxfordshire, under Lord Macclesfield, paid a visit to the Heythrop country, Mr. Hall being at that time field-master of the latter. The meet was at Worton village, but not much sport was enjoyed, the weather being wet and stormy and scent bad. Lord Macclesfield succeeded, however, in hunting a fox from Barton and killing him in Rousham village. A return visit was paid on the following day, and Mr. Hall and the Heythrop had much the best of the deal. Stadhampton Gate, where the South Oxfordshire kennels now stand, was the fixture; the weather was very fine and there was a capital scent. Finding their first fox at Holcombe the Heythrop pack ran at a great pace in a ring and marked their fox to ground at Newington. The next fox from Chislehampton crossed the river Thame and was killed on the other side. From Baldon Gorse hounds ran round by Garsington village back towards Chislehampton, and were stopped on account of the lateness of the hour. Thus each master had the satisfaction of killing one of his neighbour's foxes.

After seven seasons Colonel Thomas and Mr. Grisewood became joint masters, but this arrangement only lasted from 1862 to 1863, when Mr. A. W. Hall commenced his reign, which was to last ten years. In 1873 Mr. Albert Brassey, the present master, succeeded Mr. Hall, and bought the hounds from Lord Redesdale. A fine run in December, 1881, is worthy of mention. The meet was at Stow-on-the-Wold, and an unusually large field was present. Hounds were taken down hill to draw Swell Osiers, and a fox immediately went away up the hill pointing for Banks Fee; but turning down the vale he left that covert on the left and pointed for Broadwell, skirting Crawthorne covert, then across the Broadwell and Oddington Road, the chase went on below Captain Thursby's house and over the Stow Road down into the Vale parallel with the Bourton railway, crossing the line by Bledington buildings. The pace became faster than ever as the fox pointed for Bledington village, turning again to the left straight down to the banks of the Evenlode, which he crossed. The few who remained of the 200 who had started from Swell Osiers looked aghast at the obstacle which now faced them, for the stream was in flood up to the very top of its banks. Not one of their horses could raise a trot, but Mr. Frank Sartoris without hesitating rode at the 20 ft. of water. In jumping into the field bounded by the brook his horse carried away a rood of the fence, and the horse being incapable of an effort, both he and his rider disappeared under water. Fortunately there were several farm hands and plate-layers on the railway just above the brook; they dragged out man and horse on the right side and opened the gates for him to cross the line. Now the hounds broke from scent to view and ran into their fox in a turnip-field below Kingham rectory, Mr. Sartoris being the only man out of 200 who saw the fox killed. A shepherd who helped to pull Mr. Sartoris out of the brook said that while they were getting him on to his horse he saw the fox in front, and 'never in all his life did he hear a gentleman holler like he did.' The place where this gallant sportsman jumped the fence before the brook is recognizable to this day, since, for some unaccountable reason, the blackthorns refused to grow up in the gap, and the place is now guarded by a post and rails. It is as though Nature wished for a permanent memorial to as bold a feat as ever occurred in the hunting field. The run was a notable one; a long 15 miles.

To show how history repeats itself the following account of another good day's sport is added. In December, 1905, the Heythrop met at Bourton Wood, a fixture generally despised: why, it is hard to tell, for though it is not altogether a pleasant place in itself the surroundings offer great possibilities. A fox went away at once pointing for Cadley, but with this on his right set his mask straight for the Warwickshire country. After going at a great pace for a mile or two the hounds completely slipped the field in a most unaccountable manner (probably by turning at right angles under one of the very thick and high fences which bound all the fields in these parts) and the followers kept on, supposing the hounds to be still in front of them. The next time the pack was sighted they were going for all they were worth over a hill to the left and at least two miles away. It is doubtful whether anyone succeeded in catching them up, but it could only be a short time before they killed their fox near Golden Cross. And now comes the part of the day which so closely resembles the great run of 1881. Banks Fee for about the only time on record failed to hold, but an outlier was put up in a field close to Mr. Evan Pritchard's house. The pack were on his brush as the fox ran down into the vale for Broadwell, but he gained on his pursuers,

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in spite of a tearing scent. Racing over the meadows below Broadwell the fox skirted Crawthorne covert and then, still keeping to the vale, he went straight for the Stow road, crossing this just below the old windmill. Now rising the hill he led down the valley to the Bourton railway and over it pointing straight on for Blidington village, and with this on the right he seemed inclined to cross the Evenlode almost at the scene of Mr. Sartoris' exploit fourteen years before. Fortunately he changed his mind, and keeping along the water-meadows left Foxcote village on his right and was run into before he could reach the sanctuary of Bold Wood. The point was 7 miles and the pace was remarkable throughout; the huntsman had only to leave his hounds alone and ride as close to them as he could.

Captain Denis Daly, the master's son-in-law, acts as field-master when Mr. Brassey is unable to be out, and by his gallant riding sets a fine example to all who follow the Heythrop. The country has always been a favourite one with the Oxford undergraduates—'Who the deuce would go to lecture with the Heythrop at Bradwell Grove?' sings Finch Mason; and it certainly would be hard to find better fun than a quick dart over the light ploughs and stone walls which abound in this district in the wake of the jealous little Heythrop bitches. It is unwise to attempt to take a forward place in the stone wall country unless mounted on a horse that knows his business, for though the top of an ordinary wall may be sent flying with ill results only to the horse's legs, a coping does not yield, and if not cleared will give the rider a most 'imperial crowner.' Light arable lands and stone walls do not compose the entire Heythrop country; on the contrary there is much good grass in the vales, interspersed by strong fences and wide brooks, chief among which are the Gawcombe and Deddington brooks. The territory over which Mr. Brassey holds sway is bounded on the south by the Old Berkshire and V.W.H., on the west by the Cotteswold and North Cotteswold, on the north by the Warwickshire, and on the east by the Bicester. Tar Wood is neutral with the Old Berkshire, that pack having the right of cub-hunting in it. Thanks to the popularity of Mr. Brassey wire is practically unknown in the country, while owing to the goodwill of the farmers the hunt is welcomed on the arable land long after other packs have had to give up hunting on account of the young spring crops.

THE BICESTER AND WARDEN HILL

The earliest discoverable record of fox-hunting in the present Bicester and Warden Hill country bears date 1778, when the celebrated John Warde, who at that time also hunted over a great part of what is now known as the Warwickshire country, established a kennel at Weston-on-the-Green, subsequently moving to Bicester, where he built kennels and stabling and started the Bicester Hunt. This famous sportsman, 'the father of fox-hunting,' kept hounds for fifty-seven years of his life; he was noted for his good humour and for his pithy sayings, among which his recipe for a hot, fractious horse is perhaps the best: 'It's a *certain* cure in twenty minutes, particularly after a wet night and a rapid thaw,' said Mr. Warde. 'Pray tell me what it is,' replied the owner. 'My *carcase*,' replied Mr. Warde, who weighed a good eighteen stone. Lord Sefton, who succeeded him, only remained for one season.

Sir Thomas Mostyn became master at the end of 1799. His mastership lasted till 1829, during the whole of which period he never took a subscription. 'The character of the Mostyn Hunt,' says a writer in the *New Sporting Magazine*,' never ranked with the very crack packs of England, . . . For pace, however, they have been conspicuous, when all went well as to country, scent, &c.; but difficulties too often presented themselves, from which hounds in the neighbourhood of Universities cannot expect to be free.

As regards the latter part of this criticism, recent masters of the Bicester on occasion have found that the rule applies to the present day. Sir Thomas Mostyn had at one time as huntsman the 'great' Stephen Goodall—great in every sense, for his riding weight, with saddle, &c., is said to have exceeded twenty stone. The Rev. 'Griff' Lloyd also assisted his relative as amateur huntsman, and from his roughness of speech and manner appears to have been by no means popular, though undoubtedly a keen sportsman. 'The Druid' tells many quaint stories of this curious character, who was a Fellow of All Souls, rector of Christleton near Chester, and curate of Newton Purcell in Oxfordshire. Sir Thomas Mostyn, though for many years prevented from hunting by the gout, maintained the pack in order to give pleasure to others, and his resignation of the country was a source of the keenest regret to all who hunted with him.

Mr. Thomas Tyrwhitt Drake, M.P. for Amersham, then became master with a subscription of about £2,000 a year, and his memorable reign extended over a period of twenty-two years. Such a number of fine runs during Mr. Drake's mastership are recorded by 'Esau' in the *New Sporting Magazine* that it is hard to pick out any day of exceptional merit, but the following account of a hunt in 1833 may be noticed as having taken place in the Bicester and the South Oxfordshire country of the present day. Meeting at Rycote in November of that year—

Two brace of foxes were presently turned out of Fern Hill—one going away in good style across Rycote Park by the Old Paddock, in the direction of

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Tetsworth through Thame Park, and from thence to Emmington, where he was lost in the Decoy. It was a *capital* run of forty-five minutes, and would have been a *brilliant* one had it not been for the unfortunate mistake made by the *old hand*, one generally to be depended upon, who sang out Tally-ho *back*, which turned out to be puss instead of the vermin. After the mistake was discovered the hounds were again set on him, but he had been gone too long, and made his escape in the direction of the Beech-Woods.

After almost three-quarters of a century Fern Hill and the Old Paddock are still two of the best coverts in the South Oxfordshire country. Matters during the earlier portion of Mr. Drake's rule appear not to have run quite as smoothly as they should, partly on account of the scarcity of foxes, and partly from the difficulty in raising the requisite subscription; indeed, in March 1833 Mr. Drake made up his mind to sell the pack, but a generous sportsman came forward in the person of Sir Henry Peyton, and the financial affairs of the hunt were once more put on a satisfactory footing. Mr. Drake was succeeded by his son, who hunted the county until 1855 and built the kennels at Stratton Audley.

Captain Anstruther-Thomson then became master, bringing with him his own pack of hounds from the Atherstone, and hunting them himself, and whipping-in to his professional huntsman on alternate days. Captain Thomson's most notable run occurred on 23 December, 1856, when hounds met at Charndon Common, found at Nole Hill, and without being cast once ran by Marsh Gibbon, Piddington, over Muswell Hill to Boarstall Wood, then turning back through the Arncots lost at Merton, having made a sixteen-mile point in one hour and twenty minutes without the vestige of a check. Captain Anstruther-Thomson killed in his last season with the Bicester forty-five brace of foxes, considered in those days a notable achievement, though nowadays that total is doubled every year. Mr. T. T. Drake entered on his second period of mastership in 1857, and continued to hunt the country until 1862. An old hunting journal gives the following brief account of a fine day's sport on 9 December, 1861, when Mr. Drake's hounds met at Chesterton village.

Found first fox at Grave Hill Wood, ran very fast, leaving Launton on the left to a drain near Marsh Gibbon. Time, 25 minutes. Dug out and killed. Second fox found at Godington—ran a ring and lost. Third fox found at Cotmore Gorse, ran by Bainton Braid Farm, leaving Fringford Hill on the left to Godington (great pace) through the covert straight to the railway near Pounding (Pounden). Then to the left by Twyford, across the river to Hillesdon, ran under Padbury to Buckingham, crossed the river and railway at Radclive (Radcliffe), turning to the left. Whipped off at Stratford Hill. All the horses tired; very few at the finish.

Rough measurement shows that the distance from point to point was nine miles, hounds covering sixteen and a half miles.

In 1862 Sir Algernon Peyton and Mr. Richardson became joint masters of what was now to be known as the Bicester and Warden Hill Hunt; but this arrangement only lasted for one season, and Mr. T. T. Drake entered on his third period of mastership in 1863. The Hon. W. H. T. North succeeded Mr. Drake in 1866 and remained in office for four years, his last day as master being 31 March, 1870, when a good day's sport is recorded. Meeting at Skimmingdish Gate,

hounds found a brace of foxes at Fringford Hill, ran one through Shelswell to Cottisford and lost. Then went to Stratton Spinney and killed a vixen. Found again at Godington Gorse and ran fast by Pounden, then turned to the left by Godington village and over the grass to Foster's farm by Preston and Shelswell to Tusmore and lost.

Sir Algernon Peyton became master, this time without a partner, in 1870, but his reign only lasted a short time, for on 27 March, 1872, when passing through Bicester on his way back from hunting, he was in the act of taking a cup of tea at the King's Arms when he suddenly fell from his horse and expired.

Next came the mastership of Viscount Valentia, under whose rule from 1872 to 1885 the followers of the Bicester enjoyed excellent sport, particularly perhaps while Dick Stovin (who later went to the Heythrop) was huntsman. A notable run occurred on 6 January, 1873, when the meet was at Waddesdon cross-roads. Finding an outlier near Eythorpe hounds ran at a great pace by Blackgrove to Oving and on nearly to Highhavens; they then turned back to Christmas Gorse, pointing for the Claydon Woods as far as East Claydon, over the water by Eustace's Farm to Monk's Gorse, round Winslow until they were stopped at the Lone Tree after a run of four hours and ten minutes; the point being one of seventeen miles. The viscount was succeeded in 1885 by Lord Chesham, who hunted the pack alternately with Stovin and Wilson. His lordship was a rare good man to hounds and few could get the better of him when the pack ran hard over a strongly fenced country; he was somewhat of a martinet in the field. Among the good runs recorded during Lord Chesham's mastership the following may be quoted: On 27 January, 1890, met at Whitecross Green, and Wilson, whose turn it was to handle the pack, soon had a fox afoot in Whitecross Wood. Going away at the top end hounds ran fast to Boarstall, and leaving the wood on the right kept on over the Oakley Road pointing for Brill, but they swung right-handed, and with Oakley Village on the right crossed the Chilton-Brill Road, and running past Chilton crossed the Dorton Brook,

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killing their fox in the open on Pollicot Hill. The point of this capital gallop was six and a quarter miles as the crow flies; the pace was very hot all the time, and as the country rode very heavy nearly all the horses were quite done up by the time the Dorton Brook was reached. It was a sight to see the number of people in the water at the same time.

On Lord Chesham's resignation in 1893 the Bicester sportsmen were rather hard put to it to find a new master, but Mr. P. Colville Smith came forward and reigned for two seasons, Wilson still continuing to hunt the pack. A fine day's sport occurred on 19 March, 1894, during Mr. Colville Smith's mastership. Meeting at Steeple Claydon the day was begun with a fast ring from Eustace's Gorse with a kill at the end of twenty minutes near the original starting-point. With the next fox found at Lines Spinney (Hillesdon) hounds ran at a great pace pointing for Preston Bisset, turned over the Chetwode Road and so down to the river, crossing it close to Godington village, where they checked for the first time. The pace then became slower as the hunt went on past Poodle Gorse and Deely's Gorse to Launton Station, where the pack ran alongside the railway for some distance, then crossed close to Marsh Gibbon Station, passed Marsh Village, and just touching Blackthorn Gorse almost reached Piddington village. Here hounds turned left-handed to Tittershall Wood where they were stopped, the horses of the few survivors being pretty well 'cooked.' From Lines Spinney to Tittershall Wood is a point of eight miles; but as hounds ran the distance was twice as great. The line lay over grass throughout.

The Earl of Cottenham became master in 1895, and with the youngest M.F.H. and the youngest staff in England everything 'made' for sport, and sport there was in abundance. Cox, called 'Will' because his name is Charles, apparently on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, became huntsman; Walter Wilson, son of the old huntsman, turning hounds to him. Always a 'fox-catcher,' irreverent undergraduates have been heard to say that to follow Will Cox on one of his galloping casts was as good as a hunt in many other countries. Walter Wilson and Cox continue to show sport to a critical Bicester field. The latter retains his wonderful knack of handling his foxes, while his control over hounds makes the task of the whippers-in almost a sinecure. A record of a good cheery day with Lord Cottenham runs thus:—

Met at Chilton on 12 March, 1896; a small field out. Soon found in Chearsley Firs, and after most unfortunately chopping a vixen in covert got away with the dog-fox and, crossing the brook at once, ran very fast over the hill to Dorton Spa Wood—hardly stopped a minute and kept on at a good pace to Hornage Copse, which was barely touched, and hounds ran to the cross-roads near Easington Farm, killing their fox there in the open after a capital gallop of forty-five minutes. After a lot of drawing found our next fox at Tittershall and ran a ring to the Rush-Beds—away over the tram-line to Chinkwell Wood, which was not entered, and the hunt went on under Brill, crossing the road up to Muswell Hill. Here the fox pointed for the Quarters, but turned right-handed and sank the hill to Piddington where there was a check. Cox hit the line off again after a bit, and hounds then ran past Little Arncot up Muswell Hill again and got to slow hunting; but, thanks to a good forward cast by Will, they got on better terms again and ran down the hill to the Rush-Beds, where the fox lay down dead-beat and hounds soon had him. This was a right good hunt of one hour and fifty minutes.

Lord Cottenham relinquished command in 1899 and the hunt was fortunate in securing a successor in Mr. J. P. Heywood Lonsdale, who continues to guide its fortunes. Mr. Lonsdale has established himself on a firm footing by marrying Lord Valentia's daughter and by buying an estate in the country. Though the huge fields which nowadays pour in by railway from London and the big manufacturing towns take heavy toll of the fences and pasture-land, the farmers appreciate the master's exertions to safeguard their interests and welcome the hounds on their lands. The Bicester country suffers much from railways, for a branch of the Great Central Railway and the Great Western Railway now cuts right through the pleasant Chearsley Vale, and there is in course of construction yet another line which will pass close to the historic Wootton and practically destroy the Rush-beds, the start and finish of so many a good run. Evidence of Mr. Lonsdale's popularity is also shown by the fact that the Bicester country enjoys the rare distinction of being free from wire! To bring the accounts of good runs up to the present master's time, the following entry in a diary may be quoted: Meeting at Langford Lane on 27 March, 1902, Gravenhill Wood was first drawn and produced a rather mangy-looking fox, which, after one or two turns round the covert, went away, and leaving Bicester on the left hounds ran at a great pace for fifteen minutes when a longish check occurred and they kept on at a slower rate to Blackthorn Gorse. From here they ran as fast as light to Piddington village, where about two couple of hounds took a line right-handed up Muswell Hill, but the body of the pack kept on to the Rush-beds, went on through Wootton, and lost under Grendon village. All the horses of the small band of survivors were 'beat to the world.'

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SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

STAG-HUNTING

Stag-hunting never appears to have found much favour in Oxfordshire, though it was customary at one time for the Royal Buckhounds to meet annually at Stonor Park, the seat of the Lords Camoys. The following account of one of these 'gala days' occurs, the date being Friday, 19 April, 1861 :—

Ran round the woods above Stonor, then across Turville Heath and North End Common, down hill by Shirburn Castle, Pyrton Heath and Cutt Mill to Chalgrove, past Rofford to Ascot. Left Little Milton on the right, nearly reached Chislehampton, came back to Garsington and took the stag in the village.

In the following year Her Majesty's Stag-hounds met at Stonor on 18 March and ran by Turville and North End down to Pyrton, on by Britwell, Crowmarsh and Mongewell, the stag being taken at South Stoke.

HARRIERS

Many parts of Oxfordshire are admirably suited for the sport of hare-hunting and it is surprising that more packs of harriers do not exist in the county. Mr. Mark Morrell, the founder of the great Oxford firm of brewers, kept a pack in the early thirties, and many an undergraduate of those days was first entered to hounds with 'Mr. Mark's' harriers. This gentleman appears to have been of a somewhat irascible temperament, for history relates that on one occasion he chased an undergraduate round and round a turnip field, brandishing his hunting-crop and threatening to flay his quarry alive if he caught him. He was succeeded by his son, Mr. James Morrell, who hunted over a large tract of country in Berkshire and Oxfordshire until in 1847 he became master of the Old Berkshire Hunt.

The Rev. C. Dundas Everett was for about twenty years master of the Berkshire Vale Harriers and had a beautiful pack of hounds which hunted in Berkshire and Oxfordshire. Mr. Charles Morrell took over the pack from him in 1881 and showed much sport until in 1884 he took the South Oxfordshire hounds. He in turn was succeeded by Mr. W. R. Milne of Leamington who hunted the country for six years and then handed the pack over to a gentleman who summed up the country as being 'a d——d glue-pot' and gave up after one season. Although these harriers hunted over a good deal of Berkshire, they were constantly in South Oxfordshire; such places as Warborough, Benson and Ewelme being favourite fixtures. Mr. J. S. Mason, of Eynsham Hall, had in recent years a very smart little pack of harriers with which he showed much sterling sport, but he gave them up some three seasons ago. A pack called the Peppard Farmers' was started in 1905 and hunts over a good deal of the Oxfordshire side of the South Berkshire country; that is to say, the Chiltern ranges between Nettlebed and Reading, a district which was hunted more than twenty years back by the Wyfold Harriers kept by Sir Robert Hermon-Hodge, and later by Mr. E. R. Portal, who was master of the Craven from 1892 to 1895.

BEAGLES

The country in the neighbourhood of Oxford is well hunted by beagles; the following undergraduates' packs are now in existence: the Christ Church, New College and Magdalen, and the Exeter College. The first-named pack has been in existence for a considerable number of years, and on more than one occasion has won laurels at Peterborough. The kennels are at Garsington and the pack hunts over a good deal of South Oxfordshire country, where it is welcome as being often the means of driving outlying foxes back to the coverts. The New College and Magdalen Beagles hunt over much the same country, though at times they go further afield and cross the border into Berkshire. The Exeter College pack, one of more recent origin, hunt north of Oxford within the bounds of the Heythrop country.

COURSING

Many parts of the county are well adapted for coursing, the fields generally being large with low fences, though some of the plough-land is very heavy, especially in the neighbourhood of Thame, where meetings were held in the seventies. The oldest clubs the writer can trace are the Oxfordshire and the Fourshire which existed some fifty or sixty years since. The former club held some most successful meetings in Blenheim Park, but these were brought to an end by the division of the Park into paddocks by wire fencing; this necessarily

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rendered coursing impracticable. The club afterwards held meetings at Campsfield, now the Duke of Marlborough's estate, and at Middleton and Barton Abbey over Lord Jersey's estates, which also provided good sport. Some capital meetings were also held at Culham, not far from Oxford; the meet used to take place at the railway-station, and the ground was covered as far as Abingdon, over the estate of the late Mr. Morrell. An old supporter of the meeting writes:—

> I have been on most of the coursing grounds in the kingdom but I put Culham among the best places for the sport. . . . It was no trouble to run through four eight-dog stakes in the day and be back at Oxford by 4 o'clock—but it was useless taking a dog to Culham unless he could stay.

Mr. W. R. Pratt of Woodstock was the hon. secretary of the Oxfordshire Club as long as it existed, and as a boy he slipped for the Fourshire Club. Mr. Pratt's experience dates from the fifties; he owned his first greyhound in 1854. Among the local supporters of the clubs were Messrs. D. Mather, Colman, A. Howland, Hedges, Franklin, Johnson, Hewer, Castle, Harvey, &c. Some differences occurring between the keeper and tenants, the Culham coursing was lost to the club.

During the lifetime of the late Messrs. A. Howland and Coltman the East Berks Club used to hold meetings at Thame over very heavy plough-land. There are still plenty of hares in the district, but interest in the sport is lacking. Hares are also plentiful on the estates of Lord Ducie in the neighbourhood of Churchill, Lyneham, Sarsden, and Chadlington; and some fine sport is enjoyed in this district by a number of farmers who keep greyhounds and arrange private matches.

Mr. J. Walker of Walmer House, Stanton Harcourt, near Oxford, breeds greyhounds of the best class on a large scale. He has also recently made his début as a coursing judge.

The meetings mentioned never extended to more than one day, and their interest was more or less local; but nevertheless much excellent sport has been enjoyed.

SHOOTING

Although Oxfordshire cannot be said to rank among the first-class shooting counties of England, there are many districts within its area which from the nature of the soil and surroundings lend themselves to the successful rearing and preservation of game. This, perhaps, applies more especially to the range of the Chilterns, where pheasants and partridges thrive, though the almost interminable chain of beech-woods which crowns these heights renders the shooting of the former birds somewhat difficult by reason of the scarcity of undergrowth under the older trees, which permits the birds to run. In fact, it is only on estates where the beech has been cleared out and box or privet planted for preserving purposes, that satisfactory bags of pheasants are obtained; on other estates it has been said that there is nothing to prevent an old cock-pheasant from running to London should he so desire it. The chalky soil, too, on these hills appears to suit the pheasant, as witness the many game farms which now exist in that part of the county, among the most successful being those of Major Boyle of Dame Leys and Mr. Alfred Major England of Greenfield, both near Watlington. Partridges abound on the hills, but are hard to shoot by walking up on account of the noise made by the sportsman's feet on the innumerable flints and the scarcity of cover; while the size of the fields and the lowness of the fences make driving particularly difficult. The red-legged partridge, once despised and rejected as likely to banish the English bird, is now rather encouraged than otherwise, as he has been found by no means inimical to the native partridge, and is most useful for driving purposes, coming as he does fearlessly and straight for the guns, and often leading other birds which might have been inclined to 'jink.' In many parts of the county hares still exist in large numbers, as many as 80 or 100 being killed in a single shoot; and rabbits swarm on the open juniper-covered Downs, where they can do little or no harm. So numerous are the animals in some places that a casual observer might think the only effect of the Ground Game Act had been to lead farmers to preserve hares and rabbits more carefully. A large portion of the county is devoted to fox-hunting, and in such areas preservation of game on a large scale is not seriously attempted; yet there are many estates where foxes and pheasants live together.

At Eynsham Hall the rabbit-shooting used to be a great feature, but of late years this has been discontinued, and the rabbits are now killed down to the smallest possible limits by trapping. Here Mr. Mason tried the French system of rearing partridges, but with unsatisfactory results, and is now turning down Hungarian birds. Formerly Hungarian eggs were procured and the young birds hatched out under hens; the results were distinctly good, bags of over 125 brace being frequently made, and this on an estate where grass predominates. Pheasants at Eynsham are not at present reared on such a large scale as formerly, but since 1890 the best bags have been 1,360, 1,382, 1,383, 1,428, and 1,338, with seven guns a day.

In a good beech-mast year the woods on the Chilterns swarm with wood-pigeons. So great

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are their numbers that when they rise simultaneously the roar made by their wings resembles that of a sea breaking on a rocky shore, while from an eminence above them the tree-tops present a most curious light-blue appearance. The year 1894 was particularly noticeable for the multitude of wood-pigeons in the beech-woods: a game-keeper at Wormsley, taking with him a dark lantern, a dog, and a stick, killed over sixty in one night. Anon these birds visit the oak-woods, particularly those vast woodlands known as the Quarters near Oxford. The record bag of wood-pigeons was that made by Mr. J. F. Mason of Eynsham Hall in the winter of 1901–2. By careful study of the habits of the birds, and the skilful use of decoys, Mr. Mason killed to his own gun 252 wood-pigeons between the hours of 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. in one day. His bag for five days averaged 217 pigeons per day, made up as follows:—18 November, 130; 23 November, 71; 30 November, 252; 16 December, 160; 24 December, 194; and 31 December, 219; and in nine days he shot 1,005 pigeons. The decoys used were stuffed birds; these were placed on the top of a lofty oak-tree, in a wood of spruce and oaks, with their heads facing the wind, while the shooter stood in a hiding-place made of fir boughs. 1,156 wood-pigeons were killed in this particular tree.

Oxfordshire is not a very good county for woodcock, though the birds are met with in small numbers in nearly every part of it; half a dozen, or perhaps ten, are accounted a good bag. They are found in the Chilterns, and mention may be made of Russells Water Common, or Maidensgrove Scrubbs, both on the Swyncombe property, where the covert consists of stunted oak; here as many as a dozen may be seen in a day. In the Quarters also very fair bags of woodcock are made occasionally.

Now that the marshes have been drained, snipe are only found in small quantities, and perhaps it is hardly fair to mention the Oxford Corporation farm at Sandford-on-Thames where, as on most sewage farms, the birds abound. The writer has seen as many as fifty on the wing at the same time.

Pyrton, the estate of Mr. E. Hamersley, furnishes an example of the results accomplished by careful preserving. This property, which lies near Watlington, and practically at the foot of the Chilterns, extends to about 850 acres, of which some 500 are kept in hand, while the total acreage of cover amounts to some 35 acres. Yet on this small area the total annual bags are seldom less than 3,000 head, and in the season 1899–1900 reached 7,000 head, made up of 580 pheasants, 257 partridges, 146 hares, 6,107 rabbits, 57 wood-pigeons and sundries. The coverts in 1905–6 were shot twice within the fortnight, and yielded on the first occasion 609 head, and on the second 539 head, 871 rabbits being killed in the two days by six guns each day. The rabbits on the Pyrton estate are killed down to a minimum at the end of every season by ferreting and trapping; and are kept on their own ground by the use of wire netting, so that the crops and young plantations suffer little if any damage. To compare the bags of the present day at Pyrton with those of fifty years ago is difficult, because the only covert in the time of Mr. Hamersley's father consisted of some 8 acres, while the present owner has increased this to about 35 acres by judicious planting; but it is perhaps interesting to note that in 1857 and many subsequent years Mr. E. Hamersley, who kept the game-book, complains bitterly of the scarcity of rabbits. It should be added that the South Oxfordshire hounds seldom call on Mr. Hamersley's coverts in vain.

Blenheim is one of the principal shooting estates in the county. Unfortunately the old game-books were destroyed in a fire which occurred at the palace some years ago, and the present records do not go further back than the season 1870–1. The bag of those days did not differ in any great degree from that of the past season (1905–6), some 9,000 head of game being killed in the first-named season as compared with about 11,000 head in the past winter. The best season here was that of 1896–7, when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, our present king, paid the Duke of Marlborough a visit, and on 27 November was one of a party who shot 1,334 pheasants; the total bag for the day being 2,210 head. The guns on this occasion were H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Gosford, Viscount Curzon, Sir S. Scott, Major-General Ellis, the Rt. Hon. Henry Chaplin, and Mr. W. H. Grenfell. The total amount of game shot that season was 23,196 head. The partridge shooting on the Blenheim estate has been greatly improved of late years by the turning down of Hungarian birds, and by driving. In the season 1905–6, 1,571 partridges were killed, 193 brace being obtained by seven guns in a single day's driving, and in 1904–5, when the stock had suffered severely from the disastrous season which preceded it, 1,157 birds were killed. Going back to 1877, the game-book shows that 527 partridges were shot in the season—a fair average bag for many Oxfordshire estates at the present time.

Undeterred by the example of Eynsham, the duke is now trying the French method of partridge-rearing, and the pens for this purpose are in course of construction.

Among other estates in Oxfordshire, Nuneham may be mentioned; for although the late Mr. Aubrey Harcourt did not preserve on a large scale, his pheasants were most sporting, coming as they did very 'tall,' while the beat off the island when hand-reared wild-duck and pheasants came together was a remarkably pretty one.

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As showing the 'sporting' nature of the bags made in earlier days, an entry in the Haseley Court game-book of 1851 may be quoted. The bag included pheasants, partridges, woodcock, snipe, hares, rabbits, and wood-pigeons, these being killed on the same day by one gun. A curious entry occurs in 1853: 'Dropshot Copse—2 hares, Three or four Poachers'; whether the latter formed part of the day's bag is not clear! A good bag was made over pointers on 1 September, 1859, when five guns killed 101 partridges and 6 hares. On 22 December in the same year Big Wood, which as a matter of fact hardly covers 30 acres, was shot over by six guns and yielded 26 pheasants, 4 pigeons, 109 hares, and 18 rabbits. The spinneys and double hedges with which the Haseley Court estate abounds would have lent themselves particularly well to shooting over spaniels, while the wide fields, over which driving would be well-nigh impossible, form ideal ground for the work of pointer or setter. In the course of a day's shooting on 22 November, 1860, eight foxes were seen. In 1865 a rough-legged buzzard was killed at Spartum (or Spartham) Bog, which, by the way, is one of the best of the South Oxfordshire fox-coverts. It is always interesting to notice the variety of wild fowl which fly out of the covert while the hounds are busy among the reeds and rushes so beloved of foxes.

The country about Henley-on-Thames is most favourable for game, and more especially for pheasants, which, owing to the contour of the country, are bound to be real rocketers. Indeed, at Stonor Park, the seat of Lord Camoys, the cult of the 'high bird' existed long ago, and it used to be said that the old lord of three generations back, who always shot in a tall hat and white duck trousers, was the only man able to kill the Stonor pheasants.

The big woodlands of Oxfordshire harbour all manner of vermin, and the writer has on one occasion, when hunting among the Chiltern beech-woods, seen no less than twenty-one magpies on the wing at the same time. These birds undoubtedly pilfer eggs, though it is open to question whether jays, which also abound and are pursued relentlessly by gamekeepers, do as much harm as is ascribed to them. Although the vast woodlands near Oxford itself are always full of foxes, little could ever be done here in the way of pheasant-rearing on a large scale. The county, therefore, is one of the few of which it can be said that fox-hunting and shooting seldom, if ever, interfere with each other.

ANGLING

Bounded on the south for 74 miles by the River Thames, intersected by numerous tributaries of this river, and having many lakes and ponds within its borders, Oxfordshire affords to the angler ample and varied opportunities. From the earliest times the Thames has been regarded as one of the most important angling rivers in England. Dr. R. Plot, in *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, 1677, considers 'the plenty and goodness of the fish to be a sure indication of the wholesomeness of the waters,' and in order to prove the purity of the Thames he says—

> In the year 1674 it gave so ample testimony of its great plenty, that, in two days appointed for the fishing of Mr. Mayor and the Bayliffs of the City, it afforded between St. Swithin's Wear, and Woolvercot Bridge (which I guess may be about three miles distant) fifteen hundred Jacks, besides other fish.

Many of the older anglers maintain that there are not nearly as many fish in the Thames as there were forty or fifty years ago, when netting was a means of livelihood to a large number of professional fishermen; and they attribute this partly to the increase in the number of anglers, and partly to the better drainage of the flood-water, which has caused many of the ditches and smaller streams, to which the fish formerly resorted to spawn, to run dry. Most of these anglers base their estimate of the number of fish in the river on the number taken out of it, and on this fallacious method of reckoning, a river would certainly appear to be improved, as many maintain that it actually is, by occasional netting. The great increase in the number of Thames anglers in recent years has doubtless rendered the fish more shy and difficult to catch; but it is hard to believe that the depletion of the river by the increase in the number of fishermen has not been more than counterbalanced by the recent restocking measures, and by the abolition of netting and the prevention of poaching. The two most important Thames Angling Societies in the county are the Henley-on-Thames and District Fishery Preservation Association, and the Oxford Angling Society. For more than twenty years both these societies have been carrying on most useful and important work in restocking the river, and in the prevention of netting and poaching.

Between the years 1882 and 1906 the Henley Society has placed the following fish in the Thames: 172,000 trout ova, 11,600 fry, 9,300 yearlings and two-year-olds up to 14½ in., 150 large three-year-olds marked with a silver label through the adipose fin, and 10,500 bream, roach, perch, tench, rudd, and carp. From 1891 to 1906 the Oxford Angling Society has

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placed in the Thames 500 trout and 8,034 roach, perch, chub, pike, tench, rudd, and bream. Mr. A. E. Hobbs, the honorary secretary of the Henley Society, has kindly furnished the following notes on the results of the restocking in the Henley district :—

The restocking operations have undoubtedly yielded good results, the full benefit of which we have not yet experienced, so far as the trout are concerned, but in spite of the fact that the weather was persistently adverse last spring, I and other local anglers saw more trout of 2 to 4 lb. weight than for many years previously. That the trout turned in at any particular point do not benefit that immediate district only is, I consider, sufficiently proven by the fact that marked fish turned in at Henley, at one spot, have distributed themselves over a known area of 4½ miles, the distance being accurately determined by various points of capture both up stream and down stream. But there is no doubt young trout soon cease their roaming habit and take up a permanent home in one spot for many years, when once settled. This I have proved by actual circumstances. Since the first restocking with bream—before which the capture of one of these fish was a very rare occurrence indeed—a very fair number of good fish have been taken ; not large bags, but more frequently individual fish, the best I have knowledge of was a fine specimen of 8 lb. or slightly over. On more than one occasion during recent years I have seen a shoal within two miles of Henley Bridge.

The following list of Thames trout caught by Mr. Hobbs during the past ten years affords further evidence of the value of restocking : 10 lb. 6 oz., 10 lb. 2 oz., 9 lb. 10½ oz., 9 lb. 5 oz., 9 lb. 1½ oz., 9 lb., 8 lb. 8 oz., 8 lb., 7 lb. 12 oz., 7 lb. 11 oz., and twenty other trout from 4 lb. to 6 lb. 5 oz. The Oxfordshire portion of the river has also been benefited from the restocking operations of the Berkshire Clubs at Reading and Abingdon. The following are the best specimens of the more important varieties of Thames fish caught during recent years :—Pike, 26 lb., caught spinning by the writer at Bablock Hythe, 23 January, 1898 ; barbel, 11 lb. 12 oz., caught by the lock-keeper at Sandford Lock, July, 1905 ; chub, 7 lb. 1 oz., from the Henley district, vouched for by Mr. Hobbs ; tench, 4 lb., caught by Mr. Morley at New Bridge, August, 1905 ; roach, 2 lb. 8 oz., caught by Mr. W. H. Daw, 9 July, 1905 ; roach, 2 lb. 8 oz., caught by Mr. Young at Bablock Hythe, 13 August, 1905. No very large perch have been caught in recent years, but during 1905 Mr. Hobbs caught ninety-five fish ; thirty-five being returned to the river, the remaining sixty scaled 47 lb. Angling in the Thames is for the most part free, either because the owners of the fishing rights do not trouble to assert their claims, or 'because the real proprietors of the soil and fishery cannot trace and establish their title.'[1] In the Thames above Oxford, however, there appears to be a growing tendency on the part of the landowners or occupiers to resent the presence of anglers on their land, a natural result of the practice of those anglers who in parties of from fifteen to thirty drive out from Oxford on Sunday and fish certain portions of the upper river. In the neighbourhood of New Bridge and Duxford particularly the farmers are warning off trespassers. Certain portions of the river, the Trout Inn water at Lechlade, for example, can only be fished by the payment of a small fee. The Oxford Angling Society rents the water from Whitley Scours, a mile below Bablock Hythe, for about five miles down stream ; from King's Weir to Godstow Lock the water is preserved by the landlord of the Trout Inn, Godstow. Below Sandford Lock to the railway bridge at Nuneham the water is preserved conjointly by the Cowley and Abingdon Angling Societies.

The two chief trout streams in the county are the Windrush and the Evenlode ; formerly they were both celebrated for the fine trout which they contained, but as a consequence of many years' neglect and pollution the fish became very scarce. During the past few years, however, efforts have been made to improve the fishing, and with most satisfactory results.

The Windrush enters Oxfordshire near Burford, and, flowing through the county for about 16 miles, joins the Thames at New Bridge. The whole of the river with the exception of some hotel water at Burford is in private hands and is now strictly preserved.

A few years ago some rainbow trout were turned in at Minster Lovell, but the experiment was not a success as none of the fish have since been seen. Below Witney the river has been restocked since 1901 with 1,000 yearlings and 2,250 two-year-olds from the Wyresdale, Brimpton, and Chess hatcheries. During the mayfly season good sport is now obtainable in this portion of the stream, but at other times the only chance of success appears to be with large flies of fancy patterns, fished wet. Several thousand dun larvæ were turned into the stream during 1905, and although one or two fish have since been caught on the small olive dun, sufficient time has not yet elapsed to prove the value of these experiments. Probably the recent instalment of a drainage system at Witney will tend greatly to the improvement of the river below that town. Besides trout the Windrush contains a large number of chub and dace, some roach and a few pike ; there are perch in the neighbourhood of Burford, but these fish are rarely found below Witney.

The Evenlode enters the county at Bledington, and after passing through Shipton under Wychwood, Charlbury, and Long Handborough enters the Thames about a mile below Eynsham Bridge. It is only in the upper reaches that this water has the slightest pretension to rank as

[1] Mr. Justice North in Smith *v.* Andrews.

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a trout stream. This portion of the water is rented by the Evenlode Fishing Club, whose honorary secretary, the Rev. D. H. W. Horlock, has kindly supplied the following particulars :—

The Evenlode from time immemorial has been noted for its large trout. Some years since it was quite destroyed by the drainage of Chipping Norton and the escape from various gas works, which not only destroyed the trout but also the larvæ of the various flies that used to abound in it. In 1901 a club was formed by gentlemen in the neighbourhood for the purpose of purifying and stocking the river. The drainage and the other pollutions were stopped by the Thames Conservancy, and many thousands of yearling trout and some grayling were turned in. The club water extends from Bledington Mill to Charlbury Bridge, a distance of some 12 miles. Many fine trout have been taken during these years and the river is full of fish. The coarse fish have been constantly netted and otherwise destroyed. The flies on the river are the drakes, several kinds of duns, the March brown, the grannom, and the stone fly. These have increased lately, but there is room for much improvement in this respect.

The lower portion of the Evenlode affords excellent sport with pike, chub, roach, perch, and tench.

There are many small streams in the county containing trout, and several of these at different times have been restocked; the chief are the Glyme and its tributary, the Dorn, which unite near Woodstock to supply Blenheim Lake; the Sorbrook which runs into the Cherwell near Adderbury; and the Chalgrove brook which enters the Thame at Stadhampton. Of the coarse fish rivers the Cherwell, which enters the county at Ayles Bridge near Prescot, stands next in importance to the Thames. In its upper reaches the interests of anglers are well cared for by the Cherwell Angling Association, which controls the fishing rights from Cropredy Bridge to Heyford. Since its formation in 1888 the association has turned upwards of 200,000 fish of various kinds into the river; these have chiefly been obtained by netting the adjacent canal, but recently several bream have been introduced from Lincolnshire, and about 500 perch were obtained from Windermere. About £50 has been at different times expended on trout; on the whole these fish have not done well, but during the past few years, two very fine trout have been captured, one of 9 lb. 12 oz. at Aynhoe Cross waters and one of 8 lb. 8 oz. at Bodicote. Below Islip the fishing is chiefly in the hands of the Oxford Angling Society. The fish are pike, perch, roach, chub, and tench. In the neighbourhood of the University Parks at Oxford there are some very large carp, which are said to have escaped into the river from a lake which burst its banks some forty or fifty years ago. Many of the old angling works refer to the very fine rudd in the lower portion of the Cherwell; these fish do not appear to exist in the river now. The River Thame, which enters the county near the town of that name and joins the Thames at Dorchester, is much neglected by anglers. It is greatly poached in many parts of its course, but in the neighbourhood of Waterstock and Waterperry the water is strictly preserved and the fishing in this portion is very good. The whole of the fishing is in private hands, but in most parts of the stream permission to fish is readily granted. It contains the same varieties of coarse fish as the Thames or Cherwell.

Many of the lakes and ponds in the parks and estates situated in the county afford excellent pike and coarse fishing to those who are fortunate enough to obtain permission to fish them. Several of the lakes and ponds have been cleared of coarse fish and are well stocked with trout.

RACING

Several meetings have existed in the county from time to time, though none under the Rules of Racing survive. As proof of the bygone importance of Oxfordshire from a racing point of view it may be observed that about the middle of the eighteenth century Oxfordshire ranked fifth (to Yorkshire, Middlesex, Surrey, and Lincolnshire), among English counties in the number of subscribers to Heber's *Calendar*. The Burford meeting in its time was one of the most important in England, ranking next only to Newmarket. It is necessary in writing of Burford, to discriminate between the Burford meeting and that of the Bibury Club, held on the same course. The former was public, the latter was the strictly private gathering of a most exclusive club by which publicity was so little courted that only in 1801 did Mr. Weatherby receive permission to include particulars of the races in the official *Calendar*. In what year the Bibury Club transferred its meeting from Bibury to the Burford course cannot, by reason of its private character, be ascertained. There is reason to believe that the club held its meeting there occasionally before it was ultimately established at Burford at the end of the eighteenth century, but the meeting of 1799 was the first definitely recorded as having been held on the Burford course. To show the character of the Bibury Club races at Burford, the programme for the year 1801 may be briefly outlined. The meeting extended to five days, 16–20 June. The events of the first day were: (1) A 10-guinea sweepstake for which there were ten subscribers; (2) a match; (3) the Bibury Stakes of 100 guineas each, seven entries; (4)

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a match; and (5) the Welter Stakes of 20 guineas each, thirty-four subscribers. Second day: (1) Sweepstakes of 5 guineas each, twenty subscribers, seven ran; (2) Sweepstakes of 25 guineas each, ten subscribers, two ran; (3) Sweepstakes of 25 guineas each, eight subscribers, two ran; (4) Handicap, value £50. Third day: (1) The Barrington Stakes of 25 guineas, twelve subscribers, two ran; (2) match; (3) Handicap Sweepstakes 20 guineas, ten subscribers, three ran; (4) £50 Stake. Fourth day: (1) Sweepstakes of 25 guineas; (2) £50 handicap; (3) Sweepstakes, 25 guineas each. Fifth day: (1) Match; (2) Sweepstakes, 25 guineas each; (3) Handicap Sweepstakes, 5 guineas each; (4 and 5) matches, in either of which, it may be noted, one competitor paid forfeit. The name of the Prince of Wales occurs as that of the owner of two winning horses.

Comparison of this programme with those of contemporary meetings other than Newmarket shows the wealth and influence of the Bibury Club. The ordinary meeting of one, two, or three days, consisted of one race, or at most two, on each day; while The Royal Plate of 100 guineas was the great feature of any meeting deemed sufficiently important to be made the recipient of that honour. The Bibury Club races were strictly confined to horses owned by members; for which reason, no doubt, the programme usually included races for *bona-fide* hunters. Members of the club only were allowed to ride, the minimum weight being fixed at 10 stone to permit of this, regardless of the rules of the Jockey Club whose supremacy it would seem the Bibury Club did not recognize. In 1814 the rule as to riders was relaxed to permit the employment of professional jockeys, but by this date the height of the club's prosperity was past. Thenceforward the meeting steadily declined. It reached a low ebb in 1821 and 1822; an effort to revive the active interest of members in the early twenties is apparent in the inclusion of a welter race confined to them as riders, but the club had passed its zenith. In 1826, the last year in which the meeting was held at Burford, there were two days' racing; the programme of the first shows two races with three and two runners respectively; that of the second, three races, in two of which three horses ran, the third being a walk-over; a match for which one horse paid forfeit completed the programme. In this melancholy condition the Bibury Club's meeting at Burford passes beyond the purview of the Oxfordshire historian.[1] The old saddling bell still hung in its place on the course until the year 1900. It is now, the writer believes, in the possession of a gentleman at Swindon, who uses it as a dinner bell.

[1] The meeting was held at Cheltenham in 1827 and subsequent years till its removal to Stockbridge (Hants) in 1831. Thence, in 1899, it was transferred to Salisbury.

When the Burford public meeting was first held it is impossible to say. We find it noted[2] in 1743 that the races were 'renewed after a long cessation and were particularly well attended'; and must be content to outline the history of the meeting since that date. In 1743, the year of its revival, there were three days' racing, the events being a 60-guinea plate, a hunters' plate, and a 50-guinea plate. In 1745–7 inclusive the meeting extended to five days, horses being entered by many of the leading turfites of the time. In 1748 there was a four-day meeting and in the next year one of three days. In 1751 the sport lasted five days, and it is worth noting that for one £50-plate for four-year-old horses which had never won a £50 stake, matches excepted, eleven horses ran. The distance, two miles, short for those days, and the comparatively light weights, 9 st. 2 lb., may perhaps account for the large field. For several years the Burford meeting was carried on, now as a three-day fixture, now attaining to five days.

In 1755 it was for the first time the scene of a Royal Plate,[3] and enjoyed this distinction till it came to an end. In 1756, and for some years after, there were two meetings in each year. The earlier of the two annual fixtures is distinguished in a measure from the second (held in September) by the number of names of peers who ran horses; and from the fact that in 1761 the September meeting is described as 'Burford Old Races'[4] it is permissible to conjecture that the fixtures of June or July may have been held by the Bibury Club. Of this, however, there is no proof.

In 1773 and thenceforward one meeting of four days was held at Burford, with two or three races on each day. Some of the stakes were valuable enough to induce the entry of good horses. In the year named a 25-guinea sweepstake run in one heat brought twenty-nine subscribers, of which eleven came to the post, the winner being Mr. Fitzpatrick's ch. c. Pumpkin by Matchem. In 1776 the meeting occupied only three days with fewer races on each day; its popularity was now on the wane, though the Royal Plate still remained to it and horses of good class ran for the various stakes. In 1779 four races and one match comprised the whole programme, and a couple of years later the fields were conspicuously smaller than they had been in the days of Burford's prosperity. A feature of the 1784 meeting was a sweepstake for maiden hunters, inclusion of which suggests paucity of patronage by owners of race-horses. In 1796 the programme was reduced to three

[2] Charles Weatherby, *Racing Calendar Abridged*, vol. i (from the earliest accounts to the year 1750 inclusive), 1829.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Reginald Heber, *Calendar of Races and Matches.*

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races and three matches; and the year 1802 saw the last of the regular series of Burford meetings—two days' racing with a single event each day, the King's Plate being one of them. There can be but little doubt that the Burford meeting succumbed to the superior attractions of the Bibury Club's fixture when that was transferred to the Oxfordshire course. Occasional matches were run at Burford at times other than those appointed for the regular meetings, but these were of minor importance and require no special reference. After a lapse of some years meetings were again held at intervals at Burford. On 3 April, 1838 and 1839, there were flat races for hunters not thoroughbred, and there were unimportant meetings in 1841 and 1842, 1844 and 1845; the last, it may be noted, had the distinction of being the only meeting held in the county during that year.

After the cessation of the Burford meeting, in 1802, that of Oxford was for a time the only one held in the county. The county town meeting was one of considerable antiquity; the earliest discoverable record[1] refers to that held on 22 August, 1727, when a purse of 60 guineas was offered 'for horses which had never won a King's Plate, weight 12 stone.' The race was won by Lord Essex's ch.h. Smiling Ball, who was first in both heats; at a subsequent meeting we find the same horse walking over for a 50-guinea plate offered on similar conditions. The Oxford meeting at this period, like many others of the same class, was conducted on lines calculated to encourage local talent. In 1729 a 50-guinea plate was offered open to horses which had never won a King's Plate; and the second day's race was a 20-guinea plate for horses which had never won a stake worth 40 guineas. The former was won by Mr. Hove's Foxhunter by the Bald Galloway. In 1834 the meeting rose to the dignity of a three-day fixture with one race run in heats on each day. The events were: A purse of 50 guineas for horses to carry 12 stone; a plate of 20 guineas; and the Ladies' Plate of 80 guineas for six-year-olds. On these lines the meeting continued for many years, the various events attracting fairly large entries. In 1737 it appears to have been extended to four days, but the record of the last day's sport only has been preserved: the race was a plate of 80 guineas for six-year-old horses, to carry 10 stone. This 80-guinea plate or purse was for a long period the most valuable stake at the meeting; it is variously described as the 'Ladies' Plate' or 'Ladies' Purse,' and it was the exception for the race not to fill. A King's Plate was given at the meeting in 1742, the only occasion on which the coveted honour was vouchsafed it. In 1749 Oxford had become a three-day meeting with one race, or one race and a match, on each day. In 1753 Lord Onslow, a very staunch supporter, won two of the three races which comprised the whole programme. As a three-day fixture the meeting had a long career; races for horses which had never won a Royal Plate occur with great frequency in the records; the Town Plate of £50 remained the principal race when the Ladies' Plate disappeared; and 'Give and Take Plates'[2] of £50 were sometimes offered. In the early seventies of the eighteenth century the restrictions against Royal Plate winners were dropped, and the result of this policy is manifest in the more frequent occurrence of names of owners and animals known in Turf history. A better class of horse was now to be seen on the Port Meadow course. In 1775, for example, Captain O'Kelly won a match for 100 guineas with a grey colt by the famous sire Eclipse, then his property; Captain (or Mr.) O'Kelly, it may be observed, was one of those who regularly ran horses at Burford and Oxford. At the meeting of 1778 Dorimant won a 10-guinea subscription cup, for which there were thirty-four subscribers, starting at five to one on, and beating, among others, Mr. Bertie's Pot-8-os, then a five-year-old.

A valuable supporter of the Oxford meeting about this period was the Duke of Marlborough, who in 1776 and for many years afterwards gave annually a £50 cup. In 1784 a cup worth 100 guineas, with an addition in specie which in subsequent years varied from 30 to 100 guineas, was added to the Oxford programme. This trophy, later described as 'the Gold Cup,' became the principal prize of the meeting. Among the seventeen owners who entered horses to run for it in 1816 no fewer than ten were Oxfordshire men, viz. Lord Jersey, Lord Churchill, Lord Abingdon, Mr. Ashhurst, Mr. Fane, Mr. Annesley, Mr. Dawkins, Mr. Henley, and Mr. Lindow—all names, except the last, well known in the county at the present time. In 1830 the Gold Cup was won by the king's b.h. Hindustan, who, ridden by Pavis, beat four others. The races had their fluctuations of fortune. In 1817 Oxford became a two-day meeting; in 1819 only two runners were forthcoming for the Gold Cup, while the Duke of Marlborough's £50 plate 'was not run for want of horses.' In the following year the Duke's Plate was not given, but it was restored in 1821, to disappear finally from the programme a year or two later. In 1822 the meeting on Port Meadow consisted of two days' racing, viz. three races and one match. In 1825 there were during the two days five races, which afterwards

[1] *Racing Calendar Abridged*, vol. i (1829).

[2] 'Give and Take Plates' were designed to bring horses of from 12 to 15 hands together by allotting weight for inches. A 12-hand horse carried 5 stone, and 14 oz. were added for every eighth of an inch over that height.

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were increased to six; and thus it continued until 1841, in which year was held the last meeting for seven years. In 1847 not a single race-meeting was held in the county. In 1848 Oxford was revived as a two-day fixture, and in that and the subsequent year this was the only race-meeting in the county. Again it disappeared from the *Calendar* from 1850 to 1858 inclusive, to be restored in August, 1859, as a two-day meeting with half a dozen races on each day. In this form the Oxford meetings survived until 1878, in which year the last was held on 22 and 23 August. Various reasons contributed to bring the meeting to an end. The rule passed by the Jockey Club in 1877 requiring that the added money per racing day should be not less than £300, and that no race should be worth less than £100 to the winner, had no doubt potent influence on this as on other meetings to which the public were admitted without payment. The practice of running excursion trains from London, Birmingham, and other large cities, whereby great numbers of undesirable persons were brought to the course, roused the active opposition of the university authorities and the police. Roughs, pickpockets, and welshers descended upon the city, and rendered what had been a well-conducted and pleasant country meeting intolerable for respectable people.

Many meetings of minor importance have been held in the county at various periods. There is record of such at Woodstock in June, 1733, where there was a three-day meeting. On the first day the dowager Duchess of Marlborough gave a purse of 50 guineas to be run for by horses which had never won a King's Plate, to carry 12 stone. The race on the second day was a £15 plate, and on the third a purse of 25 guineas. This meeting was probably held in Blenheim Park. Chipping Norton was for many years the scene of a two-day meeting. The earliest of which record is discoverable took place in September, 1734; and the series continued with lapses until 1753, when it became a three-day fixture. In 1754 Chipping Norton entered upon the heyday of its prosperity. In that year and until 1757 two meetings were held each year, each of two or three days. The fixtures seem to have been dropped after the date last named. The races were much of the class usual at the period. Plates varying in value from 30 to 50 guineas were the rule. In the first year a 12-guinea plate was offered; but in 1741 the executive was able to offer an 80-guinea plate, which brought six starters. This meeting, there is reason to think, took place in Over Norton Park, the property of the Dawkins family, or possibly in Heythrop Park.

Islip is mentioned in the *Sporting Magazine* of 1798 as the scene of one of the meetings which had been abandoned during the preceding fifty years, but no account of it can be found.

The earliest recorded meeting at Banbury took place on 29 July, 1729, when the race was for a plate of £40 open to horses which had never won a stake worth 80 guineas, 12 stone. Mr. Bertie's Lady Thigh was first in both the heats run. A meeting in 1738 proved something of a failure, only two horses running for the £50 plate offered. Banbury, as the scene of a race meeting, does not occur again in the records for nearly a century; in 1830 there was a day's sport which included three races, two of them subsidized by the Banbury Racing Club, a body whose existence would seem to have been of brief duration. One of the races was for horses not thoroughbred; it was a sweepstake of 3 sovereigns each, to which the club added £30. In 1831 there were two days', and in 1832 there was one day's sport, but the name of the racing club is not mentioned in connexion with the stakes. The Banbury meeting does not appear in the *Calendar* of 1834, nor again until 1842; it was then resuscitated, and continued for five successive years, disappearing finally after the meeting of 1846. The races attracted local horses, and these of very modest pretensions. In our own time Banbury has been the scene of a very successful steeplechase meeting; this was inaugurated in 1891, and provides a very good day's sport under National Hunt Rules.

In 1820 there was a meeting at Barton, with two races on the first day and three on the second; these races received little support from Oxfordshire men, Mr. Thornhill's name is the only one recognizable as that of a county owner.

A Bicester meeting first occurs in the records for 1734; on 24 September in that year there was a race worth £20 for horses, which were to carry 10 stone. Only three ran for the stake; and nearly a century elapses before we find Bicester again in the *Racing Calendar*. In 1837 a meeting was held at which there were four races; two were sweepstakes of 5 sovereigns each, with £50 and £30 added respectively. And, more interesting as an instance of desire to encourage horsemanship among the yeomanry, two cups were given by Viscount Villiers, open to horses of the Bicester troop.

Bicester, or more accurately, Cottisford Heath, near the town, claims notice in connexion with another meeting, which was held at different places in the county, that of the Mostyn Hunt,[1] of which Sir Thomas Mostyn was the master. To the Mostyn Hunt belongs the credit of organizing the first hunt races held in Oxfordshire; the first account[2] of them refers to the year 1809, when they were held on 21 March at 'Norbrook,' by which no doubt we are right in understanding Northbrook, a hamlet two miles

[1] Now the Bicester and Warden Hill Hunt.

[2] *Sporting Mag.* vol. 35.

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north of Kirtlington. The first race was a 10-guinea sweepstake for 'horses the property of members of Sir Thomas Mostyn's Hunt. Three Miles. To be rode by members of the Hunt. 13 stone each.' Five ran; the winner was Mr. Drake's b.m. Pewet ridden by the owner, who beat Mr. Harrison's br. g. Mountebank (owner), Mr. Cope's br. g. Romeo (Mr. Newnham), and Mr. Taylor's br. g. Gunpowder (owner), in the order named. It may be mentioned that the present master of the Old Berks Hunt, Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake, is a grandson of the owner of Pewet. It is worth noticing that the programme of 1809 included a farmers' race. In 1811 the Mostyn Hunt races were again held at 'Norbrook,' the principal event being a gold cup value 100 guineas, with a sweepstake of 10 guineas added; this race, confined to members as owners and riders, distance and weights as in 1809, was won by Mr. Harrison's ch. g. Barleycorn. In 1819 (31 March), the meeting was held on Cottisford Heath; the programme consisted of (1) a race for horses that had been regularly hunted, two miles, gentlemen riders, won by Mr. Harrison's Pantaloon; 2nd, Mr. Drake's Farewell; 3rd, Lord Anson's Harlequin. (2) A 50-guinea stake for hunters, also won by Pantaloon. (3) A minor race run in heats; and two matches. In 1820 the event of the meeting, the Mostyn Hunt Stakes, was won by Mr. C. J. Apperley, the sporting writer so well known as 'Nimrod' who rode his own horse Welshman. The programme of 1821 included a farmers' race for horses 'not thoroughbred, owned and ridden by farmers'; the prize was a 10-guinea cup with 40 guineas added. There were three other events and four matches. In 1832 the name of the Mostyn Hunt disappears from the *Calendar*, the Cottisford meeting appearing in its place. Races for hunters continued to be a feature; and in 1835 a hurdle race was added. This was won by Mr. Codrington's Premier ridden by the famous steeplechase rider Captain Becher. The fixture did not last for many years; no races were held in 1837–40, but they were revived in 1841, and in the two following years; no meeting took place in 1844 nor subsequently.

The earliest steeplechase in the county of which record occurs took place on 25 February, 1832, at Tetsworth. There were eleven runners, each carrying 10 st. 7 lb. It was a genuine point-to-point race over a line unknown to the riders, as we read that 'all the arrangements, choice of ground, &c., were under the direction of Henry Peyton, Esq.' The race was started in a field east of Tetsworth, the finishing point being on a hill near Rycote about three miles distant; the fields were small and the fences stiff, and the last jump, a double post and rails, stopped many who had gone well throughout. Mr. S. Quartermaine's gr. h. by Arbutus won easily. On 7 March in the same year a steeplechase was held near Bicester; the start was from Weston Wood, near Weston on the Green, and the finish at Gravenhill fox covert; distance about 3½ miles, over a severe course, the jumps including three wide brooks. Mr. Deakin's Jack Tar was the winner. Some forty years ago steeplechases, in which the present writer had mounts, were held at Witney and at Primrose Hill, near Wallingford, in the South Oxfordshire country, but these meetings have long been abandoned.

Four winners of the Derby have been bred in the county. Bay Middleton who won the race of 1836 in Lord Jersey's colours, beating sixteen others, was probably the best horse ever foaled in Oxfordshire. Coronation, winner in 1841, was bred by Mr. Abraham Rawlinson of Chadlington, near Chipping Norton (who bred both his dam, Ruby, and grand-dam), and was trained by his owner's stud-groom Painton, who gave him most of his gallops in Heythrop Park. Coronation was a terrible puller; but ridden by Conolly —who used a curb bridle and twisted bridoon— he won in a canter, beating twenty-eight others. His success was made the occasion for great rejoicings at Chipping Norton, a peal being rung on the church bells to celebrate the event. The other Derby winners are two of the most moderate animals that ever won the race; Sir Bevys (1879) was bred by Lord Abingdon on his Oxfordshire property; Oxfordshire's claim to Jeddah, winner in 1898, may be called accidental. His dam, Pilgrimage, when nineteen years old, was bought by Mr. J. W. Larnach at the Newmarket sales for 160 guineas, the low price at which she was knocked down being due to a doubt as to whether she was in foal; installed at Mr. Larnach's paddocks at Adderbury, she threw next year Jeddah, who it may be added was the last of her progeny to survive birth.

Among the prominent county racing men now deceased, the Duke of Marlborough, Marquess of Blandford, Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Jersey, Lord Wenman, and Lord Oxford were conspicuous. The latter began his successful Turf career in 1824, and while his name is known as the owner of horses which won famous races he was always a staunch supporter of the Oxford meeting. The Burford meetings in their day brought horses from all parts of England, and the records of the races contain the names of practically every racing man of note in the Georgian era.

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ROWING

There was a good deal of rowing for pleasure at Oxford before racing came into vogue, for the river was 'open for business' from the city downwards in the reign of James I; and if barges could go down to Abingdon it is quite likely that undergraduates would explore the stream. To begin with definite facts, there was certainly at the end of the eighteenth century a boat to be hired at Mrs. Hooper's, called the 'Hobby Horse.' Mrs. Hooper moreover seems to have provided not only the boat but the trousers, jacket, and a 'catskin' cap which presumably were the recognized uniform of rowing men in those days, when their pursuit was known only as 'pleasure boating.' In 1805 they wore a green leather cap, with a jacket and trousers of nankeen. Eton probably possessed eights before we have any record of them at Oxford, for in 1811 the school owned a ten-oared boat, three eights, and two six-oars, the latter craft being used for university races in America as late as 1867, for in Harvard's challenge to Oxford in that year it was suggested that coxswainless six-oars should race from Putney to Mortlake. The first record of eights at Oxford occurs in 1815, when Brasenose and Jesus rowed in eights and fours, and Christ Church had a four in 1817 composed of De Ros (stroke), Randolph (3), Daniel (2), and King (bow), who just managed to beat a pair manned by H. B. Bulteel of Brasenose, and Davis, the waterman.

Racing in eights first began in the boats which conveyed picnic parties from Oxford to Sandford or Nuneham. They were heavy craft with a 'gangplank' running across the seats down the middle. When two or more boats were in the lock there was a natural rivalry as to who should get out first, and as soon as the gates were opened the stroke of the leading boat, who was standing in the bows with a boathook, ran down the gangplank pushing her out as quickly as he could, sitting down to row as soon as he reached his seat. The boat behind followed, and so the race home to King's (now Salter's) barge was gradually developed. Men changed either in this barge, on which the flags of the eights were hoisted, or in a room in the boat-house tavern. The St. John's crew, soon after 1815, rowed in tall hats, so it is probable that others did the same. In 1819 a majority of Scotsmen in the Christ Church crew adopted the Tam o' Shanter and no doubt then introduced the peculiar ribbon (very like a Scotch plaid) still worn by members of that house. Balliol, Jesus, and New Colleges wore similar headgear up to 1847, and coxswains preserved the high hat until almost the same date.

In 1822 Brasenose and Jesus rowed a very hard race, and some disputes that arose out of it led to a rule against the employment of watermen in college boats; two years later men were prohibited from rowing for any college but their own. In 1824 the famous Exeter White Boat was built at Plymouth, on the model (apparently) of a whaleboat: so much too high out of the water did she prove, it was found necessary to lower her sides by several streaks and fit her with river oars before she was any use. In that year Jesus were beaten in a great four-oar race by a Brasenose crew consisting of F. Slade (stroke), Davis (a waterman),[1] T. Marres, and a Worcester man.

By 1825 there were too many boats on the river to permit the old method of starting from the lock, the origin of which is clear from the curiously persistent tradition that boats which proposed to race from Iffley should always start their exercise by going down to Sandford first, though the 'picnic' thereby implied had for some time been abandoned. The method of starting adopted in 1825 is still preserved with unessential differences; for the boats were placed 50 ft. apart from the lock upwards, each opposite a post painted in its own college colours, at which stood an umpire, and Wyatt the lock-keeper gave the word to go as soon as the umpires announced that their crews were ready. The races began on 1 May, and took place on Monday and Friday in each week; so that racing from a Thursday to a Wednesday consecutively (with only Sunday's rest between) may be deemed a comparatively modern system. The head boat had to keep away from the one behind, which in its turn had to escape being bumped by the third; and at first all boats below a bump had to stop racing, though those above went on. The rapid increase of university racing may be traced in the fact that in 1825 Christ Church was head and Brasenose second, while Exeter and Balliol also rowed. The word 'Torpid,' denoting a second crew, also appears, significantly enough, at this time; and there were many private matches in sculling boats, pairs and four-oars, besides the six-oars, that had not yet completely gone out of fashion. But it does not appear that the ten-oars popular at Eton, and with the London Rowing Club at Putney, ever found much favour at Oxford. In 1825, too, Cambridge eight-oar rowing began in earnest, and in 1827 Queen's were added to the list of Oxford eights. But the radical departure came in 1828 when Christ Church challenged Leander to a match on the tideway for £200. It took place on 27 June, from Westminster to Putney.

[1] The rule mentioned above evidently therefore applied to eight-oared racing only, and not to the unimportant fours.

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Leander, who rowed in a boat built by Honey and Archer, which had been rejected by Trinity, with very little training and without having rowed together before, won by about seventy yards.

After this it was inevitable that a race should be arranged between the two universities, and in 1829 it came off for the first time at Henley before an enormous crowd. Oxford won, wearing 'blue checks,' while Cambridge were in white with pink waistbands, a compliment in each case to the head boat on the river. Oxford had black straw hats with a broad blue ribbon, but the straw hat did not become general for some time longer. The weight of the boats used at this time may be judged from the fact that many of them were changed from eights into six-oars, when, with seats for passengers added, they could carry some twenty persons. Doubtless they were very steady; and outriggers (first seen in 1845) did not become popular until about 1847. Streaked boats were in use almost until Matt Taylor, in 1856, introduced the smooth, keelless, cedar hulls for eights which Clasper had before invented for smaller craft on the Tyne; these were built for fixed seats, about 65 ft. long, and designed for a very fast stroke. They were made shorter when slides were invented (in 1872) and thereafter were gradually lengthened again until Dr. Warre reverted to Matt Taylor's old design and inculcated the magic seven octaves as the harmonious proportion. This, however, did not suit most crews; by 1906 even a 60 ft. boat was too short, and the two university boats were each 63 ft. long, with 16 in. slides.

The earliest record of a college boat club is the treasurer's book of Exeter in 1831, which contains every sign of being the outgrowth of an older society. From this it appears that a fine of five shillings was levied on any member of the crew known to be intoxicated, and that the crew were bound to obey their coxswain when afloat, and their committee when ashore. Stephen Davis, the waterman, coached them. A new eight from King (over 50 ft. long, 'with oars, boat-hook, etc., complete') cost £80. The growth of this and other college boat clubs, and the possibility of other races with Cambridge, necessitated the establishment of a central authority, especially as Cambridge had already started a university boat club; and on 23 April, 1839, a meeting at King's boat-house was called of strokes of college eights and representatives from other colleges, under the presidency of Calverley Bewicke, of University College, stroke of the University boat. Those present were C. Goodden (Exeter), R. Hobhouse (Balliol), E. J. G. Hornby (Merton), J. Scotland (St. John's), R. A. Lea (Brasenose), S. E. Maberly (Christ Church), T. Meyrick (Corpus), R. M. Howard (Oriel), J. Welch (Queen's), D. W. Griffith (Jesus), H. W. Fox (Wadham), J. K. Hawkins (Worcester), and R. Hickson (New Inn Hall). These gentlemen formed the Oxford University Boat Club and elected its first committee. Almost at once the pairs and fours were founded, and by 1841 the sculls were instituted. The eights were started, from lines held by a man ashore, by two pistols. The small cannon used afterwards are now in the possession of Lord Desborough (W. H. Grenfell of Balliol) at Taplow Court. Proper regulations for the bumping races were also drawn up. The club button, designed about the same time as the medals were made (1840), fell into disuse for a time but was revived in 1885, and is now (1906) worn on the crew's coats, which are of dark blue flannel bound with dark blue braid. the caps are dark blue with crossed oars embroidered in white and the letters O.U.B.C.

The 'Seven-oar' race at Henley gave great impetus to Oxford rowing. Seven of the Oxford crew, in 1843, there beat an eight calling itself the 'Cambridge Subscription Rooms,' in which every man either was in the Cambridge eight already or afterwards rowed in it. In 1839 the University Boat Club had hired a barge from Heather at Folly Bridge, which was passed on to Brasenose in 1846, when the Boat Club bought the Merchant Taylors' barge for £125. Other City companies' barges were bought by various colleges. In 1854, University College took the Merchant Taylors' barge, and the O.U.B.C. bought its present barge (1906) which was built partly at Pangbourne and partly at Oxford. Crews found these barges very convenient for changing, and in other ways they did much to popularize rowing. A further improvement was made when, in 1846, watermen were forbidden to coach crews. By 1852 the Torpids (or second crews) were held in the Lent term, so as to develop beginners for the eights in summer; and, in 1858, were begun the Trial Eights (in December), from which the University eight is still selected. In 1869 Oxford rowing received still further impetus by the victory over Harvard at Putney of a four consisting of F. Willan (bow), A. C. Yarborough, J. C. Tinne (President), and S. D. Darbishire (stroke). In 1880 the new boat-house was built on the towpath side; Cambridge sent £100 towards it.

This completes the outline of the development of Oxford rowing. It is only necessary to add that the names of the first crew recorded as head of the river (in 1824) were Exeter's eight composed of J. T. Wareing (bow), W. D. Dick, S. Parr, T. Douglass, J. C. Clutterbuck, J. G. Cole, R. Pocklington, H. Bulteel (stroke), and J. Pocklington (coxswain). The first Oxford University crew that beat Cambridge, in 1829, were J. Carter (bow), E. J. Arbuthnot, J. E. Bates, C. Wordsworth, J. J. Toogood, T. Garnier, G. B. Moore, T. S. Staniforth (stroke), and W. R. Fremantle (coxswain). In

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1841 (the first year when the weights were recorded), the average of the crew was 11 st. 4 lb. In 1906 their average was 12 st. 4 lb., and the boat was built by Sims of Putney, length 63 ft., beam in centre 23½ in., depth in centre 9⅜ in. The oars were made by Ayling of Putney, length over all 12 ft. 6 in., with a leverage of 3 ft. 8½ in. in-board, and 5¼ in. blades, of the double-girder box-loom pattern, in which two deep grooves are cut on each side of the loom from the blade to the button and the whole covered over so that the wood looks solid.

For the historical details given above, the writer is largely indebted to the Rev. W. E. Sherwood's *Oxford Rowing*.

GOLF

Golf in Oxfordshire has been one of the popular outdoor pastimes for thirty years. Though its popularity grew slowly, it has now become fairly established, and at the present time there are in the county just short of a dozen clubs, the majority of them having been founded within the past ten years. Generally speaking the land is admirably suited to the game. There is a fine alternation of hill and dale, and the elevations of the Chilterns, with the beautiful sweeping undulations of the sheep downs, present an admirable test of golfing skill.

The principal course in the county is that belonging to the Huntercombe Club. Instituted in 1901, it now numbers 254 members, among the frequent players being Mr. A. J. Balfour. The course, situated on a wide plateau about 6 miles from Henley-on-Thames, consists of eighteen holes and provides a very exacting test of play. The holes, which vary in length from 143 to 560 yards, were laid out with extreme care by Willie Park (owner of the ground). The porous character of the soil, a mixture of sand and gravel, renders the course almost as dry as seaside links even in wet winters. The turf is short, crisp, and springy, giving good lies, and providing putting greens whose excellence cannot be equalled. The hazards are all natural, and include clumps of whins and open sand bunkers. The undulating character of the ground, moreover, with its large number of grassy hollows, provides all the features that are wanted in the best golf courses, and the length of many of the holes affords a grand opportunity for the use of wooden clubs.

The Oxford University Golf Club, instituted in 1875, has now 450 members. Up to 1904 the university golfers played over a course situated on high ground at South Hincksey, but since then they have migrated to a new course of eighteen holes at Radley, about three miles from Oxford and 1½ miles from Radley Station. The new course is laid out over undulating ground, but the soil is somewhat heavy and tenacious. The Oxford and Cambridge Golfing Society, which was instituted in 1898, recruits its membership from among the best golfers who have been, or are, at the universities, and players are elected by the unanimous invitation of the committee. The objects of the society are the playing of inter-club university matches and to raise teams for playing tours against the principal clubs of the United Kingdom and America.

Four miles from Henley is the nine-hole course of the Peppard Golf Club. It was instituted on 24 March, 1894, by the late Mr. R. W. Maude, of Peppard and London, who was the prime mover in starting the game here, the late Rev. Morris P. Williams, rector of Peppard, and Mr. Henry Taylor, of Dyson's Wood, Reading, who was captain of the club in 1906. The membership averages about seventy, of whom ten are ladies. The nine holes are situated on Peppard Common on the Chiltern Hills, about 380 ft. above sea level. The length of the round is about one and a quarter miles, and the hazards include a deep chalk pit, whins, and other natural obstacles. The soil is a combination of chalk and gravel, and the game can be played all the year round, snow only making the course unplayable. When the club was first instituted the course consisted of six holes only, these having been laid out by the late Tom Dunn of Bournemouth; it was afterwards extended to nine holes by Messrs. Maude and Taylor.

The nine-hole course of the Chipping Norton Club, which was founded in 1890, is laid out over pasture land, and is playable from the beginning of September until the end of April. The holes vary in length from 132 to 377 yards, and the total length is 2,065 yards. The number of members is twenty-five.

At Chastleton Hill, 2½ miles from Adlestrop, and 2 miles more from Moreton-in-Marsh and Chipping Norton, there is a course of nine holes situated on high ground about 800 ft. above sea level. The turf is exceptionally good for an inland course, and the game can be enjoyed all the year round. The club was instituted in 1895, and the number of members at present is sixty.

In 1901 Mr. W. H. Fox, the owner of Bradwell Grove Park, 5 miles from Lechlade, laid out a nine-hole course on the park land surrounding his residence, and with the assistance of Mr. F. G. How and others established a local club. The membership consists of fifty

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gentlemen and twenty-five ladies, but as it is a private club visitors are only admitted to play on the introduction of a member. In addition to the natural hazards, sunk fences, roads, and bushes, artificial bunkers have been made. There is no play in the summer months; September to June is the season at Bradwell Grove.

The Bicester Club was founded in 1902 through the instrumentality of Captain H. G. Fane, Mr. E. A. Burchardt, and Mr. C. T. Hoare. The number of playing members is about seventy, and the nine-hole course is about half a mile from the railway station at Bicester. The length of the holes varies from 136 to 335 yards. The course was planned and laid out by W. Hutchinson over pasture land, on brash soil. The hazards are both natural and artificial; play is possible all the year round. The captain of the club is the Earl of Jersey.

J. Sherlock, the Oxford University professional, laid out in July, 1904, the nine-hole course of the Banbury Club, which was established the year before. Those who were most instrumental in establishing the club were the president, Lord Algernon Gordon-Lennox, and the hon. sec., Mr. J. W. Prescott. The membership consists of forty gentlemen and ten ladies, and the course is situated about one mile from Banbury on the Broughton Road. The nine holes, which vary from 112 to 450 yards, are laid out upon a very pretty and hilly strip of country naturally adapted to the game. All the hazards are natural, consisting of hills and valleys, furze bushes, and cattle pools. With an ironstone soil, and the short, close grass, there is no difficulty in playing all the year round.

The Witney Golf Club, first instituted in 1898 and temporarily suspended, was reconstructed in September, 1906. Its first course was one of nine holes at Clements Field, on the Oxford Road, but with a clay subsoil the grass was rough, and in some respects it was unsatisfactory. The new nine-hole course, which was laid out by J. Sherlock, the professional of the Oxford University Club, is situated on Coggers Hill, and consists of pasture land with clay soil. The hazards are hedges, ponds, and trees. At present there are about seventy members. Mr. F. C. F. Cuthbert, the hon. sec., Mr. N. J. G. Ravenor, Mr. F. M. Green, Mr. C. Storey, and Mr. W. Derby Hyde, late hon. sec. to the old Witney Golf Club, took active part in reconstructing this club.

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